

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

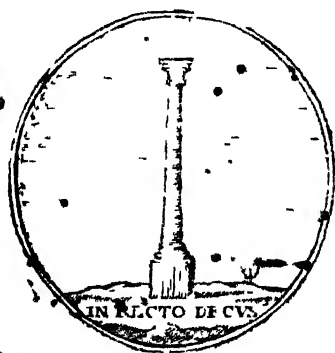
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

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By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

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• L O N D O N :

T. OSBORNE, C. HATCH, A MILLAR,
RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW and
T. LONGMAN, and C. WARE.

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Modern History:

BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
Universal History.

The History of AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

AS individuals are protected, in the enjoyment of their *General* wealth and commerce, by the power of the commu- *reflections* nity; so the publick deduces equivalent advantages *upon the* from the extensive trade and vast opulence of private persons. *utility of* With respect to commerce, the grandeur of the state, and *commerce,* the happiness of its subjects, are inseparable; though some refined speculatists have endeavoured to refute an axiom that is self-evident. When mankind left their savage state, they naturally became husbandmen and artizans, which were the first steps towards becoming civilized; because the improvement of arts required the full exertion of their intellects. That policy, indeed, is narrow and violent, which aggrandizes the publick by the oppression of individuals. Every thing is purchased by labour, which, alone, is more valuable than the richest mines of gold and silver: the possession of the latter hath rendered nations poor and contemptible; but never was there any instance, where affluence and felicity failed to accompany

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company industry guided by prudence. A superfluous labour is a real treasure to society, which may at any time be employed, like money, in the publick service. Hence arises the great advantage of foreign commerce, which, by augmenting the labour, in effect increases the grandeur of the state, and the wealth and felicity of the subjects. By its imports it furnishes the materials of industry, and by its exports it gives encouragement for working up divers commodities, not required for domestic consumption. Hence the mind acquires additional vigour, it enlarges its powers and faculties, and the spirit of improvement is pushed to every art and science. Philosophy and the art of war are best understood in those countries, where the mechanic arts have attained the greatest perfection.

and particularly of the trade with America.

If we consider commerce as essential to industry, and labour necessary to the opulence and happiness of society, we cannot but regard the discovery of the vast continent of *America*, and the infinity of wealthy islands with which it is surrounded, as one of the most important consequences of the happy discovery of the compass, and the improvement in navigation. Without a knowledge of the *West Indies*, the intercourse with the *East-Indies* would be of little advantage to *Europe*; it might even be pernicious, by draining it of the gold and silver: whereas we now purchase the commodities of the latter, not only with *European* manufactures, but with the silver dug in the mines of *Potosi*. To her possessions in *Chili*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, and the *Antilles*, *Spain* owes all her opulence. *Great Britain* hath, by means of her colonies on the continent of *America*, and her islands in the *West-Indies*, raised herself to her present astonishing and envied height of grandeur and importance. *Portugal* most holds her existence on her possessions in *Brasil*. even the barren *Canada* hath been fruitful of blessings to *France*, by promoting her trade and navigation. not to speak of the benefits arising from *Guadalupe*, *Martinico*, and *Cape-Breton*. The intercourse with *Surinam*, and the *Spanish main*, has brought great wealth into *Holland*. In a word, every nation in *Europe* hath made attempts to obtain some establishment in a country fraught with all these commodities, which the progress of science, of luxury, and refinement, has rendered almost essential to existence; which alone would be sufficient evidence of the utility of the discovery of the justly celebrated *Columbus*, could not the most irrefragable arguments be deduced from reason and philosophy. At this juncture, the colonies may be considered as the vitals of *Great-Britain*, which diffuse their spirits through all the members of the body-

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politic, by which it exists; they are, indeed, the living fountain whence we draw all our nourishment. The trade of these colonies is in fact a foreign commerce, carried on and conducted under the direction of the mother-country; and accordingly we find, that, in proportion as the several crowns of Europe cherish their plantations, they acquire a larger share of maritime strength, establish a more fruitful nursery of seamen, gain a more considerable fund of wealth, and promise fairest for the sovereignty of the ocean. However, to insist on the importance to Europe of the gold of *Chili* and *Brasil*, of the silver of *Pérou*, the sugar, indigo and coffee of the *Antilles*, the furs of *Canada*, the fish of *Newfoundland*, the tobacco of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, the precious stones, balsams, gums, dyes, dying-woods, and other commodities of the islands and continent of *America*, would be only to repeat what has been hackneyed by every political writer of the last century. It is our province to inquire into the means of this vast discovery, to relate the history of the nations, to trace the progress of the conquest and colonization of *America* and the *West-Indies*, to lay before our readers a minute geographical description of the country, describe its productions, natural and artificial, ascertain the strict limits of each division, and the legal boundaries of the several *European* settlements, explain the connection of the colonies with each other, the peculiar trade carried on by each, and the general commerce of the country; in a word, to give the publick what was never before attempted, a complete political, commercial, and natural history of the fourth division of the globe, called the *New World*, or *Western Hemisphere*, at least as far as is consistent with the nature of our design, and the limits of an *Universal Modern History*.

BEFORE we enter upon voyage, undertaken to this country under the patronage of the court of *Spain*, it will be necessary to mention, that *Columbus* was led to the discovery not only from a consideration of the terraqueous globe, and the relation of certain ship-wrecked modern mariners, but by an idea which several eminent writers entertained of an unknown continent to the westward. In general it was believed, that the land terminated with the *Canaries* or *Fortunate-Islands*, yet several of the more penetrating were persuaded, that an immense tract of land must lie beyond the *Atlantic Ocean*. In one of his dialogues, *Plato* speaks of the island of *Atlantis*, and there is still extant, in the collection

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of Greek Poetical Fragments^c, a description of it in verse, ascribed to *Solon*, who borrowed the relation from an *Egyptian* priest. To confess the truth, all these hints, taken from *Plato* and *Solon*, have so much the air of poetic allegory, that they cannot be considered of weight sufficient to determine whether they absolutely entertained any idea of the western continent. The ingenious political tract left by Sir *Thomas More* may furnish an equally good argument to posterity that his *Eutopia* alluded to some undiscovered country, of which he had a general conception. It is otherwise with respect to the testimony of *Aristotle*^d, because he not only concurs with a future historian, but descends to particulars. In a book ascribed to this philosopher, we are told, that the *Carthaginians* discovered an island far beyond the *Pillars of Hercules*, large, fertile, and finely watered with navigable rivers, and uninhabited. This island was distant a few days sailing from the continent; its beauty attracted the discoverers to settle there; but the policy of *Carthage* dislodged the colony, and laid strict prohibition on all the subjects of the state not to attempt any future establishment. This account is confirmed by an historian of no mean credit, who relates that the *Tyrians* would have planted a colony in the newly discovered island, which some takes to be *Hispania*, but they were opposed by the *Carthaginians* for state-reasons. It was feared lest the natural advantages, which it was reported this country enjoyed, might induce too many of the citizens to desert their native soil, whereby the government would be weakened, industry checked, and the vast maritime power of the republic diminished. Besides it was urged that this island ought to be reserved as an asylum, to which they might retire with safety, when oppressed by any change of fortune, or public calamity. A passage hath also been quoted from the third act of the *Mædia* of *Seneca* (A), in confirmation of the opinion, that although *America* was undiscovered, the ancients had a strong notion of large countries beyond the reach of their present knowledge. In a fragment that remains of *Theopompus*^e, there is an alle-

^c Poet. Fragm. edit. Lug. ap. Stephan.

^d De Mundo.

^e Diop. Sic. Hist.

(A) ——— Venient annis
 Sæcula feris, quibus oceanus
 Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
 Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos
 Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
 Ultima Thule. ——— MED. act. iii. v. 375.
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gory of a new world, inhabited by two nations of warriors and devotees; and one of the fathers affirms^f, that beyond the ocean there is another world: however, both *Lactantius* and *St. Augustine* ridicule this notion, and the opinion that the earth was globular: even to the days of *Galileo*, the *Roman* clergy regarded the rotation of the earth on its axis as contradictory to the sacred doctrine. Upon the whole, it is plain that the ancients dreamed something about a new world, and that they transmitted to posterity an imperfect, broken account of those regions; but it is equally certain, that the general opinion was, that all the climates between the tropics were uninhabitable; a judgment built on an axiom of their absurd philosophy, that the health and preservation of the animal depended on a due mixture, and just proportion of the four elements, which could not happen under the torrid zone, where fire and the emanations of the sun must absorb all the other qualities. To recite the fabulous story of *Madoc*, a *Welsh* prince, and the tale related by *William of Newbery*, of two green children who were found in a field, in the reign of king *Stephen*, would afford the judicious reader as little amusement as instruction; we shall therefore omit these, take it for granted, that the actual discovery of the island and continent of *America* was made in the 15th century, and proceed to a relation of the circumstances of that important transaction (B).

S E C T. I..

Containing a general Relation of the Voyages made by the Spaniards in search of America.

AS we have, in the course of our labours, already given a short history of the life and discoveries of *Columbus*, the famous *Genoese* admiral, it will be sufficient to specify in this place such circumstances as are necessary to place in one collective point of view the complete discovery of the islands

^f GREG. in epist. S. Clemen. p. 374.

^s Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xi.

(B) To speculatists, and persons of more leisure, we leave the useless labour of enquiring by what means *America* was peopled. This subject may

form an excellent dissertation in the academy; but we apprehend it would be foreign to our purpose as historians.

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and continent of *America*. It was in the month of *April* 1492, that *Christopher Columbus*, after experiencing repeated mortifications and disappointments at the courts of *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, was at length, under the queen's patronage, honoured with the commission of admiral to their catholic majesties, and viceroy of all the islands and continents which he should discover and acquire in the ocean. Immediately repaired to *Palos de Moguer*, where a small squadron, consisting of three vessels, manned with an hundred and twenty men, was appointed to attend him, and be entirely directed by his orders. On the 3d day of *August* he quitted *Spain*, and after a tedious navigation, during which the sailors mutinied, he fell in with *Guinaya*, one of the *Lucayo* islands, on the 12th of *October*. Finding the island well inhabited, the admiral went on shore, and with proper solemnity took possession in the name of their catholic majesties. The natives were thrown into the utmost astonishment at sight of the ships, which they took for sea-monsters, and their admiration was increased by the strange appearance of the *Spaniards*, who landed. They gazed with wonder at their beards, fair complexions, and cloaths; and joyfully received the trifling presents distributed by the admiral. When the *Spaniards* returned to their ships, the *Indians* swarmed after them, expressed their gratitude for the presents by signs and tokens, and seemed extremely desirous to enter into a more familiar intercourse.

Columbus discovers the Bahama, Cuba, and Hispaniola.

AFTER calling the island *St. Salvador*, and learning from the natives, that the gold plates which they wore in their noses came from a large island to the southward, Columbus proceeded on his voyage, touched at several other of the *Lucayo* or *Bahama* islands, and on the 27th of *October* arrived at *Cuba*, situated between 20 and 23 degrees of north latitude, and 74 and 87 degrees of west longitude, being near 800 miles in length, and about 70 in breadth and more at the southern extremity. Having intelligence from the natives, that all the gold came from *Bribo*, an island to the south-east, he pursued his voyage, after making a few general observations, and arrived at *Bobio*, or the land of cottages, on the 6th day of *December*, to which he gave the name of *Hispaniola* (C). He had carried some *Indians* from *Cuba*, and by means of these endeavoured to cultivate a familiarity with the inhabitants of this last discovered island; but they fled with the utmost velocity at their approach, and

(C) It is by corruption that we call the island *Hispaniola*, the true original name being *la Ffianola*.

seemed

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seemed to regard the *Spaniards* with equal horror and surprize: however, as he had the good fortune to take a female prisoner, whom he treated with great humanity, her report expressed a more favourable opinion of the strangers, and brought about the intercourse so much desired. At first they trembled, and started back upon touching the cloaths of the *Spaniards*; then they laid their hands upon their heads, in token of respect, cast their eyes up to heaven, and regarded them as divinities; a notion that was confirmed by the presents of glass-beads, and other shining glittering trinkets they received. Here *Columbus* was met by the *cazique*, who expressed great curiosity to see the *Spanish* ship. His retinue consisted of two hundred men, besides his nine minister and counsellors, as was carried on a litter upon mens shoulders, though a robust young fellow, and distinguished with marks of the deepest respect and veneration. On his coming on board he behaved with the utmost dignity and solemnity, ordering all his train to keep at a distance, except two of his counsellors, who sat at his feet. He eat and drank with the admiral, had his mouth examined by his counsellors, shook his head at what *Columbus* ordered to be told him, that he was only the servant of the king of *Leon* and *Castile*, and believed, with the *Indians* of *Cuba*, that the *Spaniards* were supernatural beings. The admiral made some presents of beads, slippers, and cloaths, to the monarch, who was highly delighted with his reception; and the sailors bartered pieces of broken glass, earthen plates, and other trifles, with the natives for gold rings, which they wore in their noses, and small plates of gold; however, it was soon known that gold was not the produce of the island, but of a country to the eastward. This was the chief object of the voyage; but though *Columbus* was disappointed in the expectations entertained of the value of the island, he resolved to establish a colony that might prove useful to his farther purposes. To effect this design, it was necessary to consult the inclinations of the five sovereigns, among whom the island was divided. Accordingly the admiral had an interview with king *Guatana-gari*, exchanged presents with him, and settled a colony, built a fort, and mounted it with cannon, in order to command the more respect. The colony was composed of thirty-nine *Spaniards*, under the conduct of *James de Avana*; the fort was called *Navidad*, or *Nativity*: and *Columbus*, carrying with him several natives of the island, and a sufficient quantity of gold to evince the importance of his discovery, took his departure for *Spain*, after losing two of his

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ships, one of which perished by an accident, and the other was carried off by the treachery of *Martin Alonso Pinçon*^a.

WE shall stop to relate a few of the general observations which the admiral made on the island of *Hispaniola*, and the character of the natives. He found the island extremely well peopled, and filled with villages, some of them containing above a thousand houses. His civility to his female prisoner, and her report, soon raised the *Spaniards* high in the esteem of the *Indians*; they flocked to the shore, and great numbers swam, or paddled in their canoes, to the ship. He remarked they were taller, handsomer, and more tractable and courteous than the inhabitants of the other islands, after they had been once reconciled to the *Spaniards*. The men were of a middling stature, large boned, and inclining to corpulence; their nostrils wide, and their foreheads smooth, and uncommonly high. To their nostrils were suspended small plates of gold, which created a suspicion that this metal was the produce of the island. Several of the caziques, whom the admiral visited, wore crowns of gold; and pieces of the same metal, weighing four ounces, were exchanged with the sailors for bits of tin and glass. *Guacanagari* had several princes tributary to him, and if he did not claim the entire sovereignty, he was at least considered as the most potent monarch on the island. The natives shewed great ingenuity, not only in their military weapons, some of which were admirably pointed, and riveted with fish-bones, but in the form and composition of their earthen pitchers, in which they supplied the shipping with fresh water. Nor was their humanity less extraordinary, as *Columbus* experienced, in the assistance they afforded when one of his vessels was shipwrecked. King *Guacanagari* made him a present of a masque, the nose, tongue, and ears of which were of beaten gold, and a girdle elegantly set with seed-pearl; and though he was upon the whole disappointed in his hopes, that *Hispaniola* contained gold mines, he had great reason to believe the island might become valuable to commerce, on account of the cotton, spices, and variety of drugs and timber it produced, though the value of many of these particulars was not then understood. In a word, after he had sufficiently impressed this simple people with an idea of his friendship, by the civility of his treatment, and with due respect, by the thunder of his cannon, at the report of which they all fell flat upon their faces, he took his leave, and quitting *Port Nativity* on the 4th day of *January* 1493, ar-

^a HERRERA's Hist. of America, Dec. i. l. i.

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rived at *Palos* on the 15th of *March*, sending notice of his return to their catholic majesties.

THE discoveries made by *Columbus* filled *Spain* with rejoicing and admiration. He was caressed by the king, queen, and court; the pontiff was made acquainted with the transaction, and he granted a bull, confirming the crown of *Spain* in an exclusive right to the *West-Indies*. The *Indians* and gold were shewn as the greatest wonders in nature, and in a short time *Columbus* was equipped for another voyage, with more extensive powers, and a stronger armament than in the preceding. He was now made governor-general and admiral over all the territories included in the apostolical concession; he was authorised to plant colonies, establish judicial courts, and take any other steps that circumstances might require, and tended to promote the general design of the expedition: a squadron of seventeen ships, manned with two thousand two hundred able-bodied seamen and soldiers, was appointed; mares, sheep, cows, corn, wheat, and a variety of *European* plants, were put on board; a chart of his discoveries and voyage was drawn and kept in the king's cabinet, and every other measure taken that could possibly insure the prosperity of the expedition: after which *Columbus* once more departed on the 25th of *September*. In this voyage he discovered *Reminique*, *Marigalante*, and *Guadaloupe*. His boat put to shore at the latter, which made all the inhabitants take to the mountains; however, the *Spaniards* had the good fortune to seize upon two *Indians*, from whom they had some useful intelligence. Among other particulars they were told, that a continent lay to the eastward, at an inconsiderable distance. Here *Columbus* found some pieces of spun cotton and looms, of a very peculiar and simple construction, together with a piece of a ship, which he believed must either have been driven from the *Canaries*, or from *Hispaniola*, where his ship perished in the former voyage; for he could not persuade himself that any *Europeans* had ever before visited those islands. Coasting along the island to the north-west, he discovered *Montserrat*, afterwards *Santa-Maria*, and *Antigua*. In short, he discovered, in the course of this voyage, all the islands to the south-west of *Hispaniola*, to which he gave the general appellation of *Virgins*. On his arrival at this island, he found all the *Spaniards* dead, and the colony entirely destroyed, owing to their own intestine divisions, and the insolence and cruelty with which they treated the natives, which produced a revolt. He visited his old friend *Guacanagari*, and found that prince confined to his bed by a wound he received in defence of the *Spaniards*, which encouraged him

The second voyage and discoveries of Columbus

him to settle a new colony, and build the town of *Isabella*. Twelve of the ships he sent back to *Spain*, reserving only the five largest for his own use; and after having quelled a sedition, he set out with a body of men in search of the gold mines of *Cibao*, the ore of which, at that time, raised great expectations.

AFTER this he resolved to pursue his voyage, touched at *Cuba*, and came in sight of *Jamaica*; but being forced back by stress of weather to *Hispaniola*, he found the colony at war with the natives, owing chiefly to their own licentiousness and barbarity. King *Caunabo*, one of the sovereigns of the island, had collected a prodigious army, which the *Spaniards* defeated with a handful of men, on account of the terror with which the horsemen inspired the *Indians*; for they took the horse and the rider for one animal. To conclude, the voyage, in general, proved unfortunate, though *Columbus* exerted every quality of a soldier and politician; such was the factious, rapacious, licentious humour of the *Spaniards*, who endeavoured all in their power to rob the gallant general of the fruits and glory of so many signal actions and important discoveries. He left his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* in quality of lieutenant-governor, and set out for *Spain*, where he arrived after a voyage of three months. Repairing to court, he presented their majesties with the gold dust and ore he had brought with him, and cleared himself of all the aspersions thrown upon his character by the malevolence of his enemies. The farther account of the natives, which he gave to their majesties, was to the following effect. That all the sovereigns, or caziques, lived in palaces at some distance from their towns, where there were a number of extraordinary images made of stone or wood. These they called *Cemis*, and honoured sometimes with the particular names of their ancestors. They were worshipped by the people as titular beings, and offerings were made to some of the images for health, to others for affluence, fine weather, prosperous enterprizes, and other wishes: yet they were considered as inferior deities to the sun, which was reputed the chief, or cazique, of the divinities. Each of the sovereigns of the country was also a high priest, which added greatly to their authority, and enabled the monarchs to practise many religious impostures on the understanding of their ignorant simple subjects. Several of the caziques kept three stones, to which they ascribed extraordinary virtues: one, they alledged, promoted the fertility of the soil; another assisted women in child-bed; and the third procured either rain or sun-shine, as the occasion required. When a cazique

Account of
the natives
of Hispaniola.

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zique died, he was embowelled, and dried by the fire, to preserve his body from corruption, which was then interred in a cave, with his military weapons, and store of provision. The wife, likewise, who bore him the greatest affection, was buried with him; and there could not be a more dishonourable proof of female ingratitude, than any marks of reluctance to pay this last duty to her lord and husband. In general, indeed, there appeared a strong emulation among the women for this favour and testimony of the superior regard of the deceased sovereign. A practice frequent at this day among the negroes on the continent of *Africa*, also prevailed among the inhabitants of *Hispaniola*. They strangled all the sick of whose recovery they despaired. After death they imagined they should go to a valley of vast extent, of which the caziques believed they should be sovereigns, and where all imagined they should find their parents, kindred, and friends, be blessed with beautiful women, and an eternal source of uninterrupted felicity. They had physicians among them, who pretended to effect extraordinary cures by the assistance of dæmons. Their idols they believed were immortal, and they persuaded themselves that the dead appeared to the living, which rendered them extremely fearful in the dark and alone. Almost all the men were addicted to bestiality, and sodomy, which were the abhorrence of the women, and made them coy with the natives, but exceedingly libidinous with the *Spaniards*; and with respect to the propagation of the species, no regard was paid to any degree of consanguinity, mothers, sisters, and daughters excepted (A).

WHILE

(D) The *Spanish* historian *Herrera* is very explicit upon this subject. He relates, that the images are made of hollow with great art; that the caziques get into the cave, and pronounce certain words, which the people are persuaded are uttered by the stone divinity. The place allotted for departed spirits they called *Coayba*, in the island of *Soraya*; these spirits were shut up in the day, but let loose at night for their recreation. When a physician attended a cazique, he was obliged to go through all the regimen he prescribed to the patient; he wrought himself up to a phrenzy, uttered some unintelligible ejaculations, and directed his discourse to an invisible spirit; whence we may infer, that priests and physicians both supported their credit chiefly by imposture. If they suspected the physician had not discharged his duty, the deceased was questioned about it, and the medical gentleman punished or acquitted, agreeable to certain answers which they supposed were uttered by the departed spirit. The ceremony previous to this extraordinary inquest

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WHILE *Columbus* was soliciting the court of *Spain* for the reward of his services, and a proper appointment for the prosecution of his discoveries, his brother *Bartholomew* struggled with a variety of misfortunes in *Hispaniola*. A great number of the *Spaniards* had mutinied, at the instigation of one *Roldan*, the chief *Alcade* or justice of the island, and engaged the governor in a war with the natives. Several battles had been fought, in which *Bartholomew* was generally victorious; though he must have sunk under the superiority of numbers, and the inclemency of the climate, had not two ships arrived seasonably from *Spain* with a reinforcement. The arrival of *Columbus* a third time restored peace and tranquillity, and enabled the *Spaniards* to pursue with vigour the plan of a new settlement and city, begun during *Bartholomew's* government, which was called the *New Isabella*, or *S. Domingo*, because the foundation was laid on *Sunday*.

Third
voyage of
Colum-
bus, and
discovery
of the con-
tinent of
America.

THE admiral had long solicited the court of *Spain* for proper assistance to proceed on a third voyage in search of the

inquest was truly ridiculous. The juice of a certain herb, the pairing of the deceased's nails, and the hair of his forehead, were mixed, minced, and reduced first to a powder, and then by adding a larger portion of the vegetable juice, to a draught, which was poured into the mouth and nostrils of the corpse. Upon this operation he delivered proper answers to the questions of the by-standers, and then was carried back to his former grave. When the physician happened to be accused, he was seized by the kindred of the deceased, his arms were broke, his eyes pulled out, and the shocking operation of castration performed upon him, in the most barbarous manner. Happy is it for those sons of *Æsculapius*, who now slaughter under protection of the law in civilized countries, that their patients are incapable of rising

in judgment against their practice. *Columbus* was told that the natives of this island had an old prophecy, they should be subdued by men of a white complexion, whose swords should be as like the sun, and whose thunder should be terrible; to confirm which, the admiral ordered some cannon to be fired, the balls of which penetrated the wrecks of the ship he had lost, to the great astonishment and utter confusion of the *Indians*, who now persuaded themselves that the prophecy was fulfilled. This prophecy had for ages been recorded in a song, which the *Indians* sang at festivals, accompanied with the musick of an instrument made of a hollow thin piece of wood, that could be heard, when beat, at the distance of a league. This instrument was wholly consecrated to the use of the *caziques* (1).

(1) Herrera, Dec. 1. l. 3. f. 4.

continent;

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continent; at length he obtained his request, quitted port *St. Lucas* on the 30th of *May* 1498, and on the 31st of *July* fell in with an island which he called *La Trinidad*, situated near the mouth of the great river *Oronoque*. Here he landed to refresh his men, and received a visit from the cazique, whom he found hospitable and good-natured; that prince having, with one hand, taken a crimson velvet cap off the admiral's head, which he put upon his own, covered the admiral's, in return, with a crown of cotton, encircled with a plate of gold. Sailing from hence he discovered more land to the eastward, which he took for an island, and called it *Isla-Santa*, though it proved the continent, and part of the province of *Paria*. Thus the *Spaniards* date the first discovery of the continent from the 1st day of *August* 1498, whereas the *English* claim a prior date. *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, having obtained letters-patent from the seventh *Henry*, discovered *Newfoundland* in the month of *June* 1496, and continued his course along the coast of *America* as far as the gulph of *Florida*. If, therefore, any title to the possession be founded on priority of discovery, the *Spaniards* alledge, the right of *Great-Britain* to the main-land of *America* must be as indisputable, as that of *Spain* to the *West-Indies*.

Not to waste time on a controversy of little consequence, at a period when the sword must determine the several pretensions of the rival powers, it is sufficient to our purpose, that the continent of *America* was discovered about this time; that *Columbus* had some intercourse with the natives; that he found the country well cultivated, populous, and adorned with villages; that he eat several *European* fruits, as grapes, apples, figs, and oranges; tasted a liquor greatly resembling green wine, which he imagined was expressed from the grape, and perceived that the inhabitants were not only civil, but industrious and ingenious. In their complexion they resembled the islanders; their hair was long and flowing, their stature of the middle-size, well proportioned, and robust; and the male distinction of the feet tied up and covered, though the females went entirely naked. They were armed with bows, targets, and poisoned arrows, which they shot with great dexterity: they were not ignorant of the art of spinning and weaving cotton, some ingenious specimens of which they produced, and exchanged for bits of tin, upon which they placed an exorbitant value, calling it *Turey*, or heavenly, upon account of a certain pleasing subtle flavour which affected their acute olfactory nerves. Many were adorned with plate gold collars, which they alledged was the produce of the country, shewing the admiral, by signs, their method of

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of finding this metal. Having received undoubted proofs that he had now touched upon the continent, he carried off six of the natives, and returned to *Hispaniola*; discovering in his way a great variety of small islands, on each of which he bestowed names.

Voyage of WHILE *Columbus* was employed in reducing the Spanish
Alonso de mutineers in *Hispaniola* to obedience, and establishing the
Ojeda. infant colony upon the best footing, the merchants of *Seville*, excited to the enterprise by the presents of gold and pearls sent home by *Columbus*, solicited leave to attempt further discoveries, as private adventurers. They obtained a commission from the bishop, *John Roderiques de Fonseca*, charged by the court with the care of all affairs relative to the *Indies*, and equipped a squadron of four vessels, under the conduct of *Alonso de Ojeda*, assisted by *John de la Cosa*, a *Biscayan*, and *Americus Vesputius*, a *Florentine*, skilled in cosmography and navigation. On the 20th of May 1499, *Alonso* set sail from the coast of *Spain*, and after a voyage of twenty-seven days, fell in with the continent of *America*; but the particular place at which he first touched is not exactly ascertained, *Herrera* speaking only in general terms, that it was 200 leagues to the eastward of *Paria*, from whence he coasted 200 leagues more to *Cape Vela*. The account given by *Ojeda* and *Vesputius* of the inhabitants to the eastward, differs from what *Columbus* related of the natives of *Paria*. Their faces were broad, their complexions of a tawny red, and the activity both of men and women, in all martial exercises, altogether astonishing. They appeared to have no form of government, caziques, sovereigns, or leaders. In war, every man depended upon his own skill, strength, and courage: they animated each other; and when any affront was received, the injured party assembled his friends, laid his grievances before them, and demanded revenge. This was the occasion of all contentions among them; for they seemed to have only a very imperfect idea of property, and none of subordination. Their food was fish or flesh, served up in earthen porringers, or in half-calibanes; they were temperate in their diet, but had no stated hours for meals, that being determined solely by the degree of appetite and inclination. Their beds consisted of cotton hammocks, slung to the roofs of their houses; they were modest in their conversation with the sex, but extremely indelicate in all the evacuations, never retiring out of company upon their natural occasions. In matrimony, no stated rule, either as to consanguinity, or the number of wives, was observed; fancy determined every thing, and love seldom produced quarrels, because property

was

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was unknown, and continence on either side neither expected nor required. The women were extremely prolific, and made so little of the pangs of labour, that they bathed and washed immediately after delivery. Their houses were spacious, well built, of a conical form, and common to all, above an hundred persons living in the same habitation; notwithstanding which they frequently migrated south or north, east or west, just as inclination directed, or the heat of the climate required, leaving their houses, which had cost so much pains and labour. Indeed their effects were not burthensome, as their wealth consisting in feathers of different colours, beads made of fish bones, and a kind of green and white pebbles, with which they adorned their neck, lips, ears, and noses. Gold and pearls were despised by this simple people; commerce was unknown; the use of their wives and daughters was freely given to strangers, and the acceptance regarded as a mark of respect and friendship. The sick were carried in hammocks to the mountains, slung to a tree, and furnished with provision for a certain number of days; in which situation, if they chanced to eat and recover, they were received with great rejoicings by their friends and acquaintance. Sometimes they dipped female patients in cold water, placed them before a large fire, brought on a strong diaphoresis, and then covered them warm in bed, by which means they recovered. Phlebotomy was frequently practised in inflammatory disorders, the incision being made in the loins or calves of the legs; and emetics were used in disorders of the stomach, by holding a certain herb in their mouths, which excited vomiting. Human flesh was eat at festivals when they sacrificed their enemies; and this was the only instance in which they discovered a cruel, brutal, and barbarous disposition. As *Cteda* proceeded westward on his voyage, he observed the face of the country improve, and the inhabitants more acute and lively in their genius. Their towns now exhibited a pleasing prospect. One village, in particular, extremely resembled *Venice* in point of situation (E). It reared itself up out of the water, the houses being built on pillars, and connected by bridges, which the inhabitants drew up on the appearance of danger. Hence it is probable, that this people were molested by some neighbouring powerful nation, which forced them upon this contrivance. Steering along the coast of *Faria*, the *Spaniards*

(E) From this circumstance it took the name of *Venezuela*, which some alledge was given by *Columbus*, and others by *Americus Vesputius*.

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frequently landed, and met with the kindest treatment from the natives, who returned these visits, went on board, and were highly delighted with the sails, rigging, and structure of the shipping, bringing the sailors gold and pearls in exchange for glass beads and pieces of tin, iron, and copper. In word, after coasting a vast tract of continent, touching several islands, and procuring some valuable commodities, Jeda steered for *Hispaniola*, where he arrived on the 5th September, to the great detriment of the new colony, turbulent humour having given birth to a fresh mutiny against Columbus. This was the issue of a voyage from which *Americus Vespucius* claimed to himself the honour of discovering continent that hath ever since been called by his name, prejudice of the prior right of the great *Christopher Columbus*.

ALTHOUGH *Ojeda's* voyage was productive of no important discoveries, yet the pearls and gold for which he trafficked along the coasts of *Cumana* and *Maracapaná*, encouraged the inhabitants of *Seville* to solicit leave to make another expedition. The draught made by *Columbus* facilitated *Ojeda's* enterprize; and now the course to the *West-Indies* being perfectly understood, nothing more was wanting than to proceed farther to the northward or southward. *Peter Alonso Nino*, who had accompanied the *Genoa's* admiral when *Paria* was discovered, pushed a fresh attempt with all his interest, and actually obtained a commission from the court, provided he would not come to an anchor within fifty leagues of the former discoveries; but being unable to support the expences of the expedition, he had recourse to *Lewis Guerra*, who agreed to equip a vessel, on condition that his brother *Christopher Guerra* should be appointed commander. The terms being accepted, *Christophar* accordingly set sail early in the year 1500, touched contrary to his orders, on the coast of *Paria*, and having traded with the natives for pearls, to the amount of 150 marks, equivalent to, 1200 ounces, he returned to *Spain*, and was accused of defrauding the king of his fifth, and the owners of great part of the cargo.

*Guerra's
voyage.*

*Pinçon's
voyage.*

It was about the same time that *Vincent Yannez Pinçon*, who served under *Columbus* in the first voyage, fitted out four vessels at his own expence, set out in quest of discoveries, and was the first who had ventured to cross the equinoctial. *Pinçon* ventured, if we may credit the *Spanish* writers, as far as the latitude of ten south the line, discovered land on the 26th of February 1500, and soon after went on shore, and took possession of part of *Brasil*; though it will appear in the next paragraph, that *Herrera* himself acknowledges the *Portuguese* were the first discoverers of this country.

Not

NOT to mention the voyage performed by *James de Lasse*, The Portuguese pursued the same course with *Pinçon*, and was informed, we shall relate the particulars of one more expedition previous to the fourth voyage undertaken by *Columbus*. *Manuel*, king of *Portugal*, had equipped a squadron of thirteen sail, carrying 1200 sailors and soldiers, destined for the East-Indies, under the conduct of *Peter Alvarez Cabral*. His admiral quitting *Lisbon* on the 9th of *March* 1500, struck out to sea to avoid the coast of *Guinea*, and steered his course southward, that he might more easily turn the Cape of Good Hope, which projects a great way into the ocean. On the 24th of *April* he got sight of the continent of *South America*, which he judged to be a large island at some distance from the coast of *Africa*. Coasting along for some time, he ventured to send a boat on shore, and was astonished to observe the inhabitants entirely different from the *Africans* in features, hair, and complexion. It was found, however, impracticable to seize upon any of the *Indians*, who retired with great celerity to the mountains on the approach of the *Portuguese*; yet, as the admiral had discovered a good harbour, the admiral thought proper to come to an anchor, and called the bay *Puerto Seguro*. Next day he sent another boat ashore, and had the good fortune to lay hold on two of the natives, whom he clothed, and treated kindly, and then dismissed, to make a proper report to their countrymen. The stratagem produced the desired effect. No sooner had the *Indians* heard the relation of the prisoners, than they crowded to the shore, singing, dancing, leaping with joy, and sounding horns of different kinds, which induced *Cabral* to land, and take possession in the name of his *Portuguese* majesty. Hence we may perceive the absurdity and contradiction of *Alvares*'s account, who is desirous of ascribing this discovery to the *Spaniards*, by alleging, that *Pinçon* took possession of part of the country south of the river of *Amazons* as early as the month of *February* this year; and yet acknowledge in part, that the *Portuguese* were the first actual discoverers and possessors of *Brazil*. The truth is, *Pinçon* never produced any authentic vouchers of his having coasted further to the southward than the river of *Amazons*, from whence he returned, passing along *Terra Firma* and *Paria*, and then steering directly for *Hispaniola*. It is indeed a matter of trifling consequence to which of the kingdoms this discovery belongs; but it is of some importance to discover the blunders into which writers of the best reputation have been seduced by prejudice, and that natural

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partiality which stimulates them to violate truth for the sake of augmenting the glory of their country.

THESE several voyages were performed during the residence of *Columbus* in *Hispaniola*, where he experienced a thousand mortifications, on account of the mutinous spirit of his people, and the ingratitude of the court of *Spain*. He had transmitted a faithful account of the different insurrections in the new colonies, to the catholic king; which were answered by recriminations from his officers, who charged him with tyranny, cruelty, and avarice; with using the *Spaniards* as slaves, driving the *Indians* to despair, and secreting a part of the gold, pearls, and other valuable commodities which came to his hands. As *Columbus* had enemies in *Spain* as well as the *Indians*, these complaints reached the royal ear, and determined the king to recal him from his government; perhaps, more from motives of policy, than justice. The vast wealth which the admiral amassed was the topic of every conversation, and the court hoped, that, by superseding him, all these riches would flow into the treasury. Accordingly, *Franco Borsaglia* was appointed to go over to *Hispaniola*, in quality of examiner into the mutual complaints, the causes of the frequent mutinies and disturbances, was to judge of the conduct, not only of the private men and inferior officers, but of the admiral himself, and his brother, the lieutenant-governor. To enforce his authority, *Borsaglia* had the commission of governor general, with a number of blank warrants signed by their majesties, and a letter to *Columbus*, ordering him and all his people to obey. He no sooner set foot on the island, than he exerted the utmost power of his authority, demanded all the royal stores, arms, and provisions, seized upon the admiral's effects, ingratiated himself with the *Spaniards*, by the most liberal concessions in their favour, and an eagerness to receive complaints against *Columbus*; and at length put the admiral and his two brothers in irons, without hearing their defence; in which situation he sent them prisoners to *Spain*, under the care of *Alonso de Sulejo*; who treated *Columbus* with kindness, and offered to knock off his irons, which he refused, until it should be done by order of their majesties.

WHEN the ship arrived at *Cádiz*, and the king and queen were made acquainted with the indignity put on *Columbus*, to whose services they owed so many obligations, orders were immediately dispatched for his release, and a thousand ducats remitted to defray his expences to court, where he met with a favourable reception, especially from the queen, who had never withdrawn her patronage, though she had been persuaded

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suaded to consent to his removal, and to give some credit to the malicious aspersions of his enemies. He kneeled for some time before their majesties, without being able to utter a syllable; and when he was ordered to rise, he made a pathetic speech, recapitulating his services, enumerating the hardships which he had suffered, and charging *Bovadilla* with the most wanton abuse of his authority, and cruel oppression: upon which their majesties resolved to supersede him; and accordingly appointed *Nicholas de Obando*, knight of the order of *Alcantara*, a person of worth and integrity, to hold the government of *Hispaniola* for the space of two years; to revise all the decrees passed by his predecessor, and reverse such judgments as should either appear to be unjust to individuals, or injurious to the general interest of the island. A promise also was made to the admiral, that he should have a proper appointment for undertaking a fourth expedition, which he earnestly solicited, notwithstanding his age, infirm state of health, and the mortifications he had sustained in the long course of faithful and important services to the public. However, the execution of this promise was actually deferred, until the report of the new governor should arrive, when their majesties would be better able to judge of the degree of confidence which they ought to place in *Columbus*.

In the mean time, the daily reports of the immense wealth *Bastidas* of *America*, and the *West-Indies*, that were propagated, raised the ambition and avarice of other adventurers; especially of one *Bastidas*, a man conversant in business, well skilled in geography, of a bold spirit, great integrity, and considerable fortune. *Bastidas*, having obtained a licence, entered into engagements with one *La Oja*, who had served under *Columbus*, and acquired the reputation of the best mariner in *Spain*, equipped a ship, and set sail from the port of *Cadiz*, in the beginning of *January* 1501, steering the same direction held by *Columbus*, when he discovered the continent. On his arrival, after a prosperous voyage, on the *American* coast, he touched at all the good harbours, trafficked with the natives, whom he found extremely ready to enter upon the most intimate correspondence. When he reached *Venezuela*, he coasted westward, and passed in sight of that shore now called *Santa Marta*, as far as the bay of *Uraba*; keeping on his course, until he arrived at port *Del Retrete*, where afterwards was built the town of *Nouveau de Dios*. Thus *Bastidas* discovered about an hundred leagues of the continent, and more than any preceding adventurer: after which he sailed directly for *Hypocrita*, with a considerable cargo of pearls and gold.

Second
voyage by
Ojeda and
Americus
Vespu-
cius.

THE same motives which induced *Bastidas* to this under-
taking, stimulated *Alonso de Ojeda* to a second attempt to-
wards a more perfect discovery of the continent. He was
accompanied in this voyage by the same *Americus Vesputius*,
who claimed the honour of having discovered *America* in his
former expedition, and still persisted in arrogating to himself
the merit certainly due to *Columbus* (E). They kept the same
course held by *Bastidas*, coasted along the same shores, but
were less fortunate; as the voyage was neither productive
of wealth nor discoveries; though it furnished the artful
Vesputius with the means of gaining more credit to his pre-
tensions, by confounding the particulars of both his
voyages^b.

Fourth
voyage of
Colum-
b
bus.

AT last, after various delays, four ships were provided
for *Columbus*, to undertake his fourth expedition; and he
set sail from the coast of *Spain* on the 9th of May 1502,
arriving at *Hispaniola* on the 20th of June; where he pre-
dicted a storm that proved fatal to great part of the *Spanish*
fleet homeward-bound, and to the admiral's two greatest
enemies, *Boradilla* and *Roldan*, before mentioned. Quitting
this island on the 14th of July, he held his course along the
south side of *Jamaica*, until he made the small island of *Gua-*
naja; which he found well inhabited, as well as several
lesser islands in its neighbourhood. These stood in the en-
trance to the *Bay of Honduras*, at the distance of twelve
leagues from the cape of that name. Here he was visited by
a great number of the natives of the continent, in a canoe
of vast length, eight feet wide, and constructed with great
art, and more ingenuity than he had ever before discovered.
After mutual civilities, and the exchange of a few commo-
dities, the admiral dismissed the *Indians*, detaining only one

^b HERRERA, Dec. i. lib. iv. f. ii.

(E) It is obvious, that all
the *Spanish* writers express a
strong spirit of rancour against
Americus Vesputius; not because
he disputed the discovery with
Columbus, who was himself a
foreigner, but because he de-
serted *Spain*, and entered into
the service of the king of *Portu-*
gual, on whose account he
made two more voyages to the
New-World, as it was then

called. *Americus* had great ad-
dress, his voyages were the first
ever published on this subject,
and the plausibility of his narra-
tive strongly prejudiced man-
kind in his favour; notwith-
standing it appears from our re-
lation, and the dates of the se-
veral voyages, that he is with-
out dispute the discoverer
with *Columbus*.

elderly

elderly man, to give him an account of the continent, and serve as an interpreter with the natives. Upon the information given by the old Indian, he steered eastward, trading as he went along, and making his observations on the people and country. All the Indians upon this coast were civil and pacific; they furnished the Spaniards with abundance of provisions, and exchanged gold, and other commodities, with great eagerness, for the glittering baubles offered by the admiral. Some went entirely naked, others covered the *Pudenda*, and a few wore short cotton jackets without sleeves, manufactured in a manner that evinced they understood the use of the loom. The figures of different animals were impressed on their bodies by the actual cautery; and persons of the greatest distinction among them wore pieces of cotton cloth, of various colours, wrapped round the head. On festivals, and extraordinary occasions, some painted their faces black, others red, but the greater number streaked, or chequered, with different tints, which they regarded as the standard of elegance and beauty. Columbus called this coast *Oreja*, because many of the natives had ears of an extraordinary length, pierced with holes above an inch wide. Not to dwell upon minute circumstances, a great resemblance was found among the inhabitants of this whole coast, as he advanced; though sometimes they differed in the manner of dressing their hair, in particular ornaments, and certain customs, which it would scarce be worth while to describe and distinguish. We shall only take notice in general, that the more he advanced eastward, the more rich were their ornaments; and as he approached *Porto-Bello*, the inhabitants wore necklaces, to which were suspended eagles of pure gold, of considerable weight, which they bartered without hesitation for glasses, beads, and hawk's-bells (F). By the 17th of September he came to the little island *Quiribiri*, opposite to the coast of *Arcata*. On this side of the continent he landed, and found the people very little different from those we have described, only more warlike, being armed with bows, arrows, and swords, made of hard wood. From

(F) Their method of burying the dead was different from what had hitherto been observed. In their houses they had tombs, in which were laid the dead bodies, dried, preserved, and wrapt in cotton cloth, over which were laid boards covered

with the figures of beasts, and the image of the deceased. Many of these tombs were adorned with pieces of gold, and the most valuable effects of the country. *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. iv. f. iv.

thence he proceeded to the bay of *Caravaro*, where the inhabitants flocked about the ships, offering large plates and eagles of gold, that hung by their necks, in exchange for European commodities. One of these plates, weighing ten ducats, was purchased at the small price of three hawk's-bells. Here the *Spaniards* procured great quantities of the precious metal, and were given to understand, they might fill their ships with it by venturing two days land-journey. Having finished all his commercial business, *Columbus* proceeded to *Aburena*; and upon his approaching the shore, the *Indians* presented themselves in a hostile manner; but giving them to understand by signs, that his intention was friendly, they brought him abundance of gold in plates and eagles, some of which weighed twenty-two ounces. From thence he proceeded to *Catiba*, where he purchased seven ounces of gold-plates, for three dozen hawk's-bells; sailing along the coast, in 56 leagues, to the town called *Cabiga*, and from thence to a fine harbour, to which he gave the name of *Porto-Bello*, on account of its beauty and convenience. This he quitted on the 9th of *November*, and discovered to the eastward several small islands, to which he gave the name of *Bastimentus*, because they supplied him plentifully with provisions. Strong north-east winds obstructing his course, he steered, on the 5th of *December*, to the westward, upon information that there were gold mines in the province of *Vesagua*; in his voyage to which he encountered such tempestuous weather, and so many disappointments, that he called this part of the country *La Costa de los contrastes*, or *The Coast of Opposition*. On the 6th of *January* he entered the river *Yebra*, which the admiral called *Belen*, or *Bethlehem*; and discovered another river called *Vesagua*, at an inconsiderable distance. His boats went up the former to a town, where the *Spaniards* were informed, that *Vesagua* abounded with gold mines. A trade was carried on with the natives, and great quantity of this metal purchased for toys of no value. The admiral was visited by one of the *caziques*, who brought him some gold, and conducted the *Spaniards* to the mines of *Urira*, where they gathered several pieces of almost pure gold round the roots of trees, without digging. From *Urira* the admiral's brother advanced with thirty men up the country to *Zabraba*, an *Indian* town, surrounded with fields, six leagues in extent, sown with *Indian* wheat. Thence he proceeded to *Catiba*, where he was hospitably entertained by the natives, who supplied him with several plates of gold, some weighing ten crowns, in exchange for those baubles, upon which they put so high a value.

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value. It was the abundance of the precious metal which this country afforded, that suggested to *Columbus* the idea of settling a colony on the river *Beiblehem*, and of leaving his brother, with some other *Spaniards*, in the country, until he could return with more numerous forces. Accordingly *Bartholomew*, with eighty men, consented to remain, and immediately set about building a small fort and town in the most commodious situation, which was the first colony ever established on the continent. The utility of this project was manifest; but it met with such obstruction in the execution, that after great progress had been made, *Columbus* was forced to receive the colonists on board, to save them from the vengeance of the cazique *Quibia*, with whom they had some difference. Being thus disappointed in his principal object, that of founding a colony upon the continent, and being greatly reduced in ship-provision, he determined to make the best of his way to *Hispaniola*. Coasting eastward towards *Porto-Bello*, he touched upon the province situated opposite to three islands, called *Las Barbas*, then at *Tortuga*, and the *Caymanes*, and taking his course directly for *Cuba*, landed upon that island, and proceeded for *Jamaica*; which particulars we mention, to evince that *Columbus*, in his different voyages, was the actual discoverer of all the great islands of the *Antilles*, and indeed of almost every island in the *West-Indies*. He found *Jamaica* extremely populous, abounding with animal and vegetable provision, and the inhabitants not only very obliging, but extremely desirous of trafficking. During his residence here, he combated difficulties which would have thrown in despair any other person less firm in adversity than *Columbus*. After spending twenty years in the service of the crown of *Spain*, and other *European* powers, and making discoveries which will eternize his memory, he was now reduced to the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of his declining life among savages. His ships were stranded on the coast of *Jamaica*; the hope of procuring relief from *Hispaniola* was extremely precarious, upon account of the distance, the roughness of the sea, and the extreme tenderness of the *Indian* canoes, which were the only vehicles or means to transmit the account of his situation to *Obando*, governor of the new colony; besides, great part of his crew deserted, and not only threatened his life, but raised disturbances among the natives, which exposed him to perpetual danger, over all which he triumphed by his prudence, perseverance, and valour, arriving first at *Hispaniola*; and then in *Spain*, where he found his royal patroness was dead, and his services coldly received by the court.

20th of
May,
1506.

court. *Columbus*, chagrined and disgusted, retired to *Valladolid*, breathed his last, and received those honours after death which were denied while he was living.

LECT.

(C) As the reader hath already seen an abstract of the life of this celebrated discoverer in our eleventh volume, we have here touched only upon those circumstances of his voyages which are absolutely necessary to our present subject. We have seen the progressive discoveries of the islands and continent of *America* during the life time of *Columbus*; and it may not be improper to give a short account of the state of the settlement in *Hispaniola* at this period, and of those difficulties which the admiral encountered while he resided in *Jamaica*. When the admiral was sent back in irons, after his third voyage, he presented so spirited a charge against *Bowadilla*, the new governor, who had not only superseded him in his authority, loaded him with chains, and robbed him of all his effects, but pardoned, promoted, and countenanced all the factious who had occasioned so many disturbances in *Hispaniola*, that their majesties resolved to recall him, assigning the government to *Olando*. This gentleman acted with more integrity; he soon perceived that *Columbus* had been injuriously treated, and the colony greatly prejudiced by the arbitrary proceedings of *Bowadilla*, whom he now sent on board the fleet bound for *Spain*, there to answer for his conduct. All his endeavours, however, could not curb the mutinous spirit and licentious humour which had

long been indulged in the colonists. They not only disobeyed their governor, and threw off all restraint, but massacred, enslaved, and plundered the natives with the utmost barbarity. *Amacaona*, a lady of great authority, was cruelly murdered; several of the caziques were burnt in one of the chief Indian towns, as they were preparing an entertainment for the Spaniards; *Calubazmo*, the principal cazique in the island, was taken prisoner, and hanged, by order of the governor; and other violences, and acts of the most ruinous consequences, were daily committed, which obliged the natives to desert the island; fly to their canoes, and take shelter in the island of *Guanabo*, at the distance of eight leagues from *Hispaniola*.

Such was the state of affairs while *Columbus* was detained in *Jamaica*, for want of vessels to transport his people and effects to the new colony. Here the admiral struggled with such manifold difficulties, as must have weighed down a soul less elevated and inured to hardship and adversity. It was no easy matter to find persons, daring and intrepid enough, to undertake a voyage to *Hispaniola* in canoes; however, *Columbus* had the good fortune to prevail on *Mendez de Scurra*, and *Ratholomew Fiepo*, to risk their lives for the recovery of liberty. They set out, attended by six Spaniards and ten Indians to row, and arrived in three days at *Hispaniola* after

SECT. II.

Containing a further Account of the Discoveries made on the Continent, and of the Settlements in Castella del Oro and the Isthmus of Darien, which led the Way to the Discovery and Conquest of Mexico and Peru.

BESIDES the voyage performed by *Sebastian Cabot* to the northward, other mariners had made some discoveries under the same parallels; particularly *Gaspar de Cortereal*, a Portuguese, and *Jacques Cartier*, a Frenchman, in the lifetime

after sustaining incredible fatigue. They delivered their dispatches, and represented the admiral's situation to *Obando*; who promised them assistance, but was extremely dilatory in the execution. The Spaniards, under *Columbus*, grew impatient of delay, discontented and mutinous. *Franco de Perras*, one of his chief officers, put himself at the head of the mutineers, threw off all obedience to the admiral, seized upon all the canoes, with intention of transporting themselves to *Hispaniola*, and leaving him behind; but were frustrated in their design through cowardice, ignorance, and tempestuous weather. A few remained faithful to *Columbus*; but the Indians perceiving the Spaniards divided among themselves, thought to profit by this happy opportunity, of ridiculing themselves of the strangers, whom they greatly dreaded. They refused to supply him with provision in exchange for his commodities; but *Columbus*

soon gained their veneration and esteem by a stratagem. He predicted an eclipse of the moon, which he told the Indians, denoted the anger of the gods at their inhospitality; which raised such terrible apprehensions in them of the punishment which should follow, that they returned loaded with presents to the admiral, beseeching him to pardon them, and deprecate the wrath of heaven. He pretended to comply with their request; and as a proof of his intercession, he bade the Indians observe how the moon would gradually return to her former colour, an appearance which inspired them with great veneration for the God of the Christians, and determined them to side with the admiral against the mutineers. They supplied him plentifully with every necessary which the island afforded, and were instrumental in the victory gained over the mutineers, their reduction, and the imprisonment of *Perras*, taken

time of Columbus. We shall, however, defer the recital of these, until we come to describe the northern provinces of

taken in the field of battle by the admiral's brother. It was soon after that Columbus set out for Hispaniola, on the return of Mendez, with a ship and caravel, which he had purchased at St. Domingo, without any assistance from the governor.

To prevent interrupting the ensuing narrative, it may be proper to mention, that several laws were now issued for the spiritual and temporal government of Hispaniola, the only colony yet established in the West Indies. The profits arising from the gold and other commodities of the island, proved so considerable, that the Spanish ministry were sensible the colony could not be too much indulged and cherished, though the proper means were often mistaken. The product in gold only amounted at this time to 460,000 pesos, which was sufficient to excite hopes of greater profits, when the method of purifying and refining was better understood, and the colony better regulated. Accordingly, a variety of civil ordonnances passed, an India house was established at Seville, and a bull obtained from the pontiff, for erecting an archbishoprick, bishoprick, deanries, and other spiritual dignities, in Hispaniola, and whatever other parts of the Indies the Spaniards should think fit to colonize. For the support of the clergy, all the tithes and first fruits were established, excepting those of gold, silver, copper, precious stones, and pearls, each of which were the

product of Hispaniola, or the adjacent islands. A school was also established for the instruction of the natives, and the clergy desired to exert their utmost endeavours in propagating christianity. Several persons, skilled in navigation, were employed in drawing charts of the islands and continent hitherto known, and for laying down schemes for further discoveries, especially to the southward. Great numbers of people were brought from the Lucayos to Hispaniola, to supply the room of those who had deserted the island, upon account of the severity of the Spanish government: and don James, son of Columbus, solicited the king to be restored to all his rights and privileges, in consequence of the grants made to that admiral, or to sue for them by a legal process. This was granted; don James entered his plea, claimed to be admiral of the Indies, with the same privileges as the admiral of Castile enjoyed within his jurisdiction; to enjoy the tenths of all the gold, silver, pearls, and other valuable productions of that country, and an eighth of all the profits arising to the crown, together with a variety of other immunities, specified in the grant to his father. This affair was debated, and a verdict given for don James and his heirs, with this restriction, that all business should be transacted in the king's name. Vid. Herrera, D. i. l. vii. f. vii. & l. viii. c. ii. iii. & iv.

America,

America, to prevent interrupting the narrative of the *Spanish* discoveries, conquest, and settlements, fraught with the most important and interesting events, which the history of this new world affords. The first colony established after the death of *Columbus*, was in the island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, called *Borriquen* by the *Indians*, distant about fourteen leagues from *Hispaniola*. *Ponce de Leon* had learned from the *Indians*, that it abounded in gold; he desired leave from *Obando* to visit the island, obtained his request, was hospitably received by the inhabitants, and shown two mines extremely rich in the precious metal. *Obando* being superseded in the government of *Hispaniola*, and don *James Columbus* put in possession of the grants made to his father, the colonization of *Puerto Rico* was deferred, until the return of the former to *Spain*; at which time, *Ponce de Leon* was appointed governor of this island, independent of the new admiral's authority, with full powers to build towns and plant colonies, in the manner he should think most convenient and advantageous to his own and the general interest. Accompanied by two hundred *Spaniards*, and a great number of *Indians*, *Ponce de Leon* set sail for his government; built a town called *Caparra*, and afterwards *Soto Mayor*, and distributed all the natives in tribes among the *Spaniards*, to dig and search for gold, plant cotton, and cultivate the earth. This subjection proved irksome to the *Indians*, and laid the foundation of a general revolt; which, after much bloodshed, was suppressed by the valour of *Leon* and the *Spaniards*, and the fidelity of a number of large dogs, with which they were attended. Of these dogs, several, almost incredible, stories are related. *Herrera* affirms, that they were more formidable to the *Indians* than the bravest *Spaniard*; and of one particular dog he asserts, that he could distinguish whether an *Indian* was well or ill disposed towards his master, and that in regard to his signal services, he had a certain proportion of all the plunder which his master received.

ABOUT the close of the year 1507, *Alonso de Ojeda*, and *Voyages of James de Nicuesa*, entered upon articles with the court, to *Ojeda* and plant and colonize a part of the continent of *America*. To *Nicuesa* the former was assigned all the territories extending from *Cape de la Vela*, to the middle of the *Bay of Uraba*, beyond *Carthagena*; and to the latter, from the middle of the same inlet to *Cape Gracias a Dios*. The first of these grants being made by the name of *New Andalusia*; the other, by that of *Castella del Oro*; though this name be now transferred to the interior parts of *Terra Firma*, and the large province called *New Granada*. The island of *Jamaica* was also annexed to these governments, which

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which don James could not but regard as a violation of his right; an incroachment on the grants made to Columbus, and an aggravation of the affront he already sustained in rendering *Puerto Rico* independent of his jurisdiction. Young Columbus had formed powerful connexions by marrying a niece of the duke d'Alva: he had obtained a verdict in the regular course of law, but the king delayed the execution; and it was entirely through the interest of the Alva family, that he was now appointed admiral and governor, with the same limited powers as the two last governors; an employment, however, which he accepted, even under these unjust restrictions. He was empowered by the king, to furnish all possible assistance to the intended establishment of colonies on the continent, and to encourage every plausible scheme that should be projected, for the colonization either of the main-land or the islands. The establishment of a colony on the little island of *Cubaqua*, called *The island of pearls*, was especially recommended, as the ministry entertained the most sanguine hopes of a profitable fishery in pearls upon this coast, as soon as proper restrictions were laid, and the frauds, now committed by the *Indians*, prevented: nor were the hopes of the court disappointed, for the king's fifth of this fishery soon exceeded fifteen thousand ducats yearly.

DON James no sooner reached his new government, than, forgetting the king's instructions, he consulted only the dictates of resentment, and gave all possible obstruction to the expeditions preparing by *Ojeda* and *Nicuesa*; who likewise differed about the limits of their governments and several jurisdictions. This dispute was accommodated, all the difficulties thrown in the way by young Columbus were removed, and the two adventurers set sail from *Hispaniola* for the continent; *Francis Pizarro*, afterwards so celebrated, serving under *Ojeda*. When *Ojeda* arrived at *Carthagena*, the natives were in arms, resolving to dispute his landing; because they had been insulted by *Christopher Guerra*, and some other *Spaniards*, who had lately touched upon their coasts, under pretence of trafficking. Every method was practised to soothe their resentment, and to convince them, that the intention of the *Spaniards* was for their mutual advantage; but all endeavours proving fruitless, the governor determined to try the effects of arms, fell upon the *Indians*, and defeated them with considerable slaughter, and booty in gold and prisoners. This advantage, had almost proved fatal to the *Spaniards*; they marched up to a little town four leagues from the sea, and finding the *Indians* had retreated to the mountains, they dispersed themselves carelessly in small

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small parties, in quest of gold and plunder; in which situation they were attacked by the enemy, who wounded and killed them with vast flights of poisoned arrows. The inhabitants of *Yarbaco* fell upon *Ojeda* and the small party with him; he maintained the fight for a long time against a multitude of *Indians*, kneeling upon the ground, covering himself with his target, and making dreadful havock with his sword; but at length perceiving that almost all his men were killed, he made a furious effort, passed through the thickest of the enemy, and directed his course to the sea, in hopes of reaching the shipping. Seventy *Spaniards* were slain upon this occasion, and among the rest *John de la Cosa*, who supported the expence of the expedition, fitted out the fleet, and now died fighting valiantly, after his body had been covered with arrows, and swollen to a monstrous size with the malignity of the poison. The long stay made by this party created uneasiness on board the ships, and several boats were sent out to gain intelligence, and search along the coast, where they found *Ojeda* hiding himself in a tree, faint, exhausted, and emaciated, with fatigue and hunger.

In this situation were the *Spanish* affairs when *Nicuesa* arrived, and not only forgave the injuries he had received from *Ojeda*, upon the recital of his misfortunes, but generously offered him all the assistance in his power, put himself under his direction, until he had revenged the death of his companions, and embraced him with great cordiality, saying, that it would be unmanly to add to the afflictions of the unfortunate, and unworthy of a good citizen, to gratify private resentment at the expence of the public service. The two governors accordingly put themselves at the head of a party of four hundred men, marched by night to *Yarbaco*, attacked the *Indians* unprepared, set fire to the town, burnt and massacred the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; and after having cruelly satiated their revenge, returned to their ships, with an immense booty in gold; the share of *Nicuesa's* party alone amounting to seven thousand castellanos.

✓ AFTER this transaction the two commanders separated, *St. Sebastian* steering for *Uruba* and the river of *Darien*, which he had been informed by the *Indians* produced great quantities in the bay of the precious metal. Not being able to find the river, of *Uruba*, he built a fort, which he called *St. Sebastian*, upon a hilly ground, to defend his people against the attacks of the natives; several houses were erected in the neighbourhood, and thus was laid the foundation of the second town erected by the *Spaniards* on the continent, *Columbus* having before endeavoured

endeavoured to establish a colony in *Veragua*. Observing that the *Indians* were warlike, and little disposed to admit foreigners among them, he dispatched a vessel to *Hispaniola*, with the prisoners and gold he had taken, to procure in exchange a reinforcement of men, arms, and provisions. This supply was absolutely necessary; but *Ojeda* exposed himself to great dangers by parting with such a number of them as were necessary to work the vessel, and secure the prisoners. The *Indians* of this district were the most sagacious and alert at their weapons of any they had seen hitherto. They shot their poisoned arrows with such force as pierced the thickest armour, unless it was well lined with cotton; besides they used their wooden swords with great address, hit so exactly, and threw their darts with such violence as really rendered them very formidable enemies. They had no temples for public worship; but we are told they prayed to the devil; because to him they ascribed the power of doing mischief. The credulous *Spaniards* even alledged, that he frequently appeared to them in different hideous forms; a relation which they probably believed upon the credit of the *Indians*. From this being they pretended to receive information, that the dead should be transported into another country; for which reason the moment a corpse was deposited in the grave, large store of provision was likewise buried to supply the dead in the voyage; and if the deceased happened to be a male, his arms and military weapons were laid by him for his defence. Thus we see that the *Indians* in general entertained a crude wild idea of immortality and a future state. The *Indians* of *Uraba*, besides their skill in war, had also made the greatest progress in the acts of civil life of any savage nation which the *Spaniards* had as yet beheld. Their houses were neat, and commodiously divided into different apartments; their beds were cotton hammocks slung to the roof; and though they went naked upon account of the heat of the climate, they were no strangers to weaving and spinning, as appeared by several ingenious specimens of piece goods. The small organs of generation were contained in cases of pure gold, or of ivory, while the women covered those parts which modesty requires should be concealed, with fine cotton cloths, wrapped round the loins, and flowing down to the feet. They also wore bracelets, beads, and other ornaments round their arms and necks; and all the women valued themselves upon their beauty, cleanliness, and the smoothness of their hair. The poison used upon their arrows was an animal and vegetable mixture formed into a paste, of different degrees of malignity,

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nity, according to the number of ingredients used; so that the *Indians* alledged they could kill with their poison within any limited time, two, three, five to fourteen days. Their antidotes were the actual cautery, sea-water, and the excrements of the wounded person, applied fresh to the sore; to which they ascribed extraordinary virtues; and it appears that *Alonso de Ojeda* cured himself by fire, and by the use of actual cautery, in the most resolute manner, plates of ignited iron being applied not on'y to the wound, but to all the adjacent parts. It is likewise reported that many of the *Spaniards* wounded by these poisoned arrows grew suddenly delirious, and died raving, without any feverish symptoms.

THE new colony had not been long established before *Ojeda* and his people were reduced to great extremities. At first they made some fortunate incursions into the neighbouring territories; but the *Indians* daily increasing in numbers, and in courage, opposed them at length within the fort, where they almost perished with famine. Happily for them a vessel arrived from *Hispaniola*, with seventy men, who had escaped the rage of their creditors, and determined to settle on the continent. *Ojeda* welcomed them as his guardian angels, brought them provisions, and having strengthened the colony, he resolved to sail for further supplies to *Martinico*, promising to return in fifty days, and allowing his people, in case he failed, to dispose of themselves as they should think proper. This voyage proved exceedingly unfortunate. *Ojeda*, after suffering the utmost distress for want of provisions, was thrown upon the coast of *Cuba*, where he was forced to fight his way through the natives to gain the east side of the island, that he might be nearer *Hispaniola*. His men dropt every day through fatigue and hunger; they traversed vast morasses and forests, living upon such herbs and roots as they met with; half his companions perished; and *Ojeda*, with a few more, arrived at an *Indian* town called *Cuyba*, where they fell down through faintness, as if they had been dead, which so much excited the humanity of the *Indians*, that they treated them with the utmost civility and kindness, bringing them abundance of the best provision the country afforded, and furnishing them with a canoe and rowers to send intelligence by one of their number, to the *Spaniards* in *Jamaica*, in which island a colony had been settled under the conduct of *John de Esquivel*. Young *Columbus* made this establishment to preserve his right to the island against the encroachments of *Ojeda* and *Niqueffa*, who had the jurisdiction of *Jamaica* included in their late grant from the crown; and the dispute had come

to such a height before these adventurers began their last expedition, that *Ojeda* threatened to put *Esquivel* to death; he presumed settling in the island; notwithstanding which the generous *Esquivel* was no sooner made acquainted with his misfortunes, than he exerted himself for his safety, and by the humanity of his conduct secured the perpetual friendship of *Ojeda*. He sent a vessel to *Cuba*, brought him, and his companions safe to *Jamaica*, and transported them to *Hispaniola*, where *Ojeda* died before the means of relieving the colony of *Uraba* were put in execution.

Nicuesa's Such were the distresses of *Ojeda* and his little colony; *expedition.* nor were those of *Nicuesa* inferior. When the two commanders parted company, *James Nicuesa*, in a caravel, attended by a brigantine, under the conduct of *Lopez Ojeda*, held his course along the shore, in quest of *Veragua*, ordering the larger ships to keep out to sea for the greater security. At this opportunity the treacherous *Olano* seized of gratifying his ambition, and gaining the supreme command. Instead of keeping close in company with the caravel, he lost sight entirely, and then holding out to sea for the other ships, gave them to understand that *Nicuesa* was shipwrecked, and that the chief direction of the expedition belonged now to himself, as lieutenant. As no suspicion was entertained of the truth of this relation, the sailors and officers willingly yielded obedience, and by *Olano's* order steered for the river *Bethlehem*, where he proposed settling a colony, though the spot had formerly been unfortunate to a similar attempt. The ships being left upon the coast, the lieutenant with the whole crew entered the river in boats, *Olano* contriving this stratagem, as was imagined, to secure the river to himself, and prevent meeting again with *Nicuesa*. His intention was to settle in the country, but he found it might be difficult to prevail upon his people, while the ships remained; they were therefore left in a careless manner, in expectation of their perishing in some hard gale, flood, or other accident. Scarce had the boats advanced a few leagues in the river, when one was overturned, and fourteen men were drowned, which made the sailors so clamorous in the other boats, that *Olano* was compelled to return to the ships, but without abandoning his design. He had left some men up the river, promising to give them speedy supply of necessities, and with the brigantines he entered the river *Veragua*, where he ordered strict search to be made for gold; but the men concealing the gold, lest their officer should think of settling here, obliged him to return to *Bethlehem*, where he found the little colony greatly reduced in number, ready to perish

perish with hunger, pestered with gnats and mosquitoes, and in the most sickly condition from the moist heat of the atmosphere, and the unwholesomeness of the climate. It was observed that the sick always yielded their last breath at the tide of ebb, and that the bodies of those who were buried in the sand, were as perfectly consumed in the space of eight days, as if they had been fifty years deposited in any *European* soil; from whence the *Spaniards* drew dreadful prognostics. As the ship provision was entirely exhausted, the arrival of *Nicuesa* furnished no relief to the colony, unless consolation was drawn from seeing the number of the wretches multiplied. We may judge of the distress of the whole from a single instance. A mare happened to foal soon after *Olano's* arrival; and all the *Spaniards* flew like hungry wolves, and devoured the young animal, and even the placenta, which they regarded as the highest luxury; having, for several weeks tasted nothing besides roots and other vegetables.

NOR was the situation of *Nicuesa* less deplorable. He sailed up the river with the caravel, and was shipwrecked; not a morsel of the provision being saved. As this accident happened in the night, many of the crew were thrown ashore barefooted and naked, in which condition they travelled over bogs, marshes, mountains, rocks, and through forests, feeding upon vegetables, without knowing upon which side *Veragua* lay, for which they were searching. They likewise found they were beset by *Indians*, *Nicuesa's* favourite servant being killed by an arrow. At last, in course of their wandering, they were shut up by the floods in a desert island; which afforded nothing besides a few roots and shell-fish.

There they spent near three months in the most piteous situation; their repeated attempts to cross upon floats to the opposite shore, being all frustrated. Many were reduced to such a state of debility, that they crawled about upon their hands and feet, in quest of those unwholesome vegetables with which they were forced to gratify the cravings of appetite. Happily however for those who survived their hardships, they owed their preservation to the treachery of four sailors, to whom they ascribed all their calamities. They had run away with the boat, when the caravel was lost, and by mere accident lighted upon the place where *Olano*, with his unfortunate associates, had established a kind of colony. Whether adversity had softened *Olano's* heart, or that he was afraid of the rebelliousness of the colony, if he refused sending relief to *Nicuesa*, who was known to be living, by the relation of the sailors, certain it is that he sent

a brigantine for him, with palm-oil, and such other provisions as his wretched situation warranted, which appeared as that commander, and the remains of his crew were reduced to the last extremity. Their joy on sight of the vessel was inexpressible; but *Nicuesa* prudently restrained it, and moderated their appetite for devouring the packages, which might have proved fatal in their faint exhausted condition. When *Nicuesa* joined the wretched settlement at *Bethlehem*, he demonstrated that his spirit was not broke with adversity, and that he now owed the preservation of his life to the seasonable assistance furnished by his lieutenant *Ojeda*; yet justice and discipline required he should be punished for his rash ambition, which not only destroyed the intention of the expedition, but proved fatal to the lives of many, and hazarded the safety of all the adventurers. Without form of trial, he ordered him to be loaded with irons; nor would he hear of his release, until he was forced to yield to the intercession of the whole colony.

NICUESSA perceiving that no hope remained of rendering the colony useful in the spot which *Ojeda* had chosen, he re-embarked, with design to return to *Hispaniola*; but want of provision obliged him to put ashore a few leagues above *Porto Bello*, where he resolved to make a settlement, saying, Let us stay here *en nombre de Dios*, in the name of God. Immediately he fell to work in erecting a fort, which took the name of *Nombre de Dios*, to protect them against the natives, in which he failed, his people being in a short time reduced from 700 to 100 men, through fatigue, famine, and the unwholesomeness of the climate.

1510. It will be now necessary we should return to the settlement at *Uraba*, which *Ojeda* left behind, in order that we may clearly understand the fate of the colony at *Nombre de Dios*.—When the fifty days, which *Ojeda* had fixed for his return, were expired, all hopes of relief vanished, and the wretched *Spaniards* gave themselves up to despair. Two small vessels only remained, and these were insufficient to transport their whole number, amounting to sixty men, to any other country, though they were reduced to the most deplorable situation that imagination can figure. After mature deliberation, it was resolved in a general council not to separate, but patiently to wait the decrees of heaven, or until their number should be so much diminished, by sickness, want, and the arrows of the *Indians*, that the vessels could transport all the survivors; a period which was not very remote. The *Spaniards* died so fast, that only hands enough remained to work the two vessels. Accordingly they

they embarked, laying all the stock of provision they could, which consisted of four mares they killed and salted, and some palmetos. Francis Pizarro, afterwards so celebrated, who was appointed his substitute by Ojeda, commanded the largest, and had the good fortune to join the *Batchelor Enciso*, just arrived in the bay of *Cartagena*, with a ship and brigantine, an hundred and fifty men, good store of live stock, and other provision, destined for the relief of Ojeda's colony at *Uraba*, in consequence of a contract with that gentleman, a little before his death. The other vessel was commanded by *Valenzuela*, and perished at sea. Pizarro used his utmost endeavours to prevail on *Enciso* to steer for *Viragua*, and join *Nicuesa*; but the *Batchelor* was obstinate in executing his engagements literally; however, as he entered the bay, his ship foundered, and himself with the crew were saved with great difficulty by the brigantines, the provisions on board being entirely lost. *Enciso* nevertheless insisted upon landing; but he was so roughly handled by the *Indians*, and the country offered so little encouragement, that he was persuaded by *Nunez de Balboa* to sail for the river *Darien*, which he remembered since the voyage he performed with *Bastidas*. *Balboa* described a pleasant town upon the banks of this river, abounding with provision, which proved a strong inducement to the half-starved *Spaniards*; his advice was followed; and upon their arrival every thing corresponded with his account; it however required the force of arms to gain possession of this land of promise, the *cazique*, with five hundred men, being in readiness to oppose the *Spaniards*. A battle accordingly ensued; the *Indians* were routed, and the town was the reward of the conquerors, who, besides a quantity of provision, and several pieces of manufactured cotton, got a booty of ten thousand pesos of fine gold plates. *Balboa* gained so much reputation by the success of this enterprize, that his ambition was fired, and he aspired at the government of the colony, which all agreed should be established on the river *Darien*, by the name of *Santa Maria el Antigua de Darien*. To effect his purpose, he changed his friendships, and concerted a scheme for deposing *Enciso*, under colour, that as they were not within the limits of Ojeda's government, they owed no obedience to his representative. Several circumstances contributed to facilitate his scheme, which was soon put in execution. *Enciso* was deposed, and the chief direction of affairs entrusted to *Nunez Balboa*. In this situation the colony might have flourished, had not fresh subjects of dispute arose, and such a variety of separate opinions and interests,

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as threatened anarchy and destruction. At length it was agreed, that *Nicuesa* should be sent for to govern the colony; a vessel was dispatched to transport him, with all his people, to *Darien*; they found him naked, emaciated, exhausted, and feeble, feeding like a savage upon roots and herbs. The shocking spectacle drew tears from the beholders; but *Nicuesa* was so much elated with his change of circumstances, that he soon forfeited the good opinion of the colony at *Darien*, and was deposed before he had so far felt the reins of authority, and sent to sea in a rotten canoe, with fifteen men, all of whom perished with the vessel. Though some writers alledge, that *Nicuesa* reached *Cuba*, and was massacred, with all his people, by the *Indians*. The resolution of the colony, and *Balboa*'s arduous conduct, secured him in the administration, by which he was enabled to give to himself upon the *Batchelor Enciso*, for the share he had in promoting the late dissension. He therefore charged him with arrogating to himself an illegal authority, and committing treason, by exerting a power under virtue of *Ojeda*'s commission, which could only be bestowed by the king. Upon this pretext he secured his person, and confiscated his effects; but at length released the *Batchelor*, on condition that he should take the first passage that offered for *Spain* or *Hispaniola*. Further to secure himself in the government, guard against the accusations of *Enciso*, and solicit aids and supplies for the rising colony, he dispatched two of his most intimate friends to *Spain* and *Hispaniola*, sending the *Batchelor* under their custody, and a process against him, couched in the most artful and bitter terms.

THE new colony at *Darien* began now to flourish extremely, and spread the terror of their arms among the *Indian* nations, with some of which they contracted alliances, to which the accidental discovery of two *Spaniards*, who had deserted from *Nicuesa*, on his first arrival in *Veragua*, and had lived with the *Indians*, and acquired their language, with a knowledge of the country, greatly contributed. They gave the first account of the extraordinary wealth of this part of *America*, especially to the southward; which was afterwards confirmed by a young prince, who offered to accompany *Balboa* to a country, where the precious metal was in as great abundance as the *Spaniards* alledged, even in *Europe*; but he said it would be necessary to be attended with a thousand soldiers; as he should be opposed by mighty monarchs. *Balboa* had contracted a particular intimacy with a neighbouring cazique, named *Careta*, whom he had first taken prisoner, and then released, on the promise of his friend-

friendship, and that he should supply the colony with provisions; an engagement which the *Indian* punctually executed. *Careta* was then at war with another *cazique*, whose name was *Ponca*; and this prince, learning that the *Spaniards* took part with his enemy, fled to the mountains, leaving his country to be wasted, and his treasures pillaged by the allies. By this means the *Spanish* influence became daily more considerable; princes solicited their friendship, and, among others, the *cazique Cissag*, lord of the adjacent country, who advanced with his eleven sons, and grandees, to invite *Valboa* to his city, where he lodged his troops, supplied them with every necessity, and compelled them to accept the best services of the women of the country; the greatest mark of confidence that can be shewn by an *Indian*, and an indissoluble bond of friendship. The *Spaniards* were struck with the magnificence of *Cemagre's* palace far beyond any thing they had ever seen in *America*: It was 150 paces in length, 80 in breadth, raised on wooden pillars, inclosed by a stone wall, with rails at the top, so beautifully carved, that the *Europeans* were utterly astonished at the workmanship. Several of the apartments distinguished a rude genius for architecture and the fine arts; but what was peculiarly pleasing to the soldiers, was the great abundance of bread, venison, and pork, which they found in the storehouse, together with a variety of red and white pleasant liquors, drawn from *Indian* wheat, roots, and the palm. The wealth and generosity of this prince greatly increased their satisfaction. His eldest son, desirous of obliging the strangers by every means in his power, ordered several pieces of gold, valuable for their workmanship and purity, and weighing about 2000 pieces of eight, together with several slaves, to be presented to *Nunez* and *Calmenares*, who, he perceived, were the leading men among the *Spaniards*; and it was upon the division of these presents that they quarrelled; and obliged the young prince to express himself in the following terms.—“The christians have no occasion to kill but about an affair so trifling as gold; for if they prize it at so high a rate as to forsake their native country, and disturb peaceable nations, in search of this metal, I will shew them a province where they may enjoy it to satiety, at the distance of six suns, or six days journey from hence, pointing towards the southern ocean, where the natives have vessels little inferior to the most ships, with masts and sails, and where they eat and drink out of this same gold so much valued.” The young prince's report was confirmed by the testimony of the more grave and experienced *Indians*, which so inflam-

ed the ardour of *Nunez Balboa*, he resolved immediately to solicit the king for the necessary reinforcement, and to lay before the ministry the inexhaustible source of wealth he had discovered. *Valdibia* was chosen to transact this important affair, and he was also charged with the king's fifth of the gold found by the new colony, which amounted to 15,000 pieces of eight.

Settlement
on the
island of
Cuba.

WHILE this affair was negotiating, and *Balboa* preparing to penetrate farther into the country, in order to supply the colony with provisions, which now began to fail, *James Columbus*, in quality of admiral and governor-general, was taking measures for establishing a colony on the island of *Cuba*. The advantages of this settlement were obvious, because the soil was excellent, the country populous, and abounding with provisions, and the most valuable article of commerce. *James Velazquez*, a person of understanding, temper, and integrity, was chosen to conduct this enterprise, and great numbers of persons involved in debts resolved to share his fortune. No less than three hundred men rendezvoused at *Salvatierra de la Zavana*, and embarked on board some vessels destined for *Cuba*, together with divers *Spaniards* in their canoes, headed by the cazique *Hatney*, of the province of *Gushaba*. It was imagined this prince was disposed to countenance the *Spanish* expedition; but his conduct soon evinced that he had quitted *Hispaniola*, where he could make little resistance, only to assist the inhabitants of *Cuba* in preserving their liberty, and thereby acquiring more weight and authority than fell to his share, in a country wholly subdued, and governed by the *Spaniards*. Accordingly, on the arrival of *Velazquez* at the port called *San Juan*, the cazique stood upon his defence, and encamped, with a considerable body of *Indians*, in the woody grounds, which were inaccessible to the *Spanish* cavalry. Here he maintained his situation for the space of two months, but was at last dislodged by the superior skill and courage of the *Europeans*, who drove him to the heart of the island, and soon after took him prisoner, and burnt him alive; which produced such an effect upon the inhabitants, that the whole province of *Maya* immediately submitted. Civil divisions afterwards arose, which had almost destroyed three parts of the settlement. *Hernand Cortez*, so celebrated in history, took part against *Velazquez*, was seized, imprisoned, and condemned to lose his life as a traitor and mutineer. At length, however, dissension ceased, and the *Spaniards* made great progress in the reduction of the island, building towns, and laying

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laying the foundation of that valuable colony which hath ever since been maintained (A).

In this manner were the Spaniards making new settlements in the *West-Indies*, while *Balboa* was using every ex-

1512.

(A) ~~The~~ great extent and fertility of the island of *Cuba* were at first the chief inducements for colonizing it; for as the Spaniards had no idea of the *Spice* might be of to ~~the~~ *Spice* traffic in gold of ~~the~~ *American* exceeds two hundred leagues from ~~the~~ *the* and thirty leagues from ~~the~~ *the* breadth of ~~the~~ *the* unequal. From ~~the~~ *ape de Cruz* to ~~the~~ *Port Monati* is reputed forty-five leagues; but ~~the~~ *the* is the ~~the~~ *the* of the island, which in some places doth not exceed twelve leagues over. It is finely watered, and agreeably diversified with woods, lawns, and valleys; the whole standing within the tropic of *Cancer*, and the climate rather not than unsalutary. The cedars produced here are of so extraordinary a size, that the Spaniards had seen the *Indians* make canoes of a single trunk able to carry fifty men. The fruits were delicious, the quadrupeds numerous, the ~~the~~ *the* and rivers well stocked with fish. A few copper mines were discovered, and some gold; but the precious metal was not found in sufficient abundance to give birth to a settlement; had not the other commodities of the island compensated this deficiency. In word, it was thought that *Cuba* might soon be rendered the granary of the Spanish settlement on the ~~the~~ *the* and islands, which was the principal motive with the ~~the~~ *the* for prosecuting his design of settling colonies in a

country which furnished but a small quantity of the commodity upon which alone the Spaniards, at that time, put any value. With respect to the inhabitants, they greatly resembled the natives of *Hispaniola*, in temper, stature, and particular customs. They professed no religion, performed no worship, and built no temples; though their physicians might be regarded as a kind of priests, who pretended to communicate with an invisible spirit, called the devil by the Spaniards. They were called *Behiques*; and the people were deluded by them into the most monstrous superstition and absurdity; it was believed, for instance, that a *Behique* could cure certain dangerous diseases, by blowing upon the patient. A general notion of the deluge prevailed, and the *Indians* of *Cuba* affirmed they were the descendants of an old man who built a vessel in which he put the male and female of all animals, and thence created an animated being from the universal devastation by water. As to the form of government established among the natives of the island, it was notarchical, but not despotic; for the cazique had not power to enslave any of his subjects. *Obiedo* accuses them of a certain unnatural passion, but this is denied by *Acofta*, *Herrera*, and other writers of credit. *Obied.* p. 57. *Herrera.* dec. i. l. ix. sect. 2.

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pedient to procure gold and provisions, and extend his influence on the continent. Towards the beginning of this year he had intelligence that a cazique of the province of *Dabayba* was possessed of immense treasures; the offerings made in gold, at a certain temple in his dominions, exceeding belief. This excited his avarice, and produced the resolution of attacking the cazique. Accordingly he embarked with 160 able-bodied men, in two brigantines, and a great number of canoes, ordering *Calmenares*, with a third of his force,

Further proceedings of the colony at Darien, and exploits of Balboa.

to enter a great river, almost nine leagues to the west of the gulph of *Darien*. On the first notice of this, *James Cayzedo*, the grand cazique of *Darien*, withdrew, leaving the intermediate country entirely at the mercy of the Spaniards, by which means were obtained, booty in gold amounting to seven thousand pieces, all which was lost in a storm on their valuable return. *Luis Nuñez* again entered the river, joined with several other petty caziques, and returned to *Darien*, without procuring any other advantage to the settlement, than that of impressing the *Indians* with dreadful notions of the power and invincibility of the Spaniards, and gaining some further information respecting the country (B).

THE report of the young cazique of *Cemagie*, concerning the southern ocean, and the prodigious wealth of certain countries lying along that coast, suggested to *Balboa* the necessity of repeating his instances to the court for farther succours of men, arms, and ammunition. He eagerly desired to enter upon fresh discoveries and conquests, but he was sensible that his force was unequal. For this reason it was determined in a general council of the members of the colony, to send *Calmenares*, and *Cayzedo*, two gentlemen, of ability and character, to appear, to make the strongest remonstrances to the king, on the great expectations entertained; and to give weight to their negotiation, a fifth of all the gold belonging to the colony was sent as a present; but just as the ambassadors had departed, *Pan de Nunez*, his

(B) It was about this time that *Ponce de Leon*, being superseded in the government of *Puerto Rico*, resolved upon a voyage in quest of discoveries; in course of which he fell in with a great number of small islands, some of them before unknown to the Europeans, and with the coast of *Florida*, to which

he gave this appellation, because it was discovered on the first of the month of *April*, called *Pasqua de Resurreccion*. Here he landed at an inconsiderable distance from *Cape Corrientes*, in the name of his majesty, and erected an inscription.

lib. i. c. ix. sect. v.

himself with the hopes of their success, a conspiracy to seize his person was discovered. The colony was divided, and every thing conspired to the destruction of all the sanguine notions entertained by *Nunz Balboa*. One *Alonso Perez*, interested in the distribution of the gold made by *Balboa*, had contrived a scheme for seizing ten thousand castellanoes kept in bank as the common property; this he executed, and divided in such a manner as secured him an equal, if not a superior party. The *Spaniards* had twice formed in order of battle to destroy each other, when some more considerate person stepped in, and represented the terrible consequences of such a civil war, which must leave the conquerors an easy prey to the Indians. This produced a cessation of hostilities, and thirty days the immediate shedding of blood, but the unequal, though conciliatory, it is probable there were the *Puerto Monari* is reasonably arrived from *Hispánia*, with five leagues; but two ships, 150 men, great store of provision, and a commission signed by the treasurer *Possamonte*, empowered by the king, constituting *Balboa* captain-general of all the country possessed by the *Spaniards* round the isthmus of *Darien*. *Núñez* was overjoyed with this prosperous circumstance, which, by re-establishing his authority, and placing it upon a more solid foundation than the capricious will of his companions, enabled him to break the conspiracy, and reduce the mutineers to reason, without striking a blow, or shedding a drop of blood. However, his satisfaction was considerably diminished by the accounts he received, that *Enciso* arrived safe in *Spain*, presenting better remonstrances against his tyrannical conduct, and so far gained credit with the court, that his majesty directed a process to be made against *Núñez*, who was ordered to make good all the damages sustained by the *Batchelor*, and to answer the charge in person before the ministry. *Balboa* not doubting upon this intelligence, but he should be superseded upon the arrival of the first ship from *Spain*, resolved to go in pursuit of the treasures mentioned by the young caraque, and the discovery of the *South Sea*, hoping that he might give the court a better impression of his conduct, if he could succeed in performing to essential a piece of service. To carry this design into execution, he began with animating his people, and exciting their ambition by the prospect of immense wealth and immediate discovery. When he had roused a spirit of enterprize by motion, he selected 190 men, of whose strength, loyalty, and attachment to his person, he entertained the best opinion, 1000 *Indians*, and several fierce dogs, with all which he

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he embarked in two brigantines, and a great number of canoes, and sailed to the territory of the cazique *Careta*, by which he shortened the march considerably. He then proceeded by land to the dominions of the cazique *Ponca*, who hid himself in the mountains, on the news that the *Spaniards* were approaching. *Nunez* let some *Indians* belonging to his ally *Careta*, to assure *Ponca* of his friendship, which had the effect, and drew the chief out of his retreat, with a present for the *Spanish* commander of 110 pesos of gold, which was all he possessed. As it was of the consequence to leave no enemies behind, *Nunez* treated him civilly, and dismissed him with presents of general belts and beads, upon which the *Indian* placed a garland of all the treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico*. Post were obliged the *Spaniards* a free passage, loading them with country produce, and furnishing them with *Indians* to carry the valuable victuals. Proceeding to the territories of the next nation of understanding was *Quar-gua*. This cazique, who was a powerful and valiant man, on the approach of the *Spaniards*, he had collected a small army to oppose them; but the sound and fire of the musquetry so terrified the *Indians*, that they scampered about the hills, fully persuaded, that as the white men could command both thunder and lightning, they must be something supernatural. The action was but of short duration, though the carnage was considerable, the dogs making terrible havock among the fugitive *Indians*. Here the cazique was killed, his brother taken prisoner, rich booty obtained in plates of gold, and a dreadful idea of the *Spaniards* impressed on the minds of the inland natives, who hitherto knew nothing of them except by distant report. Leaving behind, in *Quar-gua's* town, which had now entirely submitted, several *Spaniards* who were either sick, or so much fatigued, to pursue the journey, *Nunez* proceeded to the summit of those mountains, whence he was told he might behold the southern ocean. The distance from thence to *Ponca's* territory was no more than five days march; but it cost the *Spaniards* five-and-twenty days, on account of the roughness of the country, the scarcity of provision, and the weakness and fatigue of the soldiers. At length they reached the top; and *Nunez*, who first cast his eyes upon the sea, then he fell down upon his knees, and in a kind of prophetic extasy, turned thanks to heaven, as if he had foreseen all the happy consequences resulting to *Spain* from the discovery. Having finished this act of devotion, he turned towards the sea, and bid his men behold the end of all their toils, repeating his promises of im-

South-sea
first seen.

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wealth, and unbounded reputation, to all who should follow him to that scene of riches and glory. He then drew up a certificate of his taking possession of the *South-Sea*, all the wealth it contained, and the coasts by which it was hemmed in for a catholic master, and the crown of *Castile*; the king to confirm which he cut down trees, erected crosses, heaped up heaps of stones, and cut the king's name on the bark of several trees of different kinds, to the great astonishment of the *Indians*, who could neither conceive the cause of joy in the *Spaniards*, nor the meaning of all these ceremonies.

Next he began to descend the mountain, still advancing towards the ocean, and proceeded with great caution towards the frontiers of a potent cazique called *Chiapes*, who marched out to meet him at the head of a formidable army. When the cazique came within a proper distance, the *Spaniards* fired a volley of small arms, the sound of which being reverberated by the neighbouring mountains, made so dreadful a noise, that the affrighted *Indians* deserting their chief, fled to the mountains for shelter, against those dreadful enemies, who they imagined had power over the elements, and could produce storms, lightning and thunder, at pleasure. As to the cazique, he sought refuge in his town, and Nunez sent some prisoners he had taken, to assure him that nothing more than provisions, and a free passage through his dominions, was wanted; upon which he thought it better to put himself into the hands of the *Spaniards*, and rely on their generosity, than run the hazard of renewing those belches of fire and smoke. Accordingly he came with a present in gold, amounting to 20 pieces of eight, apologizing for the smallness of the offering, "because, said he, we *Indians* set no value upon the dross, and take no pains in collecting it." *Chiapes* was graciously received, and his presents were returned by what was accounted more than an equivalent, a present of beads, looking-glasses, scissars, and hawk-bells, together with some archers, the use of which, in cutting down trees, the *Spaniards* shewed him. Nunez, and his people, were so well entertained in this cazique's metropolis, that he sent for the sick and wearied whom he left behind in *Quaragua*; but before their arrival he detached *Francis Ixazarro* to survey the coast and adjacent country. *John Estrey* and *Alonso* were sent by different routes on the same business, each being attended by more men well armed; and *Martin* was so fortunate to hit upon the shortest road to the sea, where he no longer arrived than he went into a canoe which he found on the shore, and desired his companions to bear witness, that

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that he was the first European who entered the South Sea. On the return of these parties, *Nunex* made ready to quit the territories of *Chiapas*, who offered to attend him to the next province, together with a great number of his people, loaded with provision and the baggage of the king. When he reached the sea, he took possession in the name of the catholic king, with all the usual formalities, and made a public declaration that he would defend the right of the crown of *Castile* against all opposers. Then he left the coast in nine canoes that he met with on the coast; he passed the river, to the dominions of a chief named *Cocura*, who, being informed of his approach, drew out his troops, and was going to attack the *Spaniards*, when a single discharge of the musquetry filled his whole army with terror and dismay, which was succeeded by a general rout, and soon after by submission, and a present from the cacique of 650 pieces of eight in gold.

NUNEX Balboa had now discovered the South Sea, but the wealth which he expected to find among the nations bordering on the coast, fell greatly short of expectation. It was therefore highly necessary to support his credit with the *Spaniards* under his command, by making further attempts. Accordingly he embarked much against the inclination of the cacique of *Chiapas*, in canoes, with intention of crossing a bay that runs far into the land, and searching the surrounding country for the precious metal. This enterprize had almost proved fatal; for a storm came on, the canoes were in the utmost danger of being overset; and they at last made a desert island, in the middle of the bay, often struggling with great dangers and difficulties. In the night a flood came on, that not only staved the canoes, but covered the whole island, the *Spaniards* remaining for several hours up to the waist in the sea, expecting every minute to be swallowed up. Provisioners and their spirits were exhausted with the fatigue of standing so long, and all must have perished with famine had not a calm ensued, and the *Indians*, with great address, repaired some of the canoes, which wafted them to the lands of a chief whose name was *Tumaco*. With much persuasion this chief was prevailed on to regard the *Spaniards* as friends, and to attend them with provision. At last he visited *Nunex* in person, with 614 pieces of eight in gold, and 240 large pearls of considerable value, had not their colour been injured by the fire; by which method the *Indians* always separated the shells, until they had been taught the *Spaniards*. Observing that the *Spaniards* set a great value upon the pearls, and pleased with the returns they made of looking-glasses, beads, and hatchets, he dispatched some

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his people to fish for more; who returned with 96 ounces of beautiful pearls, undamaged by the fire; all which the cazique gave to *Nunez*, telling him, that there was an island, at the distance of no more than five leagues, where he might find abundance of pearls of immense size. This information was sufficient to rouse the avarice and curiosity of the *Spaniard*, who began immediately to prepare for the expedition, but was prevailed on by the cazique *Chiapes* to defer, till the summer, when he might cross the sea with less danger, and fish with more success. *Nunez* had laid aside the notion of penetrating further, until the season became more favourable, he thought of returning to *Darien*, and making the necessary preparations for a fresh attempt, having received information that the coast extended without bounds to the southward, meaning *Peru*; that there was a prodigious quantity of gold; and that the natives used certain beasts, which the *Indians* described, to carry burthens. These were no other than the *Peruvian* sheep, which the *Spaniards* took to be camels or deer, from the figures of them made with earth by the *Indians* of *Tumaco*; and this we may regard as the second intimation of *Peru* given to the *Spaniards*, who were not yet sufficiently acquainted with the situation of the country, with respect either to latitude or longitude, or the extension of the land, to annex other ideas to those imperfect hints and obscure descriptions. In general *Nunez* collected information sufficient to raise the most sanguine expectations of the immense wealth that must accrue from the summer expedition he meditated. It was agreed on all hands, that the nations both to the south and north of the isthmus overflowed with gold, in which the inhabitants put no value, so that it was the less likely to become an object of contention. However, the jealousy which the *Indians* in general expressed with regard to strangers, and the difficulty with which they were prevailed on to suffer the *Spaniards* to enter their country, evincing *Pizarro* of the necessity of making all the preparations he could to penetrate, by force, should the cazique offer to oppose his designs.

With this view he began his march back to *Darien*, taking leave of the cazique *Chiapes*, who wept at his departure, and leaving under his protection all the sick that could not travel, until they should be perfectly recovered. He now took a different rout, on his return, rather than what had brought him to the south, in order to examine the country more accurately, and to extend the fame of the *Spaniards* more widely among the *Indian* nations. He soon reached the territories of a prince called *Taochan*, who conceiving a high

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high opinion of the generosity of the *Spaniards* from the report of the *Indians* who attended them. He came out of his town to meet *Nunez*, with the greatest marks of respect and affection, bringing with him a present of a thousand pieces of eight in gold, curiously wrought, and two hundred beautiful pearls, though somewhat discoloured by fire. He desired the *Chiapese Indians* might be returned, and he would supply the *Spaniards* with a sufficient number of his people to carry their baggage and provision, which he liberally provided. In a word, after refreshing themselves for three days in the dominions of the *cazique*, *Nunez* and his companions began their march over steep and barren mountains, in ascending which they encountered manifold difficulties. At last, they reached the dominions of a great lord, named *Poncra*, who was no friend to the obliging *Teaochan*; for the subjects of this latter were perpetually soliciting *Nunez* to make war upon *Poncra*, and lay waste his city. Upon entering the metropolis, they found it abandoned by the inhabitants, though the *Spaniards* obtained a booty in gold, amounting to three thousand pieces of eight. *Nunez* sent out several *Indians* to search for *Poncra* in the woods, to assure him that he might return with safety to his town; but if he refused, that the *Spaniards* would hunt him with their dogs, and exterminate the whole nation: menaces which produced their effect; for *Poncra*, terrified with the thoughts of being exposed to the dogs, waited on *Nunez* with a present of gold to the value of three thousand pieces of eight. It is not much to the honour of the *Spanish* commander that he violated his faith on this occasion, and suffered *Poncra* to be torn in pieces by the dogs, under pretence that he was forced to comply with the importunity of all the neighbouring *caziques*, who demanded his death as a testimony of his friendship for them: and he is still *Nunez* was actuated to this measure by the obdurate rage of the *cazique*, who refused to give him any information concerning the country where he found his gold.

HERE it was that *Nunez* was joined by the *Spaniards*, whom he had left under the protection of *Chiapa*. When they found themselves tolerably recovered, they began their march through the dominions of the *cazique Bonetama*, who received them with the warmest of the strongest friendship; entertaining them with the best things his country afforded, loading them with provisions, making them a present of 2000 pieces of eight in gold, and escorting them in person, with a large retinue, to *Poncra*; where, taking *Nunez* by the hand, he harangued him in the following words:

Brave

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"Brave and bold man, here are your companions, whom I bring to you safe and well as when they arrived in my territories. He that makes thunder and lightning, and bestows on us the fruits of the earth, preserve and keep you and them." When he spoke, he fixed his eyes upon the sun, whence the *Spaniards* concluded, that he worshipped that luminary as the fountain of all temporal blessings. It was from *Bonenians*, that *Nunez* had the best intelligence of the state of *Peru*, which he could hitherto obtain, though the want of good interpreters rendered his information still imperfect and defective. After acknowledging the civility of this friendly cazique, by the present of some tinkets, and other testimonies of regard, the *Spaniards* quitted *Poncra*, after having refreshed themselves in that town for the space of a month, ascending dreadful mountains, and travelling from one hill to another, without a track or vestige of human foot, and guided only by their *Canals* and the *Indians*, to whom all roads were indifferent. When they were almost spent with fatigue, they reached a town belonging to the cazique *Buchebuca*, which they found abandoned by the inhabitants. The *Indians* were sent in quest of the cazique, who was taken, concealing himself in the thickest woods, out of shame and concern that he had no provisions, or any other means of demonstrating his esteem to the *Spaniards*; desiring, however, that they would accept of certain pieces of gold, in token of his regard and friendship: provisions would at this time have been more welcome than gold to the *Spaniards*; but the extreme poverty of the surrounding country convincing them of *Buchebuca's* sincerity, they proceeded on their march, pining under the united pressure of hunger and fatigue. As they were attended with no beasts of burthen, all the stock, which the *Indians* carried on their shoulders, was consumed in three days, and they were thus left destitute in a country that furnished scarce any necessaries of life. In this situation, *Nunez* was addressed by two messengers and presents from the cazique *Cucoso*; who, after many professions of esteem and friendship, sought his assistance against a potent neighbour, with whom he was at war. The presents consisted of thirty pieces of gold, which weighed above 14,000 pieces of eight; but these were not sufficient to engage the *Spaniards* in an unnecessary quarrel in their present unhappy circumstances, though they gratefully acknowledged them with civility, and sent in return some pieces of looking-glass, glass beads, and hatchets, to the cazique, directing their march to *Pacorosa*, the cazique of which country fled at their approach, but returned on the civil message sent him by *Nunez*, and made that commander a present in gold to the value of

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of fifteen hundred pieces of eight. The *Spaniards* rested a month in the dominions of this prince, and then set forward for the territories of *Tubanama*, a lord much dreaded for his power and valour. In their present situation it was not thought advisable to enter upon open war with this cazique, notwithstanding *Nunez* was assured, that he would obstruct the passage of the *Spaniards*; recourse, therefore, was had to stratagem, and a resolution pursued of attacking *Tubanama* by surprise, in which they succeeded; the cazique, his whole family, and eighty of his women, being made prisoners. As this prince had governed with great severity, and oppressed all his neighbours, the report of his captivity was not sooner spread, than the people flock'd from the adjacent towns to complain of his conduct, and solicit that he might suffer condign punishment. The cazique denied the accusations; which were alledged were founded upon envy and malice; he went bitterly, threw himself at the feet of the *Spanish* commander, and promised eternal friendship and submission. Perceiving that *Nunez* entertained no resentment, and that he intended setting him at liberty, he presented him with gold bracelets and female ornaments, to the value of three thousand pieces of eight; and next day a present came from the lords his vassals, to the amount of six thousand pieces of eight. but *Tubanama* obstinately refused to acquaint the *Spaniards* whence he drew the gold, fearing they would never quit his dominions should he divulge this important secret. Yet, in despite of the cazique's silence, *Nunez* found, upon searching, that the country yielded gold, and then resolved to establish a colony in *Pacorosa's* dominions, and *Tubanama's*; not only for working the mines, but for the convenience of carrying on a trade over the isthmus, between the South and North seas. The only punishment inflicted on the cazique for his obstinacy, was, the carrying away his women and son; though it was thought he freely parted with the latter, to set him as a spy over the actions of the *Spaniards*. In setting, *Nunez* charged *Tubanama* to collect as much gold as he could, and send it to *Darien*; in return for which, he might always depend on his friendship and protection: the cazique promised every thing, but never thought of the performance of his engagements.

Just as *Nunez* had quitted the territories of *Tubanama*, he was seized with a fever, in consequence of the diligence and activity he exerted through the whole course of this fatiguing expedition; but he would not suffer his own illness to prove any obstruction to the publick affairs. The men pursued their march, while *Nunez* was carried in a bed of litter,

litter, on the shoulders of the *Indians*, in which situation he arrived in the dominions of the cazique *Cemagre*, his ally, who was now dead, and the chief power vested in his son, the young prince who had given the first information concerning the *South Sea*, and the riches of *Peru*. The *Spaniards* were joyfully welcomed by the young chief, who made *Nunez* a present in gold exceeding two thousand pieces of eight, in return for which, the *Spaniard* gave him a linen shirt, and some other trifles, which he deemed of inestimable value. After refreshing himself in *Cemagre*, and recovering his health, *Nunez* set out for *Darien*, where he arrived on the 10th of *January*; having received intelligence upon his march, that two sloop, loaded with provisions, were lately arrived from *Hispiniola*, which infused great spirits into the whole company. In this manner ended *Nunez Balboa's* expedition in quest of the *South Sea*; during which he displayed every quality of a great commander, gaining the esteem of his own people, the respect of the *Indians*, forming alliances with all the nations through which he passed, marking every circumstance that could facilitate further discoveries, and promote the design he formed of repeating the expedition, and establishing a commerce between the *South* and *North* seas; and returning with immense wealth, without any diminution in the number of his companions, and with great increase of glory and reputation. He now divided the spoils, reserving a fifth for the crown, with so much justice and impartiality, that all were satisfied, and *Nunez* equally admired by the companions of his toil, and the *Spaniards* who remained at *Darien* for the defence of the colony.

•IMMEDIATELY an account of the success of the expedition, with the king's fifth of the riches brought back, was dispatched to court, which *Nunez* had hopes would efface all the bad impressions of his conduct, by the suggestions of his enemies. The effect did not, however, correspond with his reasonable hopes; for the news soon arrived in *Spain* of the discovery of the *South Sea*, when his Majesty appointed *Peter Arias d'Avila* to succeed *Nunez Balboa* in the government of *Darien*, allowing him twelve hundred men to reinforce the colony, and push his discovery; a number which *Arias* increased to fifteen hundred well-bodied soldiers. A bishop, and several clergy, were also sent for the religious government of the new colony, by this fleet, which entered the bay of *Uraba* towards the close of the month of *July*, proceeding from thence to the settlement at *Darien*, where *Arias* and the bishop were received by *Nunez* with all possible

ble respect. It was *Balboa's* intention to give all the assistance in his power to the new governor, and not to obstruct the publick service out of private resentment; but the coldness with which *Arias* met his civility, and the bitter prosecution he commenced against the old governor, soon broke all his resolutions, and rendered the two commanders implacable enemies. To increase the misfortunes of the settlement, sickness broke out among the troops lately arrived from *Spain*; and provision beginning to fail, it was found necessary to send back great numbers by the return of the fleet. Nor was this all; the misconduct of *Arias*, and of the persons he employed, raised such a cloud of enemies, as threatened the entire destruction of the colony. One *Ayora* had been sent with a party of 50 men to erect settlements in different parts of the *Isthmus* towards the *South Sea*, and collect as much gold as circumstances would admit. *Ayora* was mindful only of the last part of his instructions. He fell upon the *Indians* without distinction, robbed, pillaged, massacred, and perfidiously violated all the alliances formed by *Nunez*, returning indeed with some booty purchased at the expence of national honour, and the friendship of the *caziques*, so essential to the welfare of the settlement, and the success of the designs formed by the *Spanish* ministry. Several other excursions to the same purpose were made, all of them tending to weaken the settlement, and irritate the natives, for the sake of an inconsiderable quantity of the precious metal. In some of these expeditions, all the *Spaniards* perished, and the particulars of the misfortune were afterwards collected from the *Indians*. *Ayora* had erected a kind of little fort in the *cazique* *Tubanama's* dominions, in which he left a garrison, under the conduct of *Menezes*. The *Indians* kept this handful of men perpetually shut up, and *Arias* found it necessary to withdraw the garrison, and employ the soldiers in some more profitable expedition. *Pédro de Guzman* was accordingly ordered with a party to make discoveries as far as he could to the westward along the *South Sea*, and to take along with him the little garrison in *Tubanama's* territories. On his arrival, he found the little garrison closely blocked up, and reduced to extreme necessity; but the sight of his troops obliged the *Indians* to retire; upon which the fort was deserted, the *Spaniards* marching in a body to the countries possessed by the *caziques* *Chepo* and *Chepauri*, with whom *Guzman* contracted an alliance. The last mentioned chief, in particular, treated the *Spaniards* with the utmost hospitality; but while they were entertaining themselves in the most friendly manner, an *Indian* boy entered, and informed *Guzman*, that the town

fortunate
expeditions.

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town and dominions in which he was feasting were his right, of which he was deprived by the villainy of his host, who had been appointed guardian to him by his father. He besought his assistance against the usurper, and promised him abundance of gold, if he would restore him to his dominions. This promise was sufficient to induce *Guzman* to break all the most sacred ties of friendship, hospitality, and solemn treaties. Immediately he ordered his host to be hanged upon the nearest tree, delivered up seven of the principal persons of the court, to be tortured and put to death by the boy's friends, without ever inquiring into the truth of the allegations, and then received six thousand pieces of eight in gold, as the reward of his treacherous cruelty. With this booty he proceeded to the place where *Panama* now stands, at that time the residence of a few fishermen, where it took the name of *Panama*, which in the *Indian* language signifies a place where fish is caught. From this place he dispatched *Albitez*, with eighty men, towards the province of *Chagre*, eighteen leagues distant from *Panama*. *Albitez* arrived at the capital, while the inhabitants were wrapped in perfect security, and fast asleep; but he had too much generosity to seize the opportunity of enriching himself by an act of unprovoked inhumanity: he forbore all violence, waited with patience until morn, and by this noble action so charmed the cazique, that he presented him with twelve thousand pieces of eight in pure gold. So large a sum served only to rouse the avarice of *Albitez*. Upon seeing the money, he asked, whether the cazique could not spare more, and fill him a large bag, that he presented, with the precious metal? To which the cazique replied with astonishment, "That he might fill his bag with stones out of the brook, for he neither had any more, nor could make gold." With this answer *Albitez* departed; but though he was disappointed, he would not suffer any violence to be offered to the inhabitants. Soon after he joined *Guzman*, and both marched to *Tubanama*, where the whole country was in arms to oppose them. The *Spaniards* were under the necessity of fighting their way through clouds of poisoned arrows; they behaved with admirable intrepidity, but sustained such losses, that, before they reached *Darien*, they were reduced to one-third the number with which they set out, and the remainder were almost dead with fatigue and hunger.

ANOTHER party sent, under the conduct of *Francis de Vallejo* proved still more unfortunate. This officer had been sent against the *Indians* of *Uraba*, who were continually molesting the settlement at *Darien*. Being now within three

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leagues of the principal *Indian* towns, he fell upon the enemy, and no sooner obtained a victory, than his men separated in quest of gold, thereby leaving the *Indians* an opportunity of reassembling. Nor was the occasion lost; the *Indians* united, and poured in their poisoned arrows with such fury, that several *Spaniards* were killed on the spot, and many more wounded, all of whom died raving with the most excruciating torture. In a word, the *Spaniards* were forced to retreat on floats of timber and bundles of reeds, sustained by incredible hardships, and all perished, except a few who providentially found their way to *Darien*.

THE unfortunate issue of these two expeditions could not oblige *Arias* to alter measures, the folly of which was demonstrated by fatal experience. On the contrary, he hoped by perseverance to wipe off all former disgraces; and for this purpose detached *Francis Bezerra* with one hundred and eighty men, well armed, to penetrate into the province of *Zener*. *Bezerra* landed on the coast of *U:abu*, his instructions being to put all to the sword whom he met in that province. Here he underwent numberless hardships, and sustained great losses from the flights of poisoned arrows which the *Indians* shot from thickets and bushes. When he arrived on the banks of the river *Zener*, the inhabitants appeared disposed to cultivate peace, which encouraged *Bezerra* to begin his passage over the river in canoe; but no sooner had the *Indians* observed that half the party was landed on the other side, than they rushed out of the thickets on both sides, fell upon the *Spaniards* with the utmost fury, and slaughtered them, without suffering a single man to escape to carry the news of the misfortune to *Darien*. The circumstances of this affair were afterwards related by an *Indian* boy, in the service of *Bezerra*, who hid himself in the woods, and travelled by night thro' bye-paths, until he arrived at *Darien*, half-starved.

ALL this while *Nuñez* continued unemployed at the settlement, to the great prejudice of the public service, and dislike of the *Spaniards*, who knew the activity of his disposition, the generosity of his mind, and the prudence with which he conducted all the enterprizes in which he was engaged. It was even expected that he would be recalled, in consequence of the bitter accusation sent by *Arias* to court; and instead of being rewarded for noble discoveries and eminent services, have a similar testimony with the great *Columbus* of the gratitude of the administration, by standing trial like a criminal. How agreeable was the disappointment to himself and friends, when they found, upon the arrival of the first ship from *Spain*, that he was instituted *Adelantado*, or lieutenant of the

Balboa
made lieutenant of
the South
Sea.

South

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South Sea, and that *Arias* was strictly charged to assist and support *Nunez* in his office. The truth is, the court was disposed to listen to the calumnies of *Arias*, had they not been refuted by the undeniable testimony of other colonists, who were eye-witnesses of the many gallant actions performed by *Nunez Balboa*, and whom they recommended in all their letters, as the only person capable of raising the settlement to the most flourishing condition. *Arias* was enraged at this honour conferred upon the man whom he considered as his implacable enemy, and, instead of paying any regard to his instructions, used every possible means to thwart the schemes, blast the reputation, and endanger the life of the *Adelantado*. Instead of leaving the care of farther discoveries to *Nunez*, he sent *Gaspar de Merates* with sixty men towards the *South Sea*, apparently with no other intention than to plunder the *Indians*, and incense them so much against the *Spaniards*, that all the *Adelantado's* endeavours to reunite them, and form alliances, should be fruitless, and consequently his utmost diligence to establish colonies, and make conquests across the isthmus, exerted to no purpose; for it was impossible to assign any other motives for a conduct to the last degree absurd and imprudent. But *Nunez* had no remedy, the power of the governor was uncontrollable, and he was forced to vent his grief in letters to the court, charging *Arias* with the most fatal errors, and having made all the *Indian* princes the inveterate enemies of *Spain*, by plundering and massacring the caziques with whom he had formed alliances and strict friendships before the arrival of the new governor.

THE misfortunes of *Valjo*, *Guzman*, and *Bezerra*, served Unfortun- only to aggravate *Arias*, and render him desperate; while all those under his government expected every moment to be destroyed by the *Indians*. The panic was so great at *Badajoz*, *rien*, that bushes and thickets had frequently been mistaken for hostile armies; the foundery was now shut up, which never happened but on occasions of the most imminent danger, and it was thought necessary to implore the protection of heaven by public prayers and fastings. *Arias*, alone, was undaunted. He detached *Badajoz* in a ship, with one hundred and thirty men, to *Nombxe de Dios*, with orders to cross the isthmus to the *South Sea*, reduce the country to obedience, and make war upon all the princes who should refuse obedience to the court of *Spain*, as if the colony at *Darien* had been in the most flourishing situation, and able to support the loss of so many persons, in case he should happen to prove unfortunate. On their arrival at the fort built by

Nicuesa, the soldiers, terrified with the horrid spectacle of the bones of their countrymen starved to death, raised many difficulties about advancing; but *Badajoz*, with undaunted intrepidity, dismissed the ship, and by cutting off all possibility of retreating, reduced them to the necessity of paying implicit obedience to his orders; telling them, that the only danger or shame to a soldier was that of not discharging his duty. He then climbed up the steep mountains of *Capira*, and fell, by surprize, upon the cazique *Tanonagua*, whom he took prisoner, gaining a booty in gold to the amount of six thousand pieces of eight. Another neighbouring cazique, whose name was *Tataracherabi*, he likewise attacked; but although he had not the good fortune to seize his person, he obtained a booty of eight thousand castellanos. To this was added the ransom paid by *Tanonagua* for his liberty, which amounted to six thousand pieces of eight, and a present brought by *Tataracherabi* in gold, with a design to dispose on the *Spaniards*, and engage them in a war with the powerful cazique *Nata*, whom he represented as extreme wealthy, but the sovereign only of a few subjects. The cazique's stratagem succeeded, and the vast flow of prosperity which had hitherto attended *Badajoz's* arms, was converted into an irresistible tide of misfortune. He was so fortunate, indeed, as to enter the town of this cazique in the night, and gain possession of his person, women, and treasures; but he found himself next morning surrounded by several thousand *Indians*, who poured in showers of darts and arrows, wounding a great number of the *Spaniards*. According to *Herrera*, this exploit was performed by *Perez de la Rúa*, detached at the head of a party, who had the presence of mind, in this extremity, to threaten the cazique's life, unless he immediately ordered his subjects to lay down their arms, with which he complied, and they implicitly obeyed his commands. Several of the adjacent caziques submitted in consequence of *Nata's* misfortune, and *Badajoz* had collected to the amount of eighty thousand castellanos in gold; but such a spirit of resentment was now raised among all the *Indians*, that the *Spaniards* rely entirely upon the force of arms, and their valour, in a distant country, and surrounded upon every side by enemies. They had passed through the dominions of the cazique *Cheru*, and were entering those of *Narrizao Pariba*, whom the *Spaniards* called *Naris*, when a present in gold, amounting to fifty thousand castellanos, was sent by the cazique; which, instead of gratifying, only excited the avarice of the *Spaniards*. *Badajoz* imagined, that the prince who could make a present of so much value, must possess vast treasures; he there-
fore

fore laid a scheme for seizing his wealth, which terminated in his own destruction. Pretending that he would regard the cazique as his friend, he fell upon his town in the night, and collected in gold to the amount of forty thousand castellanos; but the cazique made his escape, laid a snare for the Spaniard, surrounded him, and reduced Badajoz to the necessity of cutting his way through crouds of Indians, with the loss of seventy men slain upon the field, besides great numbers of wounded, few of whom ever recovered. Here commenced the misfortunes of this little party. In the trepidation of flight, Badajoz put the wounded into some canoes which he met with, marching along the shore with the rest of the troops; but the tide rising to a great height, the Spaniards were surrounded by the waters, some saved their lives by climbing up trees, and great numbers perished. In this situation they were attacked by the cazique Nata, who determined to revenge his late disgrace; and his resentment must have been fatal to the Spaniards, had not the night separated the combatants, and furnished Badajoz with the means of retreat, the sound carrying off the wounded upon their shoulders to a place of security. What the Spaniards deemed their greatest misfortune, even in this extremity, was the loss of all the gold they had taken; but a new perplexity now arose. When they arrived upon the frontiers of the cazique Cheru, they found him in arms, supported by a numerous body of forces. He had drawn a line upon the ground, beyond which he prohibited the Spaniards from advancing on pain of his resentment; but he promised to supply them with provision if they retired, which Badajoz thought was most advisable; after which he was accommodated with the best of every thing that the country produced. Having gathered strength by the provision sent by the cazique, Badajoz, with a party of Spaniards, passed over to an island at some distance, which was celebrated for producing large pearls, and, surprizing the cazique, obtained some gold for his ransom, and then returned to their former quarters; after which he forced his way through the dominions of Tabor, an Indian chief, who opposed him, and Piregitta, another cazique, who had threatened his destruction; arriving at length in a wretched plight in the territories of Tubanama and Pocrofa, where he met with the licentiate Espinosa and his party, after losing near half his men, and all the wealth he had collected by slaughter, treachery, and the most infamous measures (C).

THAT

(C) It may be proper to observe, that this year the great river La Plata was accidentally discovered. John Diaz de Solis,

THAT the reader may not be at a loss to know in what manner the licentiate *Espinosa* came into the territories of the above cazique, we must observe, that upon the intelligence brought by the Indian boy, of *Bezerra's* misfortune, *Peter Arias* determined to revenge his people, and endeavour to recover those who might have escaped the fury of the *Indians*; but sensible of the famine that prevailed in the colony, and the horror which the *Spaniards* entertained all thought of entering *Uraba*, a country so fatal to many of their countrymen, he fell upon a stratagem to rouse their courage, and animate them to another expedition. He pretended to declare war against the cazique *Pocorosa*, for which the colony readily declared, imagining it would produce great wealth with little danger; and three hundred able-bodied men offered the governor their services to attend him on this enterprise. These he put on board some vessels, and sailing westward to deceive his people until night, he then ordered the pilots to tack about, and hold their course for *Uraba*. Before day he ordered *Hurtado* to land with 200 men at *Caribana*, after having in a stern manner declared, that no man should inquire whether he was going, but implicitly obey the orders of his superior officer. The town was attacked, and set on fire, and the *Indians*, who run out scorched, and half burnt, fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*, and were put to the sword. Those however who escaped assembled in a body, and being joined by a great many men from the adjacent country, handled their bows with so much dexterity, and let fly such showers of poisoned arrows, that the *Spaniards* were forced to retreat precipitately to their ships, carrying with them some prisoners, who confirmed the boy's relation of the melancholy fate of *Bezerra*. *Arias* perceiving that his men were quite disheartened, stood out to sea, and after a voyage of sixty leagues, landed with all his men at *Acla*, from whence he detached the licentiate *Espinosa* to fall upon *Pocorosa*. In the mean time he employed himself in erecting a fort at *Acla*, in order that the *Spaniards* might have

celebrated as one of the best navigators in the world, was appointed by the king to go with two ships in search of a commodious passage to the *Spice Islands*. He sailed on the 8th of *October*, and soon made *Rio de Janeiro*, on the coast of *Brazil*, steering along the shore until he arrived at *la Plata*, which

he took to be a sea of fresh water, on account of the vast breadth of the mouth of the river. He went on shore to observe the inhabitants, fell into an ambuscade, and was slain; upon which the ship returned to *Spain*, with a cargo of *Brazil* wood. *Herrer. dec. ii. l. ii.*

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have a place of retreat, which he had scarce finished when the bad state of his health obliged him to return to *Darien*, leaving captain *Gabriel de Rojas*.

ABOUT this time he received a letter from the licentiate, 1516.
soliciting a reinforcement of men, to enable him to revenge *Espinosa's*
the cause of *Badajoz*, punish the *Indians* who had shewn their expedition.
enmity to the *Spaniards*, and recover the vast treasures lost
in this unhappy expedition. *Arias* approved of the resolution,
and detached *Valenzuela* with 130 men, to support the
licentiate, who was ambitious to demonstrate that learning
and education only sharpen the edge of valour, and unite
conduct with courage. With this reinforcement he began
his march against the *Indians* of *Cemagres* and *Pocorosa*, who
were assembled to the number of three thousand men, to
oppose his progress; but they no sooner beheld the *Spanish*
horses, than they fled in a panic, were pursued by the large
dogs, and shockingly goled and mangled. Upon this advantage
the licentiate marched to *Cheru*; and the better to
surprize *Nata*, he fell upon his town in the night; however,
the cazique escaping, collected a body of *Indians*, and attacked
the *Spaniards* with great spirit, and infinite resolution, until
the appearance of the few horse under *Espinosa* broke their
courage, and made them take to their heels, fearing they
should be torn in pieces by those dreadful animals; for they
believed the horse and rider to be the same creature. In
consequence, *Nata* perceiving that resistance would be
fruitless, came and made his submission, while the licentiate
sent *Huindo* to seize the cazique *Escolia*, which he performed.
Having now secured a retreat, he advanced to the territories
of *Paris*, who attacked him at the head of five thousand men,
with so much obstinacy, that the *Spaniards* must have sunk
under the weight of numbers, had not the sight of the horses
and dogs spread terror among the *Indians*, and obliged them
to seek refuge in flight from those animals, which they
beheld with consternation. Advancing to the country of
the cazique *Quenca*, where he was told the gold taken from
Badajoz was deposited, he found the *Indians* in arms;
but soothing them with assurances of friendship, he not
only recovered eighty thousand castellanos, but established
peace with the cazique; after which he went in pursuit
of the remainder of the treasure to the province of the
cazique *Chiccotia*, where he resided during the rainy season,
though he was not so fortunate as to find the gold, the
chief object of the expedition.

DURING the whole winter the *Indian* nations had been
taking measures for revenging themselves on the *Spaniards*,
and

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and entirely extirpating this detested race of mercenary foreigners. Just before *Espinosa* was preparing to begin his march, they assembled to the number of twenty thousand men, attacked his quarters, and fought with more than usual valour and conduct; but the *Spaniards*, who were now accustomed to the *Indian* manner of fighting, relieved each other so seasonably, discharged their fire-arms and cross-bows with so much regularity, plied their swords so vigorously, and covered themselves from the arrows of the enemy, with such address, by their targets, that after an obstinate battle the *Indians* were defeated with great slaughter, and pursued in their flight by 200 confederate *Indians*, who fought resolutely under the protection of the *Spaniards*; a proof of the manifest advantage which must have resulted from *Balboa's* measures, had they been duly prosecuted by the new governor. Having thus defeated all the schemes of the *Indians*, the licentiate set out for *Nata* on the 9th of July, and proceeding to the territories of the *cazique Escitia*, detached *Valenzuela* in search of proper materials for building canoes, to the province of *Guerari*. In this country his men suffered greatly by famine, which obliged him to hasten his return to *Acla*, where he arrived after a tedious march, and fighting several battles, proceeding from thence to *Darien*. Here a division was made of the booty brought back, which enriched the colonists, that dissipation succeeded, and gaming arose to so great a pitch as to render a law necessary, that no man should hazard above ten pieces of eight within the space of twenty-four hours; for besides gold, *Espinosa* brought back two thousand prisoners, who were restored.

In the course of this expedition *Bartholomew Hurtado* and *Hernandez Ponce*, who were detached from the main body, with a number of men, proceeded to the northward, and discovered several islands, and a long range of the southern coast, as far as the bay of *Osa*, ninety leagues from *Nata*. Here a nation, called *Chichires*, opposed their landing, which obliged them to run fifty leagues down the coast, quite to the bay of *St. Lúcar*, now the port of *Nicoya*, in the province of *Nicaragua*. The country was pleasant and fruitful; but finding that the *Indians* were little disposed to cultivate an intercourse, they returned to join *Espinosa*, who detached *Hernandez Ponce* to settle a kind of colony at *Panama*, on the opposite side of the isthmus of *Darien* to *Porto Bello*.

*Balboa's
scheme for
building
ships in the
South-Sea.*

WHILE *Espinosa* was employed in the manner we have just related, *Nunez de Balboa*, to whom the colony owed the greatest obligations, continued not only unemployed, but detained

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tained as a kind of prisoner by the governor *Arias d'Avila*, notwithstanding the instructions of the court, and the commission of *Adelantado* or lieutenant, with which he had been lately honoured. At last a reconciliation was happily effected, through the mediation of the bishop *John de Quevedo*, who conceived the highest opinion of *Balboa's* merit; and to insure their friendship, by the strictest ties, the *Adelantado* married the governor's daughter by proxy; for the young lady was at that time in *Spain*. He now rose in the governor's favour, and was soon appointed to settle a colony at the port of *Acla*, where *Arias* had built a fort, which he left with a garrison under the care of *Gabriel de Rojas*. *Balboa* accordingly set out with eighty men, who voluntarily offered their service, and arrived safe at *Acla*, where he immediately made several necessary civil regulations, appointing *Rejidores* and other magistrates; built a town, and took all the necessary measures for executing his instructions to build brigantines on the *South Sea*, to pursue the discoveries which he had so happily began. The design was to prepare the timbers at *Acla*, which were to be carried over by land to the river *de los Balsos*, where the brigantines were to be built. To forward the project, *Nunex* procured a reinforcement of two hundred men from his father-in-law; the timber was cut down, and carried with great labour to the place appointed, to the astonishment of all men, who believed the scheme was impracticable, because there were at that time no beasts of burden in the country. *Balboa* then divided his men into three parties, each of which had its department, the one to bring provisions, the other to build the vessels, and the third to transport the iron work, rigging, and other materials from *Acla*. Every thing went on with alacrity, but fortune was not propitious. All the pains hitherto bestowed were lost, worms having destroyed all the timber, which obliged *Nunex* to begin his labour afresh. He set about it without desponding, and had almost compleated his work, when a flood of the river carried the vessels off the stocks, and buried them, together with the timber and other materials, in heaps of mud and sand, the people saving themselves with the utmost difficulty. All his constancy now forsook *Nunex*, and he began to sink under disappointment, and the pressure of famine, when one *Francisco Compagnon* offered to cross the river upon floats in quest of provision, the party allotted for this purpose having failed in their endeavours. *Compagnon* did all that industry, perseverance and courage, would execute, but he was unsuccessful; which reduced *Nunex* to the necessity of returning to *Acla*, after he had

had for some weeks subsisted entirely upon a few roots and herbs picked up at random, and eat without any knowledge of their qualities. Here he was joined by the diligent *Compagnon*, who at length surmounted all obstructions, and came attended by a great number of *Indians* loaded with provision, which encouraged *Nunez* the more to resume his project of building ships. The timber was prepared at *Aula*, and transported as before to the river *de la Bafos*, where, at last, the vessels were finished, and launched, with incredible labour, after the workmen had combated all the difficulties which fatigue, famine, and the inconvenient situation could throw in their way. He immediately embarked with as many men as the two brigantines could carry, and sailing to the largest pearl island, employed himself in forming magazines, while the vessels were employed in transporting the remainder of his party. While he staid here he is reported to have received a letter from the archbishop of *Seville*, congratulating him on his discovery of the *South Sea*, and assuring him, that, if he followed the land to the westward, he would meet with warlike nations, who fought in armour, and used spears; but that if he steered eastward, the country would be found to produce much gold and cattle. This intimation is said to have induced *Nunez* to sail to the continent eastward, with above an hundred men; he touched upon the coast, and took some prisoners, who told him that if he advanced he might find great abundance of the precious metal. Beyond *Cape St. Michael* the sailors observed a great number of whales, which prevented their putting to shore at *Port Pinas*, as was intended, and to proceed to the territories of the cazique *Chicama*, where *Nunez* debarked his men to revenge the party under *Gasper Morales*, slaughtered in that country. The natives advanced to oppose the landing; but they were soon obliged to give way before the *Spanish* swords and musquetry; upon which *Nunez* proceeded to the island which he had lately quitted, and ordered timber to be cut down for building two other vessels, sending for more pitch and cordage to *Aula*, and charging the messengers to get certain information whether *Lopez de Sosa* had been actually appointed governor of *Darien*, as was reported.

THE resolution to build two more brigantines, and new expedition intended, occasioned some suspicion that *Nunez* designed to render himself independent on his father-in-law *Arias d'Avila*; the suspicion was propagated, until it at length reached the ears of that gentleman, who gave easy credit to the report, because he was sensible of having injured *Nunez*. He is likewise said to have received a letter from

from one *Garabato*, a soldier, who overheard some expressions dropped by *Nunez*, which he misinterpreted, or designedly misunderstood, with a view of gaining the governor's confidence. However this may be, it is certain that the animosity between the father and son-in-law broke out with more violence than ever, though *Arias* artfully concealed his sentiments until he got *Nunez* in his power, which he effected by writing him a friendly letter, as if he was desirous of consulting him upon something of importance. He was then deeply engaged in fitting out his little squadron; but he immediately laid aside his employment to obey the orders of his superior, set out for *Darien*, without suspicion, was imprisoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded, all in the space of a few days; for which act of inhuman injustice *Arias* was never brought to any account: on the contrary, he was continued in the government, notwithstanding the proofs of his misconduct, and the signal services of the person whose blood he had wantonly spilled. 1517.

It was previous to this melancholy event, that the scarce-Expedition
city which prevailed at *Darien*, occasioned an edict from the of Cordo-
governor, declaring all persons who were desirous of push- va to Yu-
ing their fortune in other parts of the world, at liberty to catan and
depart. In consequence of which an hundred persons, above Florida.
the vulgar rank, embarked for *Cuba*, where the new colony
was reported to live extremely happily under the govern-
ment of *Velaquez*. They were well received, and promises
given them by the governor, that he would embrace the
first opportunity of promoting their interest. Soon after the
proposal was made to them of going upon discoveries towards
new countries, lying upon each side of the entrance to the
gulph of *Mexico*, of which the *Spaniards* at that time had
scarce any knowledge. The proposal was embraced, *Her-
nandez de Cordova*, celebrated for his wealth, valour, and
public spirit, offered to command the expedition; fitted out
two vessels, with all the necessary stores, at his own ex-
pence, and set sail from the *Havannah*, with 110 able bo-
red volunteers, on the 8th day of *February*. On the first
of *March* they saw land, and could descry a large town,
about two leagues from the ocean. When they approached
nearer the shore, two canoes full of men came on board,
and were civilly received. The *Indians* were dressed in short
cotton jackets without sleeves, and pieces of cloth wrapped
round their extremities, sufficient to convince the *Spaniards*,
that they had made some little progress in the arts; though
it was apparent that the dress, arms, shirts, and beards, of the
Europeans were great novelties. Next day the *cazique*, with
twelve

twelve canoes filled with men, approached the ships, crying out *Conce Cotoche*, come to my house; whence the *Spaniards* gave the name *Cotoche* to this case, which lies opposite, and at no great distance from the western extremity of the island of *Cuba*. So pressing was the cazique in his instances, and such was the shew of friendship made by the *Indians*, that *Cordova* yielded to their intreaties, went on shore, and was surrounded by an army of *Indians* that poured out of a neighbouring wood. They were cased in armour of quilted cotton, armed with targets, wooden swords having flint edges; wooden cutlasses, spears, slings and bows, and adorned with plumes of feathers and a kind of paint, with which they discoloured their faces, and rendered themselves very hideous. They began the attack with terrible shrieks and howling, to which they joined the noise of several unmusical instruments, pouring in upon the *Spaniards* full showers of arrows and spears. *Cordova's* men did not exceed twenty five; but they made so brave a defence, and plied their fire-arms with so much dexterity, that the *Indians*, affrighted with the dreadful thunder, were defeated, leaving seventeen dead, and several wounded, on the field of battle. Two of the prisoners afterwards became proselytes to the Christian faith, and were baptized by the names of *Julian* and *Melchior*. Near the field the *Spaniards* discovered three houses, built with stone and mortar, which they found to be temples filled with earthen idols with hideous faces, and other terrible ugly images, which they contained. There were the images of women, of men in unnatural lascivious postures, and small idols made of wood, with plates, ornaments, and diadems of gold.

From this country *Cordova* proceeded to the bay of *Campeche*, called *Quampech* by the natives, where he watered. When the *Spaniards* were returning to their ships, fifty *Indians* clothed in jackets, over which they wore long cotton mantles, interrogated them by signs, whether they came from the eastward, and what they wanted, inviting them to their town, at a little distance. The *Spaniards* were disposed to comply with this invitation; and after putting themselves in a posture of defence, entered some temples, which they found decorated with idols of such deformity as almost terrified them, stained with blood fresh shed, as was supposed, from human victims, and filled with crosses and other emblems of the Roman catholic faith, which occasioned great astonishment. The people flocked round, beheld the strangers with signs of wonder, and often smiled, as if in admiration of the simplicity and uncouth appearance of the *Spaniards*.

niards. From the temples issued ten priests, covered with long white mantles, resembling surplices, with long black hair plaited up, and in their hands little earthen fire-pans, upon which they burnt a certain gum they called *Copal*, and perfumed the *Spaniards*, bidding them leave that country, if they valued their lives. They had no sooner given this warning, than they sounded their warlike instruments, which the *Spaniards* taking for a signal for the *Indians* to assemble, retreated to their ships, being pursued only by a few detached parties.

HAVING failed six days along the coast, the great scarcity of water on board obliged *Cordova* to put ashore in a bay about a league distant from a town called *Potonchau*, where the *Spaniards* observed temples built with stone and lime, in the same manner as the former. Then they were accosted by several armed men, who, after asking divers questions, went back to their houses, and soon returned with greater numbers, who began to attack the *Spaniards* with great fury. To attempt a retreat was dangerous, and nothing remained but the utmost exertion of their courage to oppose such a multitude of *Indians*. The whole night was spent in such skirmishing; and in the morning *Cordova* perceived that he was hedged by enemies, who were continually increasing, and pouring in showers of stones, darts and arrows. Near eighty of his men were already wounded; and though they plied their fire-arms and swords with the greatest vigour and address, it was apparent they must soon be overwhelmed in the torrent of *Indians* that rushed upon them from all quarters. The general cry was *Colachini*, or leader; meaning that they should take aim at *Cordova*; which they did to effectually as to wound him in twelve different, *Gomara* says^b, in thirty-three different places; upon which he determined at all events to regain the shipping; and accordingly broke through the enemy with desperate resolution, got on board the boats, which were ready to sink with their numbers; the *Indians* pursuing with loud cries, and running into the water to wound the *Spaniards* with their spears. In this action *Cordova* had forty-seven men killed on the spot, five more dying of their wounds on board, which occasioned his giving this bay the name of *de Mala Pelea*, on account of the unfortunate issue of the engagement with the *Indians*. Hence he steered for the coast of *Florida*, the crew almost perishing with thirst, and upon his landing to water, was attacked by *Indians* greatly resembling those of

^b HERRER. dec. ii. l. i. c. 3.

Yucatan, from whom he extricated himself with an inconsiderable loss, and sailed to the *Havannah*, then called *Port Carenas*, without having made any acquisition of gold, or indeed any discoveries with respect to the native commodities of *Yucatan* and *Florida*, though the voyage was greatly celebrated on account of the earthen and wooden idols, the golden plates, the diadems, the manners, and the arms of the inhabitants, all which convinced the *Spaniards* that important consequences might result from this unfortunate enterprize. The *Indian* prisoners they had taken confirmed this opinion, by declaring that the country produced gold, though further experience has shewn that neither *Yucatan* nor *Florida* produce any mines of the precious metal (D).

CORDOVA died of the wounds he received from the *Indians* a few days after his return to *Cuba*; but the account of the expedition, which he drew up on his death-bed, and transmitted to *Velaquez*, determined that gentleman to prosecute the discovery; for which purpose he equipped three ships and a brigantine, manned with 250 volunteers, and appointed *John de Grijalva* to command in chief, assisted by *Alaminos*, principal pilot in *Cordova's* expedition. *Grijalva's* instructions were to bark for gold, contract alliances, gain the best account possible of the country, and some writers add, to settle a colony, if he could with convenience, though *las Casas* denies this last circumstance. The squadron sailed from *St. Jago* on the 8th of April 1518, and in a few days fell in with the island of *Cozumel*, then first discovered, where the *Spaniards* saw a town, several temples built of stone, and one in particular in form of a square tower, with windows, galleries, idols, and a large cross erected in the middle; concerning which *Herrera* relates a prophecy that has all the appearance of being fabulous; by which however he would account in what manner crosses came to be erected in divers parts of *America* and the *West-Indies*, before the arrival of the *Spaniards*, or the *Indians* had any idea of Christianity. A

(D) A *Spanish* writer, who, when the *Spaniards* inquired upon this expedition, acquainted us, that the name *Yucatan* comes from *Yuca*, of the root of which the *Indians* make *Cazabi* bread, and *Iluly*, signifying the land where the *Yuca* grows; which was the constant answer made by the natives, when the *Spaniards* inquired after the root. Hence he deduces the compound *Yucotta*; and by corruption *Yucatan* (1). Other etymologists (2) derive the name from an *Indian* town called *Talaquitlan*, which the *Spaniards* pronounced *Lucatan*; whence comes *Yucatan*.

(1) *Deuz, de Castelló, p. 41.*

(2) *Herrera, dec. ii. l. i. c. 3.*

the natives had fled to the mountains, and all endeavours to establish an intercourse with them proved fruitless, *Grijalva* reembarked, and kept on his course along the coast, being greatly astonished at the great number of white towers, handsomely built of stone, which he saw upon the island and continent. It was this circumstance that occasioned his bestowing the appellation of *New Spain* upon the province of *Yucatan*, which was afterwards extended to all *Mexico*, and indeed the greater part of the *Spanish* dominions upon that side the equator. After sailing for the space of eight days, *Grijalva* entered the gulph of *Mexico* further, and landed at some distance from the capital of *Pontonchar's* dominions; a cazique subject to the emperor of *Mexico*. The *Indians* opposed the debarkation, and an engagement commenced, in which *Grijalva*, with sixty *Spaniards*, were wounded, and three killed, though the *Indians* were in the issue defeated, with the loss of 100 men; after which he took possession of the town, deserted by all the inhabitants.

He then proceeded to the river *Tabasco*, to which he gave the name of *Rio de Grijalva*, and landed with some men. The *Indians* did not oppose the debarkation; but they soon surrounded the boats with fifty canoes filled with armed men, adorned with plumes of feathers. *Grijalva*, unwilling to expose to blows, sent the two *Indians* taken by *Cordova*, and baptized by the names of *Melchior* and *Julian*, to acquaint the *Tabascans*, that his desire was to establish a friendly intercourse, that might prove mutually beneficial. This produced a parley, which was soon improved into a solid peace, by means of the beads, glasses, and other toys, presented by the *Spaniards*, and conveyed by the *Indians* to their cazique, who ordered all manner of provision to be sent to the strangers. Next day he visited *Grijalva* in person, and without hesitation went on board his ship, giving him as a present a complete suit of gold armour, a wooden helmet plated with gold, studded with stones resembling emeralds, and beautifully wrought, several breast-plates, some of solid gold, and others of wood, plated thinly with gold, coverings for targets of solid gold, six collars of beaten gold, bracelets, ear-rings, and pendants of the same, all of great value; which present *Grijalva* acknowledged by dressing the cazique in a sort of fine linen, a coat of crimson velvet, a cap of the same materials, beads and glasses of different colours, scissars, knives, and other trinkets, which the cazique prized above all the gold in *Moteczuma's* empire (E); for he was a sub-

(E) *Antonio de Solis* censures account of *Gomara*, an author *Herrera* for giving credit to this whom he rejects upon other
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subject of that great monarch, as will appear in the sequel. What most astonished the *Spaniards* was the ingenious workmanship of the gold ornaments, and particularly of a shield, covered with feathers of beautiful colours; and elegantly disposed; which distinguished both taste and a progress in the fine arts. Many were greatly disposed to remain in a country that exhibited such proofs of wealth and liberality in the inhabitants; but it was apparent, notwithstanding the *Cazique's* civility, that he was not at all inclined to favour a colony, which determined *Grijalva* to embark, as he found the people were too powerful to admit of any attempts to establish himself by violence. As he sailed along the shore, the *Indians* were seen on the coast in a warlike posture, with shields of tortoise-shell, which by the reflection of the sun's beams made a brilliant and martial appearance. The country seemed to be extremely populous, quite to the river *Gua-zacoaca*, and in many places the natives held up flags of cotton, upon long poles, as signals to the *Spaniards* to land; which at last tempted *Grijalva* to send *Francisco de Mentejo* ashore with twenty soldiers; all the cross-bow men and musqueteers, with orders that if he found the *Indians* in a hostile disposition, he should give immediate notice to the shipping. It was afterwards found that an account had been sent to *Montezuma*, and the court of *Mexico*, of the descent made by *Cordova*, of the actions at *Cotoche* and *Potouchan*, and of *Grijalva's* touching upon the coast, by means of painted cotton cloths; and that the emperor perceiving the *Spaniards* only wanted gold, had issued orders to his subjects to enter upon an intercourse with them, and penetrate into their ultimate designs. When *Mentejo* approached the *Indians*, they offered him fowls, fish, bread, and fruits, of different kinds, and perfumed him with the smoke of burnt *Copal*. These civilities induced *Grijalva* to draw up closer with the ships, and debark, attended by several *Spaniards*, who were curious to inquire into the manners of the people, and full of expectation of sharing in the presents of those savages, who appeared to be equally wealthy and generous, if they might judge from the behaviour of the *cazique* of *Tabasco*. Accordingly *Grijalva* was no sooner landed, than he was met by

occasions; yet we must confess we see nothing improbable in the relation, if we suppose that *Montezuma* had given orders to the governors to receive the *Spaniards* civilly; which is cor-

roborated by the opinion, that all the gold had been sent from the city *Mexico*, *Yucatan* producing none of the precious metal. L. i. c. vi.

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the governors, and received with the most profound respect. An exchange and traffic began, which, in the space of six days, brought the Spaniards fifteen thousand pieces of eight; profits that by no means corresponded with the extravagant hopes of the sailors.

CONTINUING his voyage, *Grijalva* met with several islands, to which he gave names from their several appearances. One he called *Isla Blanca*; another *la Verde*; and another he called *The Island of Sacrifices*, because he found that human victims had been immolated at the shrines of certain idols, just before his arrival. Touching at *St. Juan d'Ulva*, he marched up with thirty men, to a temple filled with idols, and inhabited by four priests clad in long black stoles with hoods, who had just done sacrificing two boys agreeable to their impious and inhuman superstition. The Spaniards were moved with horror and compassion upon sight of the children, whose bodies were rift open, hearts taken out, and offered at the altars of their false divinities. It was from this place that *Grijalva* dispatched intelligence of his discoveries to the governor of *Cuba*, who now was exceedingly incensed that he had not founded a colony, notwithstanding his instructions were express, that he should only trade, and make discoveries, if we may credit *Herrera*. This indeed had been proposed by *Grijalva*, and debated in council, but over-ruled by *Montejo* and *Alonso d'Avila*, who were of opinion that the consequences of a miscarriage might prove fatal to them, as all attempts to build houses and make settlements were contrary to their express orders; which determined *Grijalva* to return to *Cuba*, after he had visited the coasts of divers Mexican provinces, before undiscovered, and traded to a considerable value with the natives.

PEDRO de Alvarado was the person sent by *Grijalva* with an account of the success of the expedition to *Velaquez*, who was transported at the sight of the gold, and elated with discoveries upon which he hoped to build his fortune, and raise himself to independance on the admiral *Diego de Colon*, his superior in command. A rivalry had long subsisted between these two gentlemen, which was the means of inspiring *Velaquez* with the first notion of *Grijalva's* enterprize, and now confirmed him in the resolution of prosecuting discoveries that in all probability would raise his fortune and reputation above all competition. Perceiving that *Grijalva's* obedience to his instructions proved an obstruction to the progress of his vast designs, he was extremely offended that he had not established a colony in a country where he was so well received, without reflecting that *Grijalva*, in this,

this, obeyed his orders, contrary to his own opinion. Before the return of the commander, he begun to make preparations for an other expedition, and had already communicated his intention to the clergy of *Hispaniola*, in order to sanctify it by their approbation, resolving the direction should be committed to a person of courage, distinction, and ability; but withal so obedient and pliable, as to entertain no other ambition than that of promoting the glory and interest of his benefactor and superior; which, says a good writer of those times, was to seek for a commander of great courage, and a mean spirit. When *Grijalva* returned, the voice of the people recommended him to this trust; but *Velaquez* was strongly prejudiced, though he could not be insensible to his merit, when he perused the written account delivered by that officer of his expedition, and heard his modest defence: however, though he determined not to bestow the command on *Grijalva*, it was difficult to fix his choice amidst the number of deserving competitors. *Antonio* and *Bernardino Velaquez*, both nearly allied to the governor, *Balibazar Bermudez* and *Vasco Porcallo*, with other gentlemen of unexceptionable character, were all ambitious of leading an enterprize which opened the prospect of a fruitful harvest in glory and riches; when at length *Velaquez* was influenced by the insinuations of his favourite *Amador de Loris*, the king's treasurer, and the intimate friend of *Hernand Cortez*. *Cortez* was popular, generous, liberal, and intrepid: at this time he acted in the capacity of alcade, had acquired a considerable fortune, and given proofs of his merit; but as he had formerly been at variance with the governor, nothing less than the powerful arguments of *de Loris*, and *Velaquez's* extreme anxiety about the issue of the enterprize, could triumph over the strong opposition made by the other candidates. In the end every difficulty gave way, *Cortez* was nominated to the command; and he pushed his preparations with so much vigour, that, in a few days after he received the command, he was ready to set sail; as the reader may see in the ensuing section.

S E C T. . III.

Cortez sails from Cuba, touches at Cozumel, arrives in Mexico, and performs a Variety of Exploits.

AS the conquest of *Mexico* is one of the most extraordinary and entertaining events recorded in history, we shall dwell more minutely upon the expedition of *Cortez*, than was

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was deemed necessary in the relation of voyages, which led the way to this vast acquisition to the power of the *Spanish* monarchy. This hero achieved, by a handful of men, the overthrow of a vast empire. He surmounted difficulties, he encountered dangers, fought battles, and gained victories not inferior to those recorded of the most renowned warriors of antiquity; and happily for his memory, his actions are described by the elegant pen of *Antonio de Solis*, a writer, in our opinion, no way inferior to *Thucydides* or *Livy*, except some few strokes of the marvellous, admitted into his relation, which we shall endeavour to remove, by comparing him diligently with other historians who have wrote upon the same subject. To our account of the conquest we shall subjoin an explicit description of the kingdom of *Mexico*; of the manners, religion, government, wealth, arts, and other particulars relating to the inhabitants, many hints of which shall however be disseminated through the course of the historical narration.

*Account of
Cortez.*

THAT our readers may not be entirely unacquainted with the birth of this famous conqueror, it will be necessary to mention, that he was a native of *Medillin*, a town of *Estremadura* in *Spain*, and the son of *Martin Cortez* of *Monroy*, and *doña Catalina Pizarro Altamirano*; names which sufficiently bespeak the nobility of his parentage, at least by the mother. He was bred a scholar, and had spent two years at *Salamanca*; but a studious life not suiting his lively and active genius, he obtained his father's permission to engage in the service of his country, and learn the rudiments of the military art, under the celebrated *Gonzalvo de Cordova*, then at the head of a *Spanish* army in *Italy*; but a dangerous illness with which he was seized, just on the point of embarkation, frustrated this design, and turned his views towards the *West-Indies*, where the *Spaniards* were reaping a plentiful harvest of wealth and glory. In the year 1504 he went to *Hispaniola*, being then in the 19th year of his age, and was particularly distinguished by *Obando* the governor, to whom he had been strongly recommended. After gaining the general esteem of the colony, he attended *Velaquez* in quality of secretary to the island of *Cuba*, where he soon established the reputation of an able statesman and commander, a brave soldier, a generous friend, and an agreeable companion. *De Solis* acquaints us, that his person was pleasing, his countenance engaging, his temper amiable, and his conversation discreet; qualities which first attracted the notice, and engaged the affections of *doña Catharina Suarez Pacheco*. His engagements with this noble lady involved *Cortez*

1518.

In many difficulties, and produced an altercation with *Velaquez*, which had almost proved fatal to his life; though he afterwards recovered the governor's favour. When all differences were accommodated, *Velaquez* not only gave away the bride, but bestowed lands upon *Cortez*, and distinguished him by raising him to the office of alcade of *St. Jago*, an employment usually conferred upon such as had exhibited incontestable proofs of merit. In these circumstances were our hero, when he was appointed to conduct the expedition to *Yucatan* and the coast of *Mexico*, by the title of captain-general of the fleet, and of the countries already discovered, or that should henceforward be conquered under his auspices. Sensibly affected with this mark of his governor's confidence, he received the charge with great expressions of respect and acknowledgement; though *Herrera* dares his ambition and ingratitude to his benefactor from this period (A). The preference shewn *Cortez* disgusted all his competitors, and made them seize every opportunity of raising scruples and exciting jealousies in the mind of the governor. They reminded *Velaquez* of the early proofs of ambition and ingratitude which *Cortez* had exhibited; they ripped up all the sores occasioned by their ancient animosity, and put the most invidious gloss on all the actions of this object of their malignity; they accused *Cortez* of the meanest hypocrisy, the most daring and presumptuous ambition; even in his courtesy and liberality they discovered an artifice, which they alleged was but too obvious to all who were not deceived by the semblance of real virtue. In a word, they insisted that *Cortez* had not effaced the chagrin of his former sufferings and imprisonment, and they wished *Velaquez* to consider this circumstance maturely before it was too late to repair an error that might prove fatal to his honour and to his life,

(A) The relations of *Herrera* and *de Solis* are extremely contradictory in this, and a variety of other particulars, notwithstanding they appear to have consulted the same authorities. The former, under the appearance of the strictest impartiality, takes *Cortez* with the basest ingratitude, by making him the first aggressor, and asserting that he threw off his obedience before

Velaquez entertained any suspicion of his fidelity, or the least notion of superseding him in the command (1); whereas *de Solis* the admirer of *Cortez*, and indeed his panegyrist, vindicates the reputation of his hero, and shrows the whole blame on *Velaquez*, in the manner regited in the text: at this distance of time we cannot pretend to ascertain the exact truth of asseverations.

(1) *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. ii.

as well as to the public service, and the interests of religion and his country. At first *Velaquez* received these remonstrances as the effusions of malice and disappointed ambition, assisting *Cortez* in his preparations, and taking leave of him in the most friendly manner when he was ready to depart from *St. Jago*. This, at least, is the relation given by *Antonio de Solis*; although *Herrera*, and other Spanish writers, affirm, that *Cortez* stole away privately in the night, upon some intimation that the governor intended to recall his commission; and that upon *Velaquez's* pursuing him in the morning, he manned a boat, met the governor in a posture of defiance, and acquainted him in the most disrespectful manner, that he would pay no farther regard to his orders ^b.

On the 18th day of November the fleet sailed from the port of *St. Jago*, and arrived in a few days at the port of *La sails from Trinidad*; where *Cortez* no sooner published the design of *St. Jago*. the expedition, than he was reinforced by a great number of volunteers, many of them persons of the best fashion on the island, which furnished his enemies with fresh arguments to impeach his fidelity, and poison the governor's mind with distrust and jealousy. *Cortez* had engaged so many adventurers to share in his fortune by his obliging behaviour, that his disappointed rivals found it no difficult matter to succeed in their design of ruining him with *Velaquez*. The opportunity was favourable, and they pressed their instances with so specious an appearance of disinterestedness, that the governor at length yielded to their persuasion, and sent two couriers, with letters to all his confidants, and express orders to *Francisco Verdugo*, chief alcade of *La Trinidad*, to prosecute *Cortez* in a judicial way, and deprive him of the command. *Cortez* had notice of what was transacting; upon which he immediately assembled his friends and soldiers, informed them of the machinations of his enemies, desired their advice in what manner he should proceed, and to know how far he might depend upon the justice of his cause by the judgment they should pass on his conduct. There needed nothing more to engage the soldiers to make protestations of eternal attachment to his person and fortune. He found them united in his interest, and determined to defend him against so gross an injury, even at the hazard of taking arms, and coming to an open rupture with the governor; upon which he visited the alcade, informed him of the danger to which he should expose himself by obeying orders so iniquitous,

The governor nor orders him to be dispossessed of the command.

^b DE SOLIS, lib. i. c. x. HERRERA, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. ii.

The go-
vernor's
orders
disobeyed.

disgusting to many persons of distinction as had engaged in the expedition out of friendship to him, and drawing upon himself the indignation of the soldiers, whose affections he studied to gain, the better to promote the public service. He already found it difficult, he said, to restrain their fury within the bounds of obedience; and he could not be answerable for the consequence, should the alcade proceed to the execution of his instructions. *Verdugo* was a person of sense and candor; he was sensible of the injustice of the governor's orders, of the merit of *Cortez*, of the danger which would attend any attempts to supersede him, and of the detriment which the public would sustain from the divisions which must infallibly ensue. He told *Cortez*, that he would not only suspend the execution of his orders, but use his utmost endeavours to dissuade *Velaquez* from his resolution, in which he was joined by all the other gentlemen in the town and fleet, who had any influence with the governor. All of them wrote to *Velaquez*, and *Cortez* accompanied their remonstrances with a letter from himself, complaining, in the gentlest terms, of the governor's distrust, of the confidence he reposed in his enemies, and the facility with which he listened to calumnies raised by disappointed ambition.

Cortez
arrives at
the Ha-
vannah.

HAVING taken all the measures which he thought necessary to his own security, and sufficient to quiet all the scruples entertained by *Velaquez*, he set sail for the *Havannah*, and was separated from the fleet in a storm, and in great danger of being shipwrecked. All the other ships arriving safe at the place of rendezvous, and no account coming of *Cortez* for the space of a week, the adventurers were divided in opinion, some regarding him as lost, others advising that vessels might be sent in search of him, and a few proposing that a commander should be appointed in his absence. Of this last opinion was *Diego de Ordaz*, who, as the friend and confidant of *Velaquez*, thought he should bid fair to be confirmed in this post if he were once nominated by the soldiers. In this project he was, however, disappointed by the arrival of *Cortez*, who was received by the joyful acclamations of the soldiers, and the warmest testimonies of esteem from *Pedro de Barba*, governor of the city. He set up his standard, and was immediately joined by several gentlemen who had already approved their valour, which gave great reputation to the expedition, and facilitated the equipment of the fleet. He sent the artillery on shore to be cleaned and proved, gave orders for a great number of cotton quilts, in the form of great coats, which were called *Escapildes*, as a defence against the arrows of the *Indians*, exercised his soldiers in the

use

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use of fire-arms and cross-bows, taught them the several evolutions necessary in action, the method of advancing, retreating, forming into large and small divisions, charging; in a word, all the elements of the military art in the most concise method. Every thing was at last in great forwardness, and the day fixed for the departure of the fleet, when *A second* orders arrived to the governor of the *Havannah* to supersede *order for* Cortez, and send him prisoner to *St. Jago*, with threats and *seizing and* menaces to enforce the punctual execution of these instructions; but *Velaquez* was no better obeyed in this than on the former occasion. Even the very courier, who had brought the order, gave Cortez notice, and he had informations from several quarters, that a design was on foot extremely injurious to his honour, and dangerous to his liberty. Cortez was extremely incensed at this new attempt, because he thought he had given all reasonable security of his fidelity, and furnished no room for suspicion. Convinced of the implacable resentment of his enemies, he now began with less temper to think of providing for himself, and throwing off that obedience, the observance of which might prove the ruin of himself and scheme, so promising to the public emolument. When he reflected upon the indignities he had sustained, he blamed his own patience, and believed that the virtue of obedience might be carried to a criminal excess, as if arising from pusillanimity. This determined him to come *He throws* to an open rupture with *Velaquez*, from whom he had no *off his al-* thing to fear, as he was certain of the affections of his soldiers and his command. His first step was to remove *the gover-* from the *Havannah* *Diego de Ordaz*, whose fidelity and attachment he had reason to suspect ever since he had proposed himself as commander of the expedition. He then shewed himself to the soldiers, and acquainted them with the new persecution to which he was exposed by the virulence of his enemies; upon which they made the same declarations as before, and became so tumultuous, that it was with difficulty he could restrain their flying to arms; nor could all his endeavours silence their clamorous zeal, until *Pedro Barba* protested publicly, that he would not execute his orders, or have any share in so flagrant an act of injustice and oppression, with which the soldiers were immediately appeased, and their menaces converted into joyful acclamations. *Barba* shewed the sincerity of his intentions by excusing himself to *Velaquez* for not interposing in an affair of such delicate consequence, remonstrating upon the impropriety of any attempts against an officer so beloved by his people; and representing, in the strongest terms, the commotions excited among the soldiers

soldiers by the report of the injury intended to their commander; concluding with pathetic admonitions, that *Velazquez* would endeavour to regain *Cortez* by acts of friendship and generosity, and rely upon his gratitude for what could be accomplished neither by threats, force, nor persuasion.

THIS difficulty being surmounted, *Cortez* divided his men into eleven companies, embarking one in each vessel, appointed captains to each, reserved to himself the command of the largest ship, the *Capitana*, bestowed the chief direction of the artillery on *Francisco de Orozco*, a soldier who had distinguished himself in *Italy*; and appointed for his chief pilot *Antonio de Alaminos*, the same person who had accompanied *Cordova* and *Grijalva* to the coast of *Mexico*, in the expeditions recited in the last section. He next drew up instructions for all his officers, in which he provided against contingencies with admirable sagacity, stamped an impression of his prudence on the minds of his soldiers, and afforded a happy presage of the success of the expedition, from the wisdom and caution with which it was concerted. On the 10th day of

1519.

February he quitted the port of the *Havannah*, put out to sea, and was soon overtaken in a storm; during which he displayed every quality of a vigilant able commander, and was the chief instrument in saving one of the ships which had lost her rudder in the tempest. The island of *Cozumel* was the place appointed for the rendezvous of the fleet in case of separation; and here *Pedro d'Alvarado* first arrived. This officer had been dispatched with his ship in search of *Diego d'Ordaz*, towards the north coast; but missing his course, he steered for *Cozumel*, and landed near a small town, which he remembered since the voyage he performed with *Grijalva*. Finding it deserted, and that the *Indians* had fled farther into the country, *Alvarado* imagining that inaction in a soldier was want of virtue, marched with a party of his men to survey the country, and came to another town, which was likewise deserted by the inhabitants. This he pillaged, seizing upon all the provisions he could find, destroying the idols in a temple, and despoiling them of all their gold ornaments, and whatever came in his way that appeared to be valuable, without once recollecting that he was injuring the service, by terrifying the *Indians*, giving them bad impressions of the *Spaniards*, and frustrating the design of *Cortez*, never to use violence, where good usage and persuasion could effect the same purposes. With this booty, and a few prisoners, he returned to the place of debarkation, where he was joined the next day by *Cortez* and the fleet. Upon relating his conduct, he was publicly censured by the general,

Cortez
arrives at
Cozumel.

ral, and the prisoners were dismissed, after they had been informed by the *Indian* interpreter *Melchior*, of whom we have before made mention, how disagreeable the injuries done them were to *Cortez*, and how contrary to the general intention of the expedition, which was to cultivate friendship, and form alliances, with all the *Indian* nations. All the booty taken by *Alvarado's* soldiers was likewise restored, and some presents were made to the captives, in hopes that their account to their countrymen, of the behaviour of the *Spaniards*, might produce an intercourse.

CORTEZ now encamped for three days on the coast, lest his advancing further into the country might give fresh disturbance to the natives, before the relation of the captives could work the expected effect. This time he employed in mustering his army, which he found amounted to five hundred and eight soldiers, sixteen horsemen, and an hundred and nine mechanics, pilots, and mariners, including the crew of *Diego d'Ordaz*, who had now joined him in consequence of another message. When the muster was finished, he harangued the army in a lively animating speech, in which he enumerated the difficulties thrown in their way by the malice of his enemies, the happy preface which his triumph afforded, the importance of the expedition, the perils and toils which they must expect to encounter in the pursuit of riches and glory. "I have no design, says he, to diminish the danger of our undertaking. We are to expect bloody engagements, incredible fatigues, and such multitudes of enemies, as will require the full exertion of all your valour; but the glory of conquest will be the greater. You have been accustomed to fight, and to endure hardships in those islands which you have already subdued: our present undertaking is of greater importance; we must pursue it with proportionable vigour, and square our courage and resolution to the difficulty of our enterprize. We are but few in number; but union multiplies armies, and in our agreement consists our strength. We must, my companions, be all of one mind to resolve, and as one hand to execute: our interests are the same, and the glory of conquest shall be equally distributed among the deserving. The valour of each individual must establish the security of all in general. I am your commander, and will be the first to hazard my life for the meanest of my soldiers. Let it be your care to merit my regard, and rather to follow my example than my orders. I find in myself a courage able to execute the most difficult enterprize, and sufficient to undertake the conquest of the whole world: my heart

" even

“ even flatters me with this hope, from I know not what extraordinary impulse, the most agreeable of all presages. In a word, let our professions be succeeded by actions; and let not this confidence of mine be reckoned temerity, since it is so well supported by you, from whom I expect that all deficiencies in myself shall be supplied.”

WHILE he was thus exhorting and animating his soldiers with all the eloquence of a *Julius Caesar*, notice was brought that the *Indians* began to appear at a distance, in small parties, unarmed; which, however, did not prevent *Cortez* from putting himself in a posture of defence, and guarding against being surprised: however, the men were ranged behind the lines, that they might not present a hostile appearance, or discourage the natives from advancing. This gradually drew them on, until some of the more resolute ventured to enter the camp, where they were so kindly received, that they called to their companions to follow their example. The *Indians* flocked now in great numbers, mingled without fear with the *Spaniards*, and beheld every thing with signs of wonder and amazement; though, upon the whole, they appeared to be conversant with strangers, as was highly probable, from an idol kept in this island, extremely revered by the *Indians* of the continent. Next day *Cortez* was honoured with a visit from the cazique, and a present, which he received with profound acknowledgments and testimonies of his great inclination to cultivate a perpetual friendship with so respectable a prince: to which the *Indian* replied, that he accepted the friendship offered, and would preserve it as a man who understood the value of the gift. It was during this visit, that *Cortez* accidentally got intelligence of certain *Spaniards* who were detained prisoners in *Yucatan*, since the former expeditions to that country. He had ever heard one of the *Indians*, in the cazique's retinue, repeat the word *Castilla*; and ordering the interpreter to inquire into the *Indian's* meaning, was told, that his men very much resembled certain prisoners kept in *Yucatan*, who said they were natives of a country called *Castilla*. Upon farther inquiry, *Cortez* found, that the captive *Spaniards* were in the hands of certain *Indians* of the first quality, residing two days journey within the province. He expressed his resolution to the cazique of setting them at liberty, and was advised to attempt it by ransom; lest, if violence were used, their neighbours might be compelled to massacre them out of fear or resentment: a caution, which gave *Cortez* a high opinion of the good sense and policy of the *Indian* prince. Accordingly, *Diego de Ordaz* was ordered with his vessel to the coast of *Yucatan*, with a letter from

from *Cortez* to the prisoners, and presents for their ransom, to which some *Indians* undertook to bring back an answer in eight days; but the time being expired, *Ordaz* returned without his business, imagining that he had been deluded and cheated of the presents, and that either no *Spaniard* was detained at *Yucatan*, or that no attempt was made to procure his release. This was the source of real concern to *Cortez*; who, besides the pleasure of setting countrymen and christians at liberty, entertained great hopes from the services of the captives as interpreters, as it was probable they must have acquired the language of the country; but before he had quitted *Cozumel*, he was joined by the *Indian* messengers, who very honourably discharged their commission, though they were retarded by accidents, and brought back with them the prisoner, whose name was *Jeron de Aguilar*. As this person was greatly instrumental in the conquest of *Mexico*, we shall give an abstract of his adventures.

ACCORDING to *Aguilar's* account, he had lived near eight ^{Recover's} years among the *Indians*, having been shipwrecked as he ^a*Spaniard* was passing from *Darien* to *Hispaniola*, and escaping with ^{detained} twenty more in a long-boat, driven on the coast of *Yucatan*, ^{prisoner in} where they were carried to a country of *Caribbee Indians*. *Yucatan*. The plumpest of his countrymen were sacrificed to their idols, and afterwards feasted upon by the savages, while his own leanness proved the means of his safety. He was cooped up in a cage to fatten against the next solemn festival, before which he fortunately made his escape; and after wandering several days, remote from all settlements, without any other nourishment than herbs and roots, fell into the hands of certain *Indians*, who presented him to the *cazique*, by whom, after some severe usage, and trials of his patience and ability, he was raised to the highest offices, and the command of armies. He had obtained several victories over the enemies of the *cazique*, and acquired such power and popularity, that at the time the *Indian* messengers arrived with his ransom, he was in a condition to demand his liberty as the reward of his extraordinary services.

WHILE the *Indian* messengers were employed at the court of the *cazique*, and treating for the release of *Aguilar*, *Cortez* was not idle. He marched with his whole army to take a view of the island; rather with design to preserve discipline, and keep the soldiers in action, than from any apprehension of an attack from the natives, who seemed extremely delighted with the behaviour of the *Spaniards*. He dissuaded his men from offering violence, by representing the poverty of the people, which could afford no temptation to break through

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through the regulations of discipline, and the laws of hospitality. He told them, that here they were to stamp that impression of their characters, which must strongly influence the success of all their future undertakings, as the reputation they acquired in *Cozumel* would soon be diffused over the continent; and he concluded with observing, that the fame of their integrity, humanity, and generosity, would promote their interest, and extend their conquests, more powerfully than the sword. He suffered them, however, to barter trinkets with the *Indians* in exchange for gold and provisions, by which means the army was abundantly supplied with all the necessaries which the country afforded. *Cortez* likewise visited the temple of the supreme idol; and was astonished to find the architecture not despicable. The idol was a human figure of a terrible aspect; and, indeed, this circumstance of deformity was religiously observed among the divinities of all degrees worshipped by this ignorant people. The island is said to have taken the name of *Cozumel* from this great idol, so much revered by all the adjacent nations, and particularly in *Mexico*, from which the island is situated only at the distance of a few leagues. The temple was crowded with *Indians*, in the midst of whom stood a priest, distinguished by a part of a covering just sufficient to hide his nakedness, who seemed to be exhorting the audience, and preaching with an emphatic tone and action, extremely ridiculous to the *Spaniards*. *Cortez* took this opportunity of instructing the *cazique* in such points of the doctrines of christianity, as he imagined were best suited to his capacity. He demonstrated to him the absurdity of his own religion, and made so deep an impression on the mind of this prince, that, instead of returning an answer, he desired to consult with the priest and people. But it was not so easy to satisfy the mind of the priest, who perceiving that his interest was deeply concerned in supporting the imposture, made loud outcries against all innovation, and threatened the reformers with the vengeance of the gods, if they did not immediately desist from so impious a design. However, the soldiers overturning the altar, and desecrating the idol, the *Indians* began to wonder that the gods did not interpose; they beheld the heavens were still serene, that the promised vengeance was delayed, and soon changed their adoration into contempt for those gods, who, not being able to vindicate themselves, could afford but little protection to their votaries. Upon this the *Spaniards* erected an altar, on which they placed the image of the virgin *Mary*, and fixed a cross at the entrance of the temple, and, thinking they had by this act exhibited full proofs of the truths of revelation,

Destroys
the idols of
the island-
ers.

velation, departed, leaving the natives in silent astonishment at the wonders they saw wrought.

By the 4th of *March* the troops being embarked, *Cortez* arrived at sailed with his whole fleet directly for the coast of *Yucatan*, *Tabasco* and doubling *Cape Catoche*, arrived safe in the river of *Grijalva*, where he expected to meet with the same kind reception from the *Indians* of *Tabasco*, which the *Spaniards* met with in the late expedition. The gold likewise brought from that country, made the soldiers extremely earnest in their solicitations for leave to go on shore; and *Cortez* determined to comply, as this he hoped would be the means of establishing a firm alliance with the natives. His intention, however, was only to make a short stay in *Tabasco*, his thoughts being wholly bent in proceeding to the capital of *Mexico*; the account of which given by *Aguilar* and the *Indians* excited both his curiosity and ambition. Skirmishing in the provinces, could only serve to weaken his army, and diminish the number of his troops, which should be reserved whole and entire for the most difficult enterprize: besides, the reduction of *Tabasco*, and other remote provinces, would contribute little towards the conquest of *Mexico*; the great strength of which was in the capital, and towards the heart of the empire: yet he resolved to gratify the soldiers, and accordingly proceeded to make the best of his way against the current, when a multitude of canoes was observed to line both sides of the river, filled with men completely armed, and giving tokens of hostile intentions. *Cortez* advanced in close order in his boats, ordering that none should fire until he was commanded; and as soon as he anchored within a proper distance, *Aguilar* found that he understood their language, and acquainted the general, that the cries of the *Indians* were menaces and declarations of war, unless he returned to the ships. *Aguilar* was directed to advance in one of the boats, with proper proposals; but he soon returned with an account, that the *Indians* were obstinate in their resolution to defend the mouth of the river, and had even insolently refused to hearken to his proposals. *Herrera*, indeed, gives an inviolable turn to *Cortez's* behaviour on this occasion, by affirming, that the *Indians* only opposed his landing in a hostile manner, and that they supplied him plentifully with provisions; which is denied by *De Solis*, whose relation is corroborated by the testimony of *Diaz del Castillo*, who was present in the expedition. According to *De Solis*, *Cortez* was averse to a war, because it could bring him no advantage, and must necessarily retard his voyage; but perceiving that he was now engaged in altercation, he thought it might hurt him

him in the opinion of the soldiers, if he suffered the insolence of the barbarians to pass unpunished. However, after making all the necessary preparations for forcing the enemy, he sent *Aguilar* a second time, with proposals and assurances, that he had nothing in view but friendly intentions and the mutual advantage of both parties, which were answered by a signal to attack. *Cortez* had drawn up his fleet of boats in the form of a crescent, towards which the *Indians* advanced with the power of the current; and when they were within a proper distance, poured such a flight of arrows, as greatly embarrassed the *Spaniards* to ward off, even with the best of their shields and cotton cloths; but having sustained the first charge, they returned it with a vigour which astonished and broke the *Indians*, the canoes retiring with great precipitation, and leaving a free passage for the boats to advance. Many were so terrified with the smoke, fire, and noise of the artillery, and with the death of their companions, that, imagining the heavens were falling, they plunged into the water. In consequence of this advantage, the boats put to shore, and the troops began to debark in a situation so inconvenient, that the *Indians* recovered their spirits, and renewed the attack, while the *Spaniards* were almost entirely engaged in disentangling themselves from bushes, briars, and marshes, in which they sunk to the knees. The flight of arrows shot by the *Indians* increased the difficulty, and rendered the circumstances of *Cortez* extremely critical; however, his valour and conduct at last triumphed. By his voice and example he animated his men, and without ceasing to maintain his fire, drew up one line, which supported the attack until the rest were formed in battalia, and in a continuation to cover the debarkation of the remainder of an hundred men, under *Alonso d'Avila*, to attack the town of *Tlaxcala*; and as soon as the landing was completed, he fell upon the incredible multitude of his enemies with such impetuosity and address, that they yielded to the shock, allowed him to pass the marshes unmolested, and concealed themselves in bushes and thickets. The party under *D'Avila* had likewise given them the alarm, and contributed to their defeat, as appeared by the swarms who pursued him, and flew to the defence of the city, upon which they imagined he had designs. This furnished *Cortez* with an opportunity of advancing, without fear, to the assistance of the detachment, which he performed with such celerity, that he arrived at *Tabasco* before *D'Avila*, and having joined that officer, gave immediate orders for an assault, before the *Indians* should have time to recover from their panic, or to reassemble their scattered troops. "Let

" us

“ us follow the victory, cried he, before these barbarians
 “ forgot their custom of flying before us, or our delay give
 “ the n time to recollect themselves, and recall their scatter-
 “ ed spirits.” Saying this he drew his sword, and led the
 attack. The town was fortified with long stakes, fixed deep
 in the ground, in the manner of pilladoes, and so joined,
 that the *Indians* had room to discharge their arrows at certain
 intervals. It had no outworks; but at the joining of the circle,
 the extremity of one line covered the opening in the other,
 and composed a narrow serpentine street, resembling a spiral
 line, defended by little wooden towers at the entrances.
 This was an extreme commodious defence against such arms
 as were used by the *Indians*; and it greatly embarrassed the
Spaniards too, though it was no proof against artillery, and
 the refinements in the military art made by *European* nations.
 Yet no difficulties could resist the valor of the *Spaniards*;
 they gained the foot of the rampart, under a cloud of arrows
 that darkened the sky, and kept up so perpetual a fire through
 the intervals, that the *Indians* deserting their posts, gave the
 soldiers an opportunity of cutting open a passage in the wall,
 and pursuing to the very heart of the town, where the
Indians used their last efforts; but after a short resistance
 were defeated and dispersed, *Tabasco* being yielded as the re-
 ward of the conquerors. Nor would *Cortez* pursue them
 into the woods, that he might give his army time to reco-
 ver from their fatigue, and the enemy an opportunity of
 suing for peace. In this action fourteen *Spaniards* were
 wounded, none slain; whereas the slaughter of the
 enemy was considerable, and their wounded supposed to be
 more numerous, though they carried them off; it being
 a point of honour with the *Indians*, not to suffer those who
 have been maimed in action to fall into the hands of the
 enemy. However, the reduction of *Tabasco* was of no other
 value than that it furnished the troops with abundance of
 provision, the *Indians* having removed their families, and
 most valuable effects, before the assault commenced (B).
 This night the *Spaniards* took up their quarters in three
 temples, situated near that part of the town where they last

Reduces
the capi-
tal; and
defeats the
Indians in
several en-
gagements.

(B) In the recital of this af-
 fair, *Herrera* differs, as usual,
 from *De Solis*, not only in the
 particulars of the action, but
 with respect to the conduct of
Cortez. If we may credit him,
 the *Spanish* hero behaved
 treacherously, surprising *Tabasco*

while he was treating of peace
 with the *Indians*: but he seems
 either to be prejudiced against
Cortez, or at least to have bor-
 rowed his relation from the ene-
 mies of that extraordinary per-
 sonage. Dec. ii. lib. ii. c. iv.

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engaged; and *Cortez* kept as strict watch, as if he had experienced veterans to deal with, and a general who knew how to profit by every opportunity. Next day the country appeared deserted, and round the whole circle of the horizon not a single human figure appeared. The adjacent woods were searched, and found to be equally solitary and abandoned; yet *Cortez*, apprehensive of some stratagem, did not think it advisable to discontinue his usual caution. The very extraordinary silence that reigned over the whole country raised his suspicions, which were farther confirmed by the desertion of *Melchior*, the Indian whom he carried with him to serve for an interpreter. In this uncertainty he detached *Alvarado* and *Fernando de Lugo*, each with an hundred men, to examine the country more narrowly, with directions, if they found an army in the field, to return with all expedition to their quarters, in order to avoid engaging with unequal numbers. After little more than an hour's march, *de Lugo* was surrounded by a multitude of *Indians*, who attacked him on all sides with so much fury, that he was forced to draw up his men in a square, presenting a point every way; but as the enemy were continually increasing, he must, in the end, have sunk under the weight of numbers, had not *Alvarado*, upon hearing the noise of fire-arms, come seasonably to his relief. *Alvarado* fell upon the rear of the *Indians* with great impetuosity; and they, surprised at this sudden attack, soon opened him a passage to *de Lugo*, and retreated. Still, however, there was a numerous body that opposed the retreat of the *Spaniards* to their quarters, as they had been ordered. Taking breath, therefore, they then attacked the enemy with so much resolution, that they broke them through, although continually exposed to their arrows, sometimes almost borne down with numbers. Whenever the *Spaniards* faced about, the *Indians* retreated; and the moment they saw the soldiers again begin their march, renewed their attack with the same astonishing celerity. At last *Cortez*, who had been adverted of *Lugo's* distress by a *Cuba Indian* dispatched by *Alvarado*, came up with the remainder of the forces; and he was no sooner discovered by the enemy, than they halted, giving the two captains leisure to join the main body. They divided into small parties, yet still maintained a hostile appearance; though *Cortez*, not caring to waste his strength in skirmishes, retreated to his quarters, to take care of the wounded, of whom there were eleven; a number of great importance, considering the slender strength of the whole army. Upon examining the prisoners who were taken upon this occasion, it was found, that

that the *Indians* crovvel their obstinacy upon the assurances of the deserter *Meibior*, that the *Spaniards* were but a handful, that they were not in number, and that their fire-arms, which they mistook for thunder, were less dreadful than they imagined. It was upon the strength of his asseverations they had ventured to attack *de Lugo*; and *Cortez* afterwards learned that the barbarians, whom *Meibior* had persuaded to attack, having a second time failed in their attempt, revenged themselves on the adviser of the war, by sacrificing him to their idols. The prisoners also related, that all the caziques of the adjacent provinces were summoned to the assistance of the lord of *Tabasco*, and that next day a very powerful army was to be assembled, of which the body which fell upon *Lugo* was only a small detachment.

UPON this intelligence *Cortez* called a council of his principal officers. He laid before them the difficulties in which they were engaged, the preparations of the *Indians* to destroy them, and the inequality of their own number; concealing nothing from them of what the prisoners had declared. He then expatiated upon the glory of overcoming such multitudes, their own experience and valour, the nakedness and simplicity of their enemies; but above all he insisted upon the ill-consequences that might flow from discovering any symptom of fear at the menaces of those barbarians, the report of whose triumph might spread as far as *Mexico*, to the great prejudice of their reputation; a matter of no less importance, as they must expect to conquer that vast empire by reputation of invincible valour than by dint of arms. In his opinion, therefore, they ought either to abandon all thoughts of the enterprize against *New Spain*, or to proceed no farther till they had established peace with the *Tabascans* upon the most honourable conditions, or wholly subdued the province. This, however, he urged was only his own opinion, which he would willingly submit to the sentiments of the council. There appeared so much modesty, discretion, and good sense in the general's speech, that all unanimously agreed, it was then impossible to quit their present situation until they had chastised or conquered the inhabitants, without giving the natives unfavourable impressions, which might blast all their future projects. This resolution justified *Cortez* in his measures, and he accordingly proceeded to make the necessary preparations for giving the enemy a warm reception next morning. The wounded were carried on board, the horses landed, the artillery got in readiness, and such spirits were infused into the troops, as presaged a happy issue to the expected engagement. Com-

mitting

mitting the infantry to the care of *Diego de Ordaz*, *Cortez* marched with the few horse in his army in the front, keeping pace with his artillery, which moved heavily and with great difficulty, because the ground was boggy and uneven. In the morning, mass was performed with great devotion: a religious ceremony which *Cortez* never omitted, from a conviction that piety, instead of invigorating, inspired resolution and valour, by rendering the soldiers less afraid of the terrors of death. He advanced to the place where, according to the information of the prisoners, the enemies' forces were to assemble. This was at the distance of two miles from his quarters; but perceiving not the vestige of a human creature, he proceeded a mile further, to a place called *Cimballa*, and there discovered at a distance the most numerous army he had ever beheld, stretching so far, from right to left, that one eye could not take in both extremities. Their weapons were bows and arrows, the bow-strings being made of the tendons of beasts, or twisted thongs of deer-skin, and their arrows armed with bone, ground sharp, or pointed with fish-bones; for the *Indians* were all unacquainted with the use of iron. They used also long darts, which they managed according to occasions, either as a pike or javelin. Their swords were so long and heavy, that they were wielded by both hands, made of wood, and edged with flint, as we have elsewhere mentioned of the natives of *Yucatan*. Some bore large clubs, pointed with flints, and great numbers used slings, with which they threw stones with amazing strength and dexterity; but the slingers formed a separate corps, detached from the main army. As for defensive arms, which were only wore by commanders and persons of distinction, they consisted of quilted cotton armour, helmets, and shields of wood or tortoise-shell, adorned with plates of gold or copper. All painted their faces in the day of action in the most frightful manner, with design to render themselves terrible, as *Tacitus* remarks of a certain people in *Germany*; observing, that an impression in the eye is the first step to victory; or, in his concise manner, *Nam prius in omnibus partibus oculi vincitur*. Their heads were adorned with high plumes of feathers, which made them look taller, and gave them a very marvellous appearance. To animate the men, they had different kinds of unusual warlike instruments, with which they likewise made signals for attacking and sounding retreats; such as flutes made of cane, tortoise-shells, and a kind of drums made out of the trunks of trees, and so hollowed, as to yield a very harsh disagreeable sound upon being beat with a stick. The *Indians* had scarce any order

Indian weapons, and manner of fighting.

order of battle, except that a corps for the relief of the main army was always reserved. This was the only precaution taken, there being neither lines formed, divisions made, nor posts assigned. Every man fought where he thought proper, and the whole engaged in such a tumultuous manner, that they run down each other, and frequently sunk under their own weight and disorder. Their first onsets were furious, and accompanied with cries, intended for the double purpose of animating themselves and dispiriting the enemy. The troops of every province were led by their proper cazique; and although there was a kind of subordination established, it was generally laid aside in battle, every man relying chiefly upon the strength of his own arm, his valour, and address.

Such was the army that now rushed like an inundation upon the *Spaniards*, and seemed to cover the whole face of the country. Their attack began upon the foot, while *Cortez* had been taking post on an eminence, where his horse and the artillery could do most execution, by playing upon the enemy's flank, and sweeping off crowds at a single discharge. The *Indians* first shot their arrows, and then closed in with so much impetuosity, that the *Spaniards*, not being able to attack them with their fire-arms and cross-bows, had recourse to their swords, while the cannon made dreadful slaughter from the eminence, destroying whole companies as they pushed on in crowds. Yet were the *Indians* so obstinate, that, instead of retreating, they threw handfuls of dust in the air to conceal their slain, and advanced with remorseless fury, insomuch that *Diego de Ordaz*, who commanded the infantry, and behaved with the most gallantry, never have yielded to the infinite superiority of numbers, had not *Cortez* seasonably fallen upon the rear of the enemy with his horse, breaking through the thickest crowds, flashing with his sword, and trampling under the feet of his horses those naked wretches, who were seized with a panic upon the first appearance of so extraordinary an animal; taking the horse and rider for the same creature, agreeable to the poetical idea the ancients entertained of the *Centaur*. *Diego* observing the disorder and panic of the enemy, called forth all his strength, and pressed inward, so much vigour, that this vast multitude fluctuated like the rolling of the sea from the van to the rear, and at last broke and dispersed, leaving eight hundred slain upon the field, a multitude of wounded, whom they were not able to carry off, and more prisoners than the *Spaniards* thought proper to seize, contenting themselves only with a few to set a negotiation of peace on foot, and demonstrate to their countrymen, from the usage they received,

that

that the *Spaniards* harboured no unfriendly designs against the *Tabascons*. Of the *Spaniards*, two soldiers were killed, and twenty wounded, but not dangerously. Upon the whole, this was the greatest victory ever obtained by the *Spaniards* in *America*; and the more extraordinary, as it was gained by a handful of men over an army of forty thousand barbarians ignorant, indeed, of the art of war, but extremely obdurate and brave. It justly raised the reputation of *Cortez*, and the action displayed courage, sagacity, activity, and every other quality of a great commander. In a word, the defeat of such a multitude of *Indians* appeared almost extraordinary, that the writers of those days thought they were ready to ascribe to miracle to gain belief, and therefore relate, that at St. *Augustine* the Apostle appeared mounted upon a white horse, and fought desperately for the *Spaniards*.

Next day after the battle, *Cortez* ordered the prisoners to be brought before him, among whom were some persons of distinction. They discovered in their faces symptoms of the most secret fear, imagining they were to be sacrificed to the gods, agreeable to the inhuman practice of their own country. How great then was their surprise to find themselves treated with the utmost respect, and set at liberty, with presents, as if they had actually done some extraordinary service to *Cortez*, who told them, "that he now how to conquer, as well as to conquer." The humanity shewn upon this occasion soon appeared to be true policy; for a few hours after the prisoners had been released, clouds of *Indians* came to the *Spanish* quarters laden with wheat, towels, and other provisions, desirous thereby to facilitate their negociations. The cazique of *Tabasco* was trying to establish a defensive alliance, and sent an embassy with proposals of peace, and persons of distinction giving audience, because he was in full armour, and the persons employed in this commission, adorned with the meaner sort; whereas it was customary with the *Indians* to send men of figure and distinction upon embassies. He bid the interpreter acquaint the *Indians*, "That if their cazique was desirous of his friendship, he must solicit it with more respect and decency;" believing that punctilio was necessary, and scrupulous regard to his own dignity essential to keep up that exalted idea of his person and character, with which he had endeavoured to inspire the *Indians*. It appeared in the sequel that *Cortez* was right in his judgment. Strangers estimate men in proportion to the value they put on themselves. The cazique apologized for his error, repaired it by sending three persons of better quality, adorned with plumes of feathers and jewels, and followed by a numerous

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numerous train, with presents of all manner of provision, who solicited an audience with great formality: *Cortez* granted their request, and, attended by all his principal officers, received them, with great state and gravity. The ambassadors advanced with profound submission, and having perfumed *Cortez* with burnt *gum anime*, a resin exsuding from the tree called *Tuaba*, and other fragrant scents, they delivered their instructions, apologized for the last attack, expressed the *Cazique's* great regard for *Cortez*, and intreated that a peace might be granted upon such terms as the *Spanish* general should think proper. *Cortez*, after representing to them the impudence of the *Cazique's* conduct, the vanity of all attempts to oppose the *Spaniards* by force of arms, the many benefits which would result from a friendly intercourse, and his sincere desire to cultivate the esteem of the *Tabascan*, granted their request, and, after making some presents of beads of glass, beads, and other trifles, dismissed the embassy, highly delighted with the success of their commission, and filled with sentiments of the deepest veneration for *Cortez*, whom they deemed little inferior to a divinity. On the day following the *Cazique* in person, attended by a numerous train, honoured the *Spaniard* with a visit, and made him several presents of pieces of fine cotton, beautiful plumes of feathers, and some plates of low gold, more valuable for the friendship than for the metal. He was much caressed by *Cortez*, and the visit passed in reciprocal compliments, and protestations of reciprocal friendship, transacted by means of the interpreter *Jeronimo*. All the persons of quality in the *Cazique's* retinue were treated with similar respect, such an effect, captains, and nothing appeared but devotion upon the ground, which they expressed by their countenances, with great velocity to supply the want of language. When the *Cazique* had taken leave, he gave *Cortez* a proof of his sincerity, by ordering all his subjects to return with their families to *Tabasco*, and use their utmost endeavours to prove themselves faithful to the strangers, and accommodate them with whatever they required. Some other testimonies of mutual regard passed, and the *Cazique* made *Cortez* a present of twenty women skilled in dressing meat and baking bread of Indian wheat, among whom was one of superior quality and beauty; who was afterwards baptized by the name of *Margina*, and proved highly serviceable to the *Spaniards* in the course of the conquest (C).

AFTER

(C) As we may find frequent the course of our relation, it occasion to mention this lady in which not be improper to make

Cortez AFTER this Cortez embarked his troops, the pilots pre-
 senting his departure, and set sail on the Monday succeeding
 before, and Palm-Sunday, following the coast to the westward, and ar-
 rived arriving in a few days at St. Juan de Ulva, where two canoes,
 called in that country *Piraguas*, filled with men, came out
 with the fleet. The Indians spoke a language which
 he did not understand; but fortunately *Dyna Ladina*
 a stranger to their tongue, and she told the interpreter
 the Indian spoke Mexican, and desired audience of the
 activity, and every one of the governor of that province
 a word, the defeat of brought on-board, and admitted to
 suit extraordinary, that acquainted him, that *Pilpatoe* and
 have recourse to terror, and the other captain general
 relate, that at St. Juan the great emperor *Moteczuma*, had sent
 white horse, and four hundred at design the commander of that
 NEXT day after the last, and to offer him what succour
 might be necessary requisite to enable him to continue
 his voyage." They were respectfully received by Cortez,
 who presented them with some baubles, and then replied,
 that he came in a friendly manner to treat of some af-
 fairs of the last importance to their prince and all his em-
 pires; for which purpose he desired an interview with the
 governors, and hoped he should meet with the same
 honorable treatment shewn to some of his predecessors at the
 same place before." Cortez then inquired minutely concerning
 the government and extent of *Moteczuma's* empire, the extent of
 dominion of his government; and having obtained
 all the satisfaction it was in his power of the last
 balladors to give him, he dismissed them, extremely

the reader acquainted with her
 parentage and adventures. Ac-
 cording to Antonio de Solis, she
 was daughter to the cazique of
Guazawalca, a province of the
 kingdom of Mexico, bordering
 upon that of *Tabasco*. By an
 accident which is variously re-
 lated, she was carried away in her
 youth to *Veracruz*, a first
 place on the frontiers of
Mexico, kept by *Mexico*, where
 There she was kept in a pec-
 method, till she was sold to her birth-
 until by a fresh accident, either
 by sale or captivity, she became
 the property of the

and persons of dis-
 tinction. Her armour, adorned
 with precious stones, but
 their faces in a cage, and thereby
 proved highly useful as a check
 upon *Aztec*. Besides, she soon
 acquired the Spanish tongue, and
 in a distinguished an admi-
 rable quickness in attaining lan-
 guages. The account of this
 piece given by *Herrera* is some-
 what contradictory to the above;
 but we chuse to follow *de Solis*
 who has copied *Diaz's* account
 an eye-witness of all that
 he has transacted in Mexico. *De*
Solis, i. C. xxi.

with

com - His trans-
to be nations
ing in with the
gen - Mexican
from - minors.

the intenseness of the sun's beams; while the cannon was
so directed as to command all the surrounding country.

Teutile received Cortez's message with great marks of respect, and immediately sent a detachment of Indians to assist the Spaniards in their work, and supply the general want of provision, by way of also the representing to them that they were under cover in collecting what the vanity of all is worldly have with the boughs, leaves, and arms, the most leaves, by the Mexicans. As reports into court, and

workmen, that general *Tepic* was one of the *Tabascons*, a considerable body of forces, with which he came to the aid of his establishing the emperor's authority in the province, highly to convince lately conquered, and that *Pipaxoe* was supreme civil magistrate: however it was perceived, notwithstanding all the external appearances of hospitality, that the great care taken to supply the *Spaniards* with necessaries, and to oblige by every possible method, was not unmix'd with selfish consideration, sacrifice and fear, supposed to arise from the report of the success at *Tabasco*. The forces of this province

number to those lately defeated; it was
the policy of the government to have recourse to ci-
vilities, in order to oblige where they could not
resist. In a few days the officers came with
a magnificent attendance to visit Cortez, and he received
them with an attention in the midst of his officers and fol-

down upon the ground. As the arguments being over, Cortez desired the
 assistance of the governors, that, before he in-
 formed the king of his voyage, he must comply
 with the duties of his office, and recommend to the God
 of all other gods the success of his proposition; upon which

the *Indian* chiefs were conducted into a part of the barracks where an altar and cross had been erected, and which had been reserved for the purposes of a chapel. Here mass was celebrated, the *Indians* gazing and listening with an air of astonishment and devotion. The divine service was concluded, the governors, ^{but} ~~and~~ ^{the} *Indians* retired to the general's quarters, where they were entertained with the abundance and pomp which circumstances would admit. The repast being

er, he told them in a firm tone of voice, by his interpreters, "That he came hither to treat with the great emperor for *Motezuma*, on the part of *Don Carlos of Austria*, monarch

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march of the east, concerning affairs of great importance, not only to his own person and condition, but likewise to the welfare of all his subjects; for executing which it was absolutely necessary for him to appear before his royal presence, to which he hoped he might be admitted with the civility and respect due to the greatness of the king's character. This request produced an extraordinary effect upon the governors; they changed colour, and seemed extremely concerned; but before they returned an answer, Teutile ordered a present which he had provided to be brought in, and immediately brought on a thirty Indian apparelled with rich robes, finquainted, beautiful feathers, and great boxes, in which were many pieces of gold plate curiously wrought. This present was delivered with a good grace; and perceiving it was well received, he ventured upon making the following speech. "That the small present now offered was made by two slaves of the great Motezuma, who had given orders to entertain such strangers as might appear upon his coasts with the utmost civility;" adding, "that Cortez must immediately think of pursuing his voyage, nothing being so easy a matter to speak with the emperor; and that they hoped he would regard as an obligation their having thus undeceived him, before he had lost time, and been taught by experience of the difficulty of his design." This answer was such as Cortez expected, and the hesitation of those interpreters; to whom he ordered the same interpreters to be sent. These sovereigns never refused any service to the ambassadors of the princes; neither could their ministers without very positive orders take upon themselves to oppose so reasonable a request, and persons of such quality as was their business in this case to accompany him. His arrival, for which he was well armed, was necessary for the going and their faces in; but he insisted upon their informing the emperor that he came fully resolved to gain admittance into his royal presence, and positively determined not to leave his country with dishonour to the monarch who had entrusted him with his commands." The governor seemed to be confounded with the bold determination; but instead of opposing it, they contented themselves with entreating the general not to move from his present quarters, till the return of a courier from the emperor, in a post to supply him with whatever might be necessary for his maintenance and convenience of his army.

ALL this while, as we have observed, that some painters, who had come in time for the Mexican chiefs, were deeply engaged

Look upon
an inter-
view with
Motezu-
ma.

gaged in painting the ships, soldiers, arms, artillery, and every other peculiarity of the *Spanish* camp, upon cotton cloths prepared for the occasion. *Diaz de Castillo* affirms, that all the different objects were distinguished in land-kips ingeniously disposed, and that all the portraits of the principal officers strikingly resembled the originals. The painter pieces were intelligible, and point out particulars, certain characters were placed over certain figures, so, the variety of signification; whence it may be inferred, that to explain their meaning could not come without the aid of painting, and having received images of material things, yet they were not wholly invented with the use of letters, and the signs and elements invented by other nations as types of their ideas. The characters set over the images prove that something was wanting to be explained; whence in our opinion, it necessarily follows, that the *Mexicans* were in some measure possessed of the art of carrying over intercourse by arbitrary signs, which had no immediate relation to their sentiments. *Teutile* had given orders to have these pictures drawn for the emperor's better information; but *Cortez* oppose it; on the contrary, he went to see the artists at work; greatly admired their ingenuity, and exercised his men, in that part, as he said, greater life and vigour to the painting. He ordered his soldiers in their arms, mounted on horse with his captains, and began the same battle, which was matter of equal admiration to the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*. The regular evolution of the soldiers, the spirit and ferocity of the horses; the war, smoke, and thunder of the musquet, and the tremendous roaring of the cannon, produced such an effect upon the barbarians, that some fell down upon the ground with fear and astonishment, others fled with great velocity, and those more courage and presence of mind, were filled with wonder, not devoid of terror and trepidation. However, they were encouraged by the assurances of the general, that these were only military diversions, designed to make arms appear the more terrible where they produced such effects even when used for entertainment; and the painters again fell to work, inventing new figures and characters to supply what was wanting in their former descriptions. They delineated the *Spaniards* in arms, drawn up in order, and the several evolutions, others painted the horse in their life and motion with astonishing exactness and strength of colouring. The artillery was represented by fire and smoke, and even some idea of the thunder conveyed by the similitude of lightning, and a kind of undulating and convulsed appearance

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of the surrounding objects, that discovered great execution and invention in these barbarous artists. *Castillo* is extremely minute in his description of these historical paintings, but he is charged by *de Solis*, with running into hyperbole; for which reason we shall avoid transcribing all the curious observations he makes upon this subject; and only relate, that when this painting was completed, *Cortez* negotiation for the *Spaniards* with some small *Spanish* jewels, and greatly expensed his treasures, which he desired might be sent as a present with much esteem and reverence for which he was doing.

When the couriers set on their dispatches, *Cortez* at a small distance from the *Spaniards* and artists, to consult upon the necessary measures until the return of the emperor's commands. In consequence *Pilpait* pitched his camp in a convenient spot of ground for observing the motions of the *Spaniards*, under pretence that he was desirous of superintending the services of his people, and providing all the requisites for the due entertainment of *Cortez* and his army; a piece of dissimulation at which *Cortez* found it necessary to continue, that his troops might not be disappointed of provision.

In seven days *Moteczuma's* answer came, and was brought to *Cortez* by *Teutile*; though *Castillo*, who followed him, *Herrera*, alledge, that a splendid embassy, consisting of a hundred noblemen, was dispatched by *Moteczuma*; a thing impossible in so short a time, as is agreed upon by all writers. It is certain that the emperor sent a rich present, which loaded the shoulders of an hundred *Indians*, and was composed of various kinds of fine cotton robes and elegant manufactures; plumes and feathers, mixed and disposed with so much taste, that, without the assistance of artificial colours or the pencil, they formed in every picture an imitation of nature; a great number of faces in masks, and targets of curious materials and workmanship; two large plates of a circular form, the one of gold, finely embossed, representing the sun, and the other of silver, representing the moon; a considerable quantity of jewels, pieces of gold, precious stones, gold collars, and pendants adorned with emeralds and rich pearls; masks of gold, imitating the appearance of frogs and insects; chains of virgin gold as they came from the mines, of extraordinary sizes, and other ornaments of greater value, which excited astonishment in the *Spaniards* at the immense wealth of this empire, and the genius of a people whom they regarded as barbarous. Having dazzled the eyes of the *Spaniards* with the splendour of this invaluable present, *Teutile* desired the interpreters to acquaint

Cortez,

Moteczuma sends a present to Cortez, but declines the interview.

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Cortez, "that the great emperor *Moteczuma* sent him these trifles in return for his present, and as a proof of the friendship he entertained for the king his master; but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it indeed possible at that time, to grant his request, relating to the happiness of *Mexico*." And *Teutile* endeavoured to persuade his council, considering the badness of the roads, the variety of *Cortez*, they gave him would take arms and obstruct his journey already doomed, sending a message of the emperor with a multitude of the new world, with which he was intimately joined only to content his deeper motive, the emperor's interest. But *Cortez*, who was not to be deterred from his design by such pretexts, answered *Teutile* after returning his acknowledgments for the emperor's magnificent present, "That it was not his intention to be wanting in respect or obedience to *Moteczuma*; but that he would not return with dishonour to his prince, or forbear persisting in his request with all the earnestness due to the reputation of a crown honoured and respected by the greatest sovereigns in the world." Upon this point he expatiated with so much zeal, heat, and eloquence, that the *Indian*, afraid to disoblige if he persisted in the emperor's commands, only replied, that he would importune *Moteczuma* a second time, and exert his utmost influence to gain a point in which the general imagined his honour was concerned. Accordingly his couriers were again dispatched, with a present to the emperor, more valuable than the former, *Cortez* acquainting the emperor with all that he would expect the emperor's answer, without stirring from his present station; though he should be very much concerned if his Imperial majesty's delay should oblige him to go nearer the court for the greater convenience of soliciting his request.

As soon as the *Spaniards* considered this business, they found leisure to examine *Moteczuma's* present with more accuracy, and their reasonings and inferences upon it were very different. Some estimated the emperor's power by this proof of his wealth, and thence drew unfavourable presages concerning the event of the expedition; while others promised themselves the greatest advantages, and anticipated in imagination the prodigious riches they must acquire from the conquest of such a country, and the possessing of a capital so replete with treasure. A few scolded not to vex *Cortez* with rashness, for attempting with a handful of men to subdue so powerful a monarch; but the majority admired his valour and constancy, regarding the downfall of *Mexico* as certain, and their own fortunes and glory as already established.

Cortez

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Cortez was too sagacious to lay any restraint upon those disputes, by interposing his authority; but he thought it necessary to divert the attention of his soldiers from inquiring minutely into his conduct, by keeping them in constant employment and exercise; for which purpose he dispatched Montezuma with two vessels to run along the coast for a more commodious harbour for the shipping, and situation for the camp, under pretence that the ships were greatly exposed to the north winds, and the soldiers tortured with mosquitoes, and scorched with the sun, which he was doubtless by reflection in a sand-blight on his soil. The rage of the Spaniards kept them constant and unquitting, either by military exercises, cleaning their arms, and preparing such materials as he imagined might prove useful in the progress of his designs.

*The court
of Mexico
in great
consterna-
tion.*

MEAN time the whole court of Motezuma was thrown into confusion and perplexity by the repeated instances of Cortez, and the firmness with which he insisted upon an interview with the emperor. In the first transports of his fury, Motezuma declared he would sacrifice all the strangers to his vengeance, for presuming to dispute his will; but on cooler reflection his courage sunk, and his anger yielded to fear, grief, and despair. The account which the paintings gave of the fire, thunder, and horses of the Spaniards, inspired him equally with astonishment and terror. His ministers and counsellors were summoned to attend the council, and public sacrifices were made in the temples, which immediately diffused a tremor over the whole empire. The superstition of the people greatly contributed to extend the consternation more rapidly and universally. Several prodigies, or rather natural phenomena, which their ignorance construed into dreadful omens, were said to have appeared about this time, and terrified the people. One was a comet of extraordinary size, that resembled a pyramid, and vanished at sunrise. Another was a kind of meteor, or exhalation, which was converted into the figure of a fiery serpent with three heads, that rose in the west about mid-day, and ran swiftly until it was lost in the clouds. One of the Mexican temples caught fire, by what means could never be heard, and was entirely consumed in despite of all the assistance which could be furnished. The very stones were supposed to burn, and liquify in a manner deemed altogether supernatural. The great Mexican lake overflowed its banks without any visible cause, with a kind of bubbling, resembling boiling water; but no uncommon heat was perceived. Many affirmed that they heard lamentable

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lamentable voices in the clouds, which predicted the overthrow of the monarchy; and the priests cherished the superstitious fear of the people, by making the idols utter such oracles as best suited their purposes. (D). Portentous signs like these, occurring just at the period when a foreign invader had appeared, had such an effect on the spirit of *Moteczuma* and his council, that on the arrival of the second message from *Cortez*, they gave up for lost, and regarded the empire as already doomed to destruction, though the most powerful in the new world. They then consulted, and always broke up with divided sentiments. Some were for opposing the strange force of arms; interpreting the omens as warnings to the impending danger; while others out of fear extolled the valour of the *Spaniards*, the force of their arms, the invincible strength of their horses, and the terror of their lightning, of which the *Tabascans* had fatal experience. Between these opinions *Moteczuma* at length determined to steer a middle course, chusing not to offend *Cortez* either by a direct attack, or to acknowledge his own perturbation, by admitting him to his presence. He therefore sent him another present, and at the same time commanded him immediately to quit his dominions, hoping by this means either to engage or to terrify him into obedience; determining, if neither succeeded, to raise a powerful army, that there should be no cause to apprehend the same ill fortune that attended the spirited endeavours of the *Tabascans*: nor were these hopes presumptuous, considering the wealth and power of this great monarch.

At this period the empire of *Mexico* was in the zenith of its glory, having under its dominion almost all the provinces which had been discovered in *North America*, governed either immediately by *Moteczuma*, or by caciques, governors, viceroys, or secondary princes all of whom acknowledged his sovereignty. In length it extended five hundred leagues from east to west, and near two hundred in breadth from

(D) *Antonio de Solis*, in despite of his natural good sense, appears not only to give credit to some prodigies that have all the appearance of fable, but attributes them to the cunning and address of the Devil. It would furnish but little entertainment to a sensible reader to transcribe the great variety of omens related by all the *Spanish* writers, some of which may be explained from physical principles, and others charged upon the ignorance of the people, the policy of certain ambitious individuals, or to the frauds of the priests, or the credulity of the *Spaniards*.

Account of
Motezu-
ma's pa-
rentage
and cha-
racter.

South to north, containing within this compass some of the most fruitful, populous, and wealthy provinces in the world. It grew from small beginnings to this height of power in little more than the space of 130 years, though the foundation and progress of the monarchy are not well known, and depend chiefly on the fabulous tradition of the inhabitants (E). In general, it is supposed, that the *Mexicans*, who are naturally warlike people, were gradually extending their sovereignty by force of arms over the adjacent nations. At first they were gentle, which was of a warlike disposition, who planted them to fight on, implanted in their breasts a taste of military honour, which inspired them with the desire of making conquests: and afterwards they formed themselves into a more regular monarchy, vesting one of their number with the legislative and executive power, and bestowing upon him the title of king. The person upon whom their choice fell was the most celebrated in the country for his valour and strength; for fortitude and bodily powers were the only qualities at that time in esteem among a fierce, martial people. Where merit was equal, they bestowed the crown on the blood-royal; but more regard was paid to courage than hereditary right, which had occasionally been set aside. Bloody wars had been waged for the regal title; but these, instead of ruining the people, served only to extend the boundaries of the empire. At first justice supported the *Mexican* arms, and the efforts made to vindicate their liberty against the oppression of the neighbouring nations proving successful, whetted their ambition, and made them equally desirous of trade and of conquest. Their power gradually encreasing, justice was laid aside, tyranny took place, and the sovereign held in bondage not only the provinces which he had reduced, but all his subjects in general.

SUCH was the situation of *Mexico* at the present juncture. *Moteczuma*, a prince of the blood, had distinguished himself by extraordinary acts of valour during the reign of his predecessor. At his return to court from the wars, he found his reputation so considerable, that he ventured to aspire at the sceptre, and regarded himself as in actual possession of the crown from the moment he first conceived that ambition. This, however, he restrained within the limits of prudence,

(E) At the close of the conquest of *Mexico* by *Cortez*, we propose to treat of the establishment of the monarchy, the ancient inhabitants of the country, the series of princes, the rise

and progress of the capital, together with the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the people, touching only at present upon such points as are necessary to elucidate our narrative.

and

and instead of attempting to dethrone the reigning monarch, fixed his whole attention upon securing a proper interest against the next election. Policy and cunning were admirably blended with affability, the reputation of valour, and great modesty. He always shewed the greatest obedience and veneration towards the sovereign, as if he was desirous of teaching his fellow subjects the duty and respect due to so exalted a character, yet with a view of gaining all the influence of the monarch towards rendering his own succession the less difficult. He affected such composure in his discourse and behaviour, and so much gravity in his countenance, that, before he ascended the throne, the name of *Moteczuma* was said to have an extremely characteristical, and expressive of his disposition, as in the *Mexican* language it implies a solid, grave temper, which some writers have translated surly, severe, and cruel. *Moteczuma* also obtained the reputation of being extremely religious, an excellent bait for the vulgar, who judge by appearances. To render his piety the more public, he built an apartment in the most frequented temple, to which he retired in sight of the people, to offer up his pretended devotions. In a word, he became so popular, that, on the death of the king his predecessor, he met with scarce any opposition in ascending the throne, to which he was called by almost the universal acclamations of the people; though he made a shew of refusing the offered dignity, only that he might be courted to comply with his own desires. No sooner was he possessed of the imperial diadem, than his natural pride broke forth with a violence proportioned to the long restraint imposed on it. The first action by which he manifested the violence offered to his natural disposition while he continued in a private station, was the dismissal all the servants of the court, who were usually composed of the middling class of people and the vulgar; instead of whom *Moteczuma* ordered that he should henceforward be served only by the nobility and their children, believing it an indignity to imperial majesty to be approached by plebeians. The meanest employments in the kitchen were now filled by the quality of the country; while *Moteczuma* shut himself up in his palace from his people and even his ministers, except on extraordinary occasions, imagining, that like a divinity he should be revered in proportion as he became less familiar to the eyes of mortals. He regarded melancholy and retirement, says *de Solis*, as a part of majesty; and those who were so fortunate as to be admitted into his presence, were forced to pass through such an infinity of ceremonies and prostrations as greatly exceeded the adoration

due from one man to another. Fully persuaded that the lives and happiness of his subjects were entirely in his disposal, he exercised horrid barbarities merely to evince his power, and became the terror as well as the idol of his people. Taxes were levied on the heads of all the *Mexicans*, without regard to the public necessity, and with no other view than to demonstrate that all belonged to the prince; and these were exacted with so much severity, that the poorest beggar was not exempted from bringing something to the treasury, though it perhaps was thrown by the insolent officers in their faces. In such a situation, it cannot be expected that loyalty and attachment to the prince were the familiar qualities of the *Mexicans*; on the contrary, they detested *Moteczuma*; but in general their disaffection transpired only in low murmurs, which did not reach the ears of the monarch. A few more remote provinces indeed ventured to rebel, and those of *Mechoacan*, *Tlascala*, and *Tebeaca* had never been conquered; but the vast power of the emperor soon reduced to obedience all those who had ever acknowledged his sovereignty; and as to the three provinces we have specified, *Moteczuma* said it was not politic to conquer them, as he should then be in want of prisoners to sacrifice to the gods.

WHEN the *Spaniards* arrived on his coasts, this prince was in the 14th year of his reign, and every thing as we may see ripe for a revolution, the more easily to be executed as the prince who was the best general in his dominions had declined, from a jealousy of the royal authority, to command his own armies. Some other circumstances likewise contributed to accelerate the ruin of *Moteczuma*, as we shall have occasion to mention; it is here sufficient to observe, that *Cortez* was no sooner acquainted with the character of the prince, the disposition of the people, and the situation of the empire, than he penetrated with a glance of his eye into all the consequences, and now already deemed himself the conqueror of *Mexico*, though we shall see that there were still manifest difficulties to encounter. He was reviving the whole scheme of the revolution, when *Montejo* returned with the ships dispatched to find a better harbour for the shipping, and encampment for the forces, after having coasted a considerable way to the northward, and discovered the town of *Quibislan*, situated in a fertile soil, with a fine harbour, and all other conveniencies wanted for the fleet or army. *Cortez* was preparing to remove thither, when *Moteczuma's* answer arrived, or rather command to quit *Mexico*, the harshness of which was softened by some valuable presents.

General *Teutile* waited upon him with the usual ceremonies, delivered the orders of the court, and retired before *Cortez* could reply; but was called back, and told, "that one of the principal points of the *Spanish* embassy was to enforce a tenet of the christian doctrine, to oppose the errors of idolatry, and propagate the true faith and only means of eternal salvation; and that coming over to settle a country upon a business in which religion and commerce were interested, he could not refrain from continuing his efforts, and persevering in his applications, until he should be favoured with an audience, since he came with pacific motives, as was apparent from his slender retinue, from which no suspicion could arise." Upon these words *Teutile* started up hastily, and told him with an air of confusion and resentment, "that hitherto he had been treated with the utmost kindness by the great *Moteczuma*, and shew all the civilities required by the sacred laws of hospitality; but he must lay the fault upon his own imprudent obstinacy, if he should henceforward meet with a different behaviour." Having uttered which, he hastily departed, without the ceremony of taking leave, or hearing any reply from *Cortez*; upon which that general, with admirable presence of mind, turned round with a smile to his people, saying, "We shall see the effects of this challenge; already we have had experience of the prowess of the *Mexicans*; and for the most part it is observed that threats are the effects of fear; and these presents from *Moteczuma* may therefore be regarded as proofs rather of his weakness, than of his generosity."

IMMEDIATELY *Cortez* gave an order to double the guards in case of an attack, keeping himself the whole night in a posture of defence. In the morning it appeared that all the *Mexicans* had withdrawn themselves, even those persons employed in supplying the camp with provisions, which occasioned some murmurings among the soldiers, that were artfully improved and cherished by the enemies to *Cortez*, and the friends of *Velaquez*. They dropt hints, reflecting upon *Cortez* as rashly ambitious, the absurdity of pretending to maintain himself with a handful of men against the whole force of a potent empire, and the probability that they must all fall sacrifices to his wild projects; insinuating the necessity of returning to *Cuba* to refit the fleet, augment the army, and lay a proper foundation for the greatness of the enterprize; remonstrances to which purpose ought to be made to the general. Intimations of this seditious humour soon came to the ears of *Cortez*; and nothing could be more

masterly than the manner in which he stopped all the designs of his enemies, and converted them to his own advantage. He employed his friends to inquire privately into the sentiments of the army in general; and when he learnt that a majority were for seconding his projects and pursuing the enterprize, he suffered himself to be addressed by the malcontents, and even heard with the utmost patience a warm remonstrance from *Diego Ordaz*, insisting upon the necessity of returning to *Cuba*. *Cortez* even carried his dissimulation so far as to seem convinced with the arguments offered by *Ordaz*, and in consequence published his declarations for preparing every necessary for the voyage; and went so far as to reembark great part of the troops: but no sooner was this resolution spread through the army, than a clamour arose among the soldiers, gained by the general's interest, who loudly complained that he had deceived them by promises of wealth and glory, which he was now going to abandon just as the path was made certain. They declared against returning to *Cuba*; adding, that if *Cortez* had not courage to prosecute the schemes he had projected, he might return with all those that were of the same pusillanimous opinion; for they could easily find a general. The clamour increased, and was so dexterously managed, that it brought over many who had been persuaded or forced to engage in the contrary faction; and the more readily, as there was something noble in the resolution of attempting the conquest of an empire, and that success would most assuredly produce immense wealth and eternal glory to the adventurers. At length those who had formerly declared for returning to *Cuba*, were now the most earnest to remain in *Mexico*, inasmuch that the general's friends undertook to speak to *Cortez*, to suspend the execution of his order for sailing. Accordingly, before this ardor cooled, they went attended with a great number of soldiers to the head quarters, and acquainted the general that his resolution to return had almost occasioned a mutiny among the troops; they complained of his having relinquished his projects without consulting his officers; they represented the dishonour of abandoning a great undertaking at the first appearance of difficulty; they reminded him of the censures incurred by *Grijalva* in a former expedition, for neglecting to make a settlement in the country he had discovered: in a word, they repeated as their own, with the greatest heat and zeal, the very words which *Cortez* had privately dictated; while he listened with attention, and seemed to be drawn involuntarily into the very measures which he had proposed; making his apology as if he had been

been wrongly informed that the army in general expressed a desire of returning to *Cuba*. He now acquainted them that he would stay with the utmost satisfaction, as he found there was a spirit of honour that prevailed in the camp; but they must know he would not take soldiers against their inclinations, and therefore he would give all those leave to return who had not courage to encounter difficulties in the pursuit of fame and fortune.

No sooner had *Cortez* uttered this resolution, than the air resounded with acclamations, some were really rejoiced, others put on the appearance of gladness to prevent the infamy of being thought cowards, and none was so hardy as to presume opposing the making a settlement in *Mexico*; by which means *Cortez* once more reconciled the troops to their duty, and effectually crushed for that time the endeavours of his enemies to ruin his reputation and fortune.

Just as this affair was happily terminated, ambassadors arrived at the camp from the cazique of *Zempoala*, desiring the alliance of *Cortez* and the Spaniards as brave men, the fame of whose magnanimous actions in *Tabasco* had reached his dominions. This was a further inducement to the soldiers to continue firm in their resolution of pursuing the enterprize, and *Cortez* did not fail to improve the circumstance to his own advantage. The *Zempoalan* embassy was received with the utmost civility and respect, and *Cortez* gave the ambassadors to understand, that he accepted with pleasure the proffers of friendship and alliance made by their master; considering it as a providential event, that these proposals should arrive just as the *Mexicans* had withdrawn themselves, and while his people were on the point of mutinying, as it would establish his authority with the latter, and render him more able to resist the attacks of the former. It augmented his satisfaction when he found that the cazique of *Zempoala* was the declared enemy of *Moteczuma*, whose sovereignty he refused to acknowledge, and that his dominions lay in his way to *Quibislan*, the town discovered by *Montejo*, to which *Cortez* proposed removing his camp. He also learnt from the ambassadors, that *Moteczuma* was a cruel tyrant, equally feared and detested by his own subjects; that several provinces in the neighbourhood of *Zempoala* were ripe to throw off the yoke; and that the cazique their master, in particular, desired nothing more than an opportunity of cementing a powerful league against the emperor.

HAVING dismissed the Indian ministers with presents, and assurances that he would soon pay the cazique a visit, he began forming his people into a regular corporation, and ap-

pointing magistrates; as a necessary previous step to his settling a colony, though the troops were to be quartered in the province of *Quiahistan*. Accordingly he summoned a council of his principal officers, and made the following civil promotions, which we specify, that the reader may be informed of the particular departments executed by the chief persons employed in this expedition. *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero* and *Francisco Montejo* were appointed *alcaldes*; *Alonso d'Avila*, *Pedro* and *Alonso d'Alvarado*, together with *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, were constituted *regidores*; and *Juan d'Escalante* and *Francisco Alvenez Chico*, were raised to the dignities of chief *alguazils* and *procurators-general*. Several other inferior officers were likewise made, and all enjoined by a solemn oath to the strict distribution of justice and discharge of their duty. What reasons induced *Cortez* to settle a colony on his present quarters, which were extremely inconvenient on account of the situation, we know not; the *Spanish* historians only relate, that here he began building houses with great diligence, and laying the foundation of the new settlement, to which he gave the name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, taking the first appellation of *Villa Rica* in remembrance of the gold seen in that country, and the latter of *Vera Cruz* from the *Spaniards* having landed there on *Good Friday*, or the *Friday* of the cross (F). Upon the first meeting of the newly-formed council, the general, who appeared in the character of a private person in civil affairs, desired admittance to make a proposal which concerned the public good, and was of the last consequence to the colony. He then informed them of the necessity there was to constitute a general, in order to preserve the obedience of the troops, on whom depended the security of the colony. He told them that he was not unacquainted with the defect in his own authority, as his commission had been revoked by *Velaquez*; he said that to them it belonged to apply the proper remedies, and as they represented the king's person, to enlarge and confirm his powers, if they judged him worthy of that honour, or else to bestow the command on some other person better qualified, to whom he would cheerfully submit for the common service. "I from this moment, added " he, resign all right that may accrue to me from possession, " and surrender into your hands the title by which I have

Colony of
Villa Ri-
ca found-
ed.

(F) This name may literally on the river *Zempeala*, the old
be translated *the rich town of* settlement has been called only
the true cross. Since the build- *Villa Rica*.
ing of the town of *Vera Cruz*

“ held

“held it, that you may deliberate with all possible freedom, upon the election. As my whole study is to promote the success of this expedition, I can assure you I can cheerfully, and without offering myself the least violence, take up a pike with the same hand which lays down the truncheon, and act with the same alacrity in the mean capacity of a soldier, as in the important post of a general; for if in war men learn to command by obeying, there are also certain cases in which the having commanded evinces the necessity and propriety of obeying.”

HAVING said this, he threw upon the table his commission, kissed the truncheon, and delivering it into the hands of the alcades, retired to his barracks. Cortez well knew upon whom the choice would fall, because he had taken his measures before he put matters to the hazard; he therefore gave himself no concern about the deliberations of the council, well knowing they must be favourable to him, and of consequence give him much greater authority with soldiers who were sensible that at present he held his employment entirely by their courtesy. The event was just what he expected; the council unanimously voted his re-election, and gave him his commission in the king's name, until such time as his majesty's pleasure should be known; and they immediately communicated the new election to the soldiers, either to make trial how far it was agreeable, or else to stamp their own act with the general approbation. The rejoicings were extraordinary, and the council was thanked by the whole body of the army for their judicious proceedings, although in fact the whole was concerted by Cortez. After which a deputation waited upon the general, to acquaint him with the appointment of the magistrates. From all these circumstances we may collect that Cortez was not only a great soldier and able general, but a sound politician, perfectly acquainted with the human heart, and the means of rendering himself respected and honoured.

Cortez
establishes
his authority
among
the troops.

HOWEVER there were not wanting some persons, dependant on Velazquez, who endeavoured to give an invidious turn to this transaction, taxing Cortez with cunning and ambition, invalidating the authority of the council, and sneering at the folly of those who suffered themselves to be deceived by so poor an artifice; but they soon had cause to repent their temerity. Cortez, invested with his new authority, determined to apply remedies in time to the seditious humour, which if not speedily checked might poison the whole mass of the soldiers. Instead therefore of having re-

course to remonstrances as on former occasions, he resolved to avail himself of his power, and to use rigour where patience might prove ruinous. Accordingly he ordered *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro Escudero*, and *Juan Velazquez de Leon*, to be seized, carried on board the fleet, and clapt in irons, which struck their adherents with such terror, that all immediately returned to their obedience. The prisoners he likewise forgave at the intercession of his friends, upon their submission; and by this one well timed act of severity not only nipped sedition in the bud, but by his clemency and affability so effectually gained the friendship of the mutineers, that they stuck afterwards to his fortune in the worst extremities, and shewed themselves the bravest soldiers and faithfulest friends in his army.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the Progress of the Spaniards in the Conquest of Mexico, their Wars with the Inhabitants of Tlascalala, and afterwards their firm Alliance with that Republick.

CORTÉZ having laid the seeds of that colony which was afterwards to spring up with so much vigour, and established his own authority upon the most solid basis that circumstances would permit, now entered upon measures for removing the fleet and army to *Quiahquen*; for which purpose it was necessary to send a party in search of provision, which grew extremely scarce in the settlement. *Alvarado* was detached with a party for this purpose, and he soon returned with great quantities of *Indian* wheat, sows, and such other provision as the country afforded, after having penetrated as far as *Cotasta*, without having pillaged a single town or cabin. On his return every thing was disposed for the march of the troops. The fleet set sail, and Cortez with the army proceeded by land, taking the road of *Zempoala*, and sending out scouts to examine the country. On his arrival on the frontiers of the province, he found all the houses and villages deserted, which created suspicion that the cazique's overtures of friendship were insincere. Only the temples were left in their former situation, with their idols, instruments for sacrificing, a few mangled limbs of human victims, and certain religious books, made of
long

long skin, or varnished cloths, folded in such a manner that every doubling formed a leaf, and written with that kind of imagery, cyphers, or hieroglyphics, used by the painters of *Teutls*. For the space of two days *Cortez* marched through this suspicious solitude, expecting every moment to be attacked, when he was at last accosted by twelve *Indians* laden with provisions sent as a present by the cazique of *Zempoala*, with a second invitation. This gave him some encouragement to proceed, though it did not entirely efface the doubts which he entertained about the cazique's fidelity: however in the present circumstances a retreat might be attended with bad consequences, by giving the soldiers dreadful ideas of the power of the enemy, or at least a contemptible opinion of their general's courage. On the third day they approached *Zempoala*, and were met by twenty noble *Indians*, who complimented *Cortez* in the cazique's name, and apologized for their master not doing himself the honour of paying his respects. These conducted the *Spaniards* to the town which *Arrives at* was the capital of the province, bearing the same name: the *Zempo-cazique* came to the gate to meet *Cortez*, supported on ac-la, and count of his monstrous grossness, by several noblemen, *contracts a* made them a short and polite compliment; and soon gained *friendship* the esteem of the *Spanish* soldiers, who at first gave way to *with the* their mirth, occasioned by his overgrown size, and ridiculous appearance. After receiving the thanks of the general, he ordered the officers to be shewn their quarters in a large commodious square, in which were many handsome apartments. Those of *Cortez*, in particular, greatly surpassed any thing the *Spaniards* had ever beheld in *America*. But they could engage him to stay only one night, as he was in haste to establish his head-quarters in *Quiabiflan*; however, before his departure, the cazique made him another visit, and to render it the more acceptable, brought a rich present, and had a private conference with *Cortez*, in which he complained of the tyranny of *Moteczuma*, and the desire which many provinces had to throw off their bondage; but that they were biassed by the vast power of the emperor, and not very unanimous among themselves. He intimated his wishes that *Cortez* would assist in recovering the liberties of the *Mexicans*; but said it was not his design to engage him in so difficult an enterprize, *for* the trifling civilities which it was in his power to bestow, nor would it be consistent with the laws of friendship to sell at so great a price his insignificant services. *Cortez* discovered a mixture of art and generosity in this harangue, which he answered by giving the cazique the highest opinion of the *Spanish* nation and justice; telling him, that he

he was under an indispensable necessity of proceeding to *Quibislan*, where the oppressed and injured might apply for his protection. This he desired the cazique would communicate to his friends, assuring them that *Moteczuma* would cease to tyrannize, while he undertook their defence; a speech favouring strongly of the romantic spirit of chivalry, unless we consider that *Cortez* actually performed all that he promised.

CORTEZ took his leave, extremely satisfied with his reception at *Zempoala*, and the disposition in which he found the cazique; whence he drew presages favourable to his great design. On his arrival at *Quibislan* he found the town deserted, though naturally strong; upon which the *Spaniards* took immediate possession. In the temples they found a few priests, whom they gained by presents and civilities, and from these they had notice that cowardice had occasioned the cazique to abandon his town; and that the nobility, tho' more courageous, had been influenced by his example: however, that as soon as they were informed of the friendly intentions of the strangers, they doubted not but they would return to their habitations; which accordingly happened, for on the same night some families ventured to come back, and next day the town was fully inhabited. Not long after the cazique waited upon *Cortez*, and with him the chief of *Zempoala*, who undertook to apologize for his conduct, and the diffidence he had expressed of the *Spaniards*. They voluntarily introduced their complaints of *Moteczuma*, and testified their sincerity by the tears they shed in relating his cruelties, and the bitterness of their resentment. They pathetically represented the misery of the people, and dishonour of the nobility; and the cazique of *Zempoala* added, by way of climax, that, besides raising his wealth out of the calamities of his subjects, *Moteczuma* even invaded their houses, and tore from them their wives and children, staining with their blood the altars of his gods, after having sacrificed them first to purposes more cruel and abominable. Scarce had the cazique finished the recital of his grievances, when three *Indians* came in, with all the marks of horror and surprize in their countenances, and whispered something to the caziques, which made them quit the apartment in great confusion, without the ceremony of taking leave. It was presently known that six of *Moteczuma's* commissaries for collecting his tributes, had entered the town with great retinues, and were then passing before the *Spanish* quarters. It was this which had thrown the caziques into so much disorder, for they trembled at the mention of those officers, dreaded the indignation of *Moteczuma*, and were grown so pusillanimous

puſſanious, by the habit of ſuffering, that they even reſpected the rod of tyranny, and proſtrated themſelves before thoſe ſcourgers of their liberties. Cortez went out with his captains to ſee the proceſſion, which was a ſpectacle altogether new to the Spaniards. The commiſſaries were carried in litters on the ſhoulders of Indians, attended by a great number of ſervants, and inferior officers, who cooled their maſters with fans made of beautiful feathers. Their dreſs was magnificent, being compoſed of fine plumes, pendants of gold and jewels in their ears, noſe and lips, with cotton mantles adorned with gold and precious ſtones. They paſſed Cortez without paying him any marks of reſpect; which ſo irritated the Spaniſh ſoldiers, that they would have chaſtiſed the haughty officers had they not been reſtrained by the general, and proceeded to the town-houſe, where they ſummoned the caziques, and ſeverely reprimanded them for preſuming to conduct ſtrangers into their towns, who were enemies to the great Moteczuma, and by way of atonement demanded, beſides the uſual tribute and ſervice, twenty Indians to ſacrifice to the emperor's gods.

WHEN notice of this inhuman ſentence was brought to Cortez, he ſent for the caziques in the moſt private manner, and telling them that he could penetrate into their moſt ſecret thoughts, and found they were diſpoſed to yield obedience to the cruel ſentence paſſed by the officers. He therefore charged them not to ſuffer ſuch abominations, or any longer comply with the ſhocking demands of tributes in human blood; but, on the contrary, to aſſemble their people, ſeize upon their commiſſaries, and leave the Spaniards to maintain what was done by the advice of their general. The boldneſs of the order terrified the caziques; at firſt they poſitively reſuſed to execute it; but on Cortez's repeating his orders, in a reſolute tone, they aſſembled their townſmen, and ſeized upon the commiſſaries, to the great joy of the people, who were delighted at this ſpirited exertion, and the puniſhment which they expected to ſee inflicted on thoſe inſtruments of tyranny and barbarity. It was the intention of the caziques to execute them in the moſt ignominious manner; but finding that Cortez was averſe to this, they deſired at leaſt to ſacrifice them to their gods, as if this was treating the priſoners with very particular lenity. However, to prevent bloodſhed, Cortez ordered a Spaniſh guard upon the miniſters; and as he did not approve entirely of commencing hoſtilities againſt Moteczuma, nor thought it adviſable on the other hand, to deſert that party of malecontents which was forming, he reſolved to keep a middle courſe, ſuſpend the effects of the reſentment ſhewn by the caziques,

ziques, and, without deserting his friends, make a merit with the emperor of having saved his officers from the intended punishment. With this view he ordered two of the prisoners to be brought to him with the utmost privacy at midnight; and after receiving them with affability, he told them, that he was studious to save their lives, and restore them to liberty; and as they received this favour solely from his hands, they might assure *Motezuma*, that he would endeavour to procure the release of the other prisoners, and to convince the caziques of their fault, in refusing obedience to the sacred orders of their prince. As for himself, he was desirous of peace, and of shewing his reverence for so great a prince, by paying the due respect to his ministers and officers. The *Indians* were highly sensible of the obligation; and after returning their thanks, set out under a *Spanish* guard, which saw them safe beyond the frontiers of *Quiabistan*, where they thought themselves out of danger of being retaken by the caziques. But *Cortez* carried his artifice still further. Next morning, when the caziques acquainted him, in the utmost horror and confusion, that two of the prisoners had escaped, he pretended to be extremely incensed, and severely reprimanded them for their want of vigilance and circumspection, ordering that the remaining prisoners might be sent aboard the fleet, as if he would charge himself with their imprisonment; by which he not only gained the confidence of the two chiefs, but likewise opened the way to favour with *Motezuma*, by charging his officers to treat the prisoners with all possible kindness.

In this manner did *Cortez* pursue his schemes with the most refined policy, the good effects of which became immediately apparent. The justice, valour, and affability of the *Spaniards*, were reported through all the neighbouring provinces. The caziques of *Zempoala* and *Quiabistan* acquainted all their friends and allies of the happiness they enjoyed under the protection of the strangers, being freed from imposition, and secured in their liberties, by a people so valiant, just, and generous. It was spread abroad that the gods had come down to *Quiabistan*, darting lightning at *Motezuma* for his impiety; and this report gained so much credit that it greatly facilitated the projects formed by *Cortez*. Above thirty caziques from the mountains, the lords of a rustic people called *Totonaques*, paid their respects to the general, offered their troops to assist him in any enterprize, and surrendered themselves wholly to his obedience, swearing fidelity and vassalage to the king of Spain. This was an important acquisition, as these caziques ruled over rough warlike

warlike nations, the inveterate enemies of *Moteczuma*, and capable, according to *Herrera*, of bringing an hundred thousand men into the field.

It was now probably that *Cortez* laid the foundation of ^{Town of} *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, though we have dated it earlier, *Villa Rica* upon the authority of the *Spanish* writers, who are by no means consistent in their relation. *Antonio de Solis* alledges, that he founded the colony before he set out for *Quiabitslan*, not only appointing magistrates, but building houses, and fixing the name of the settlement; whereas in another place ^{and the blunders of authors} he alledges, that hitherto the new corporation travelled with the army; and that *Cortez* now pitched upon the plain between *Quiabitslan* and the sea, for the residence of the colony; because the land was fertile, abounding in wood and water, and very contiguous to a good harbour, none of which conveniencies were to be met with in the former situation. The workmen were distributed according to their several professions, and the *Indians* assisting with equal diligence and dexterity, the houses began to rise, and the compass of the town was marked by a strong mud wall, which formed a sufficient defence against the weapons of the country. This was the *Villa Rica* which some writers place more to the eastward, and among others *de Solis*, though he afterwards contradicts himself; or else we must conclude what is not at all improbable, that the former settlement was relinquished upon discovering a place more commodious for a colony. The principal officers of the army laboured with the diligence of the meanest soldiers; and *Cortez* even applied his hands and shoulders to the most servile occupations, by way of encouraging the people by his example, and shewing them, that whatever promoted the public good was honourable and praise-worthy. ^{corrected.}

WHILE he was thus busied in the arts of peace, an embassy, composed of *Moteczuma's* two nephews, assisted by five ancient caziques, as counsellors, and attended by a magnificent retinue, arrived with presents from *Mexico*. The emperor, upon hearing of the reception given to the *Spaniards* by the chiefs of *Zempoala* and *Quiabitslan*, was so highly enraged, that he gave orders to raise a numerous army, to take signal vengeance on the perfidious caziques, and sacrifice the *Spaniards* to his gods; for while his anger continued, he doubted not but he should without difficulty be able to seize upon *Cortez* and his whole army. However, upon the arrival of the commissaries released by *Cortez*, the scene instantly changed, and the orders were revoked. The prisoners expatiated upon the valour, courtesy, and generosity of

An em-
bassy from
Motezu-
ma.

of the Spanish general, whose views were wholly pacific, and respect for the great *Motexuma* as profound, as that of the most faithful of his subjects. This appeased the indignation of the haughty sovereign, and made him resolve once more to try the effects of a negotiation recommended by presents; and to give more weight to the embassy, he appointed the young princes, his nephew, to wait upon *Cortez*. The present was delivered to the general, together with the emperor's thanks for the civilities shewn to his officers. Complaints were made of the rebellious spirit and presumption of the *caziques*; and *Motexuma's* wishes expressed that *Cortez* would interpose for the release of the other inferior officers; the speech concluding with *Motexuma's* earnest request, that the *Spaniards* would withdraw their protection from their rebellious chiefs, relinquish the fruitless hope of being admitted to the royal presence, and make the necessary preparations for evacuating the Mexican dominions. This last point was the main object of the embassy, and the princes laboured it with great zeal and address, but to little effect, as *Cortez* had already fixed his resolution. He received the ambassadors with great respect; but before he gave his answer, had the four prisoners brought into his presence, and returned them to *Motexuma*, telling the ambassadors, that he hoped the error of the *caziques* was fully repaired by the restitution which he now made; that he found himself under the necessity of protecting them, in return for the many civilities bestowed on him. He exhorted the ambassadors to admonish their prince to restrain his officers from demanding more from the subjects than was required by the sovereign himself, and adding to the oppression of heavy taxes the barbarity of human sacrifices: he assured them, that neither the *caziques* of *Zoripuala* and *Quiatitslan*, nor those of the mountains, who were entirely at his devotion, should act in any thing prejudicial to the royal authority; and that for the rest he would explain himself when he had the honour of being admitted into *Motexuma's* presence, assuring the ambassadors, that no dangers or difficulties could terrify *Spaniards* who were accustomed to seek glory amidst the greatest hazards. This he delivered in so firm a tone of voice, that the ambassadors did not choose to reply, though they appeared to be dissatisfied. He gave them some presents, and dismissed them, in full confidence, that, notwithstanding their disappointment with respect to the principal object of their journey, they could not but make their report favourable to the character of the *Spaniards*. Besides, the equality upon which he treated with *Motexuma*, gave him great credit

dit with the *Indians*, who engaged in the war only a deity, with so slender a force, in the name of a pope so mighty a prince, who was even *Cruz*, to confirm his friendship with presents, although he did his countenance, his knee to his idols, and these sentiments were the greatest way the prodigies and omens which had made so great a *Cortez* preffion on this credulous simple people.

PRUDENCE and penetration were indeed no less necessary to *Cortez* than valour; he was obliged to guard against the snares laid by his friends, as well as to oppose the open attacks of his enemies. Of this there now appeared an instance. The cazique of *Zempoala* was the inveterate enemy of the chief of the neighbouring province of *Zempazingo*; and he thought this a proper opportunity of taking vengeance, and enriching himself with plunder. He told *Cortez*, that a body of *Mexicans* were quartered in *Zempazingo*, and that they desolated his fields, and ruined his country, on account of his attachment. *Cortez* believed the feigned relation, and accordingly marched with a corps of *Spaniards* and *Indians* to attack *Zempazingo*; but finding the town deserted, and meeting with some priests, the deceit was discovered: he reproved the cazique of *Zempoala* for seducing him by falsties, to be the mean instrument of his private revenge, and the tool to gratify his avarice: he contracted a friendship with the cazique of *Zempazingo*, reconciled the two chiefs, and gained the esteem of both parties, by the equity and steadiness of his conduct. On his return to *Zempoala*, the cazique endeavoured to efface his fault, by a present of eight of the most beautiful virgins in his province. One of them was his niece, and her he presented to *Cortez*, desiring he would take her for his wife, and distribute the rest among his officers; an honour which *Cortez* declined, on account of his religion, taking this opportunity to persuade the cazique to abjure idolatry, and embrace the *Christian* religion: a point which he laboured to little purpose, although he proceeded so far as to pull down the images in the temple, erecting crosses in their stead, and the other emblems of the *Roman catholic* religion. Upon this circumstance all the *Spanish* writers expatiate with great zeal, praising the piety of *Cortez*; though, for our own parts, we cannot reconcile christianity with the ambitious schemes he had projected, and the unjust attack made upon the dominions of a prince with whom he had no quarrel. Indeed whatever the piety of *Cortez* might have been, it is certain that the propagation of the gospel was by no means the motive of the *Spanish* court for extending her conquests in *America*; and the vast treasures

General, whose views again evince, that the great Moteczuma as long laboured more assiduously to purchase his subjects. This is of Mexico and Peru, who were persuaded to bend hereign, and may Our intention is not, to be confirmed by a negotiating justice of these conquests, to the nephew Spanish writers in general, who run out into elegant encomiums upon the piety and true catholic are in to the Spanish leaders of those expeditions, made purely from motives of national interest, and private avarice or ambition.

Cortez receives a slender reinforcement of Spaniards, and dispatches messengers to Spain.

UPON the return of the Spaniards to their new settlement at Vera Cruz, they were joined by Francisco de Sancedo, who left Cuba with one officer and ten men, to join Cortez, and attach themselves to his fortune. This supply gave great pleasure to the general; but it was considerably abated by the intelligence which Sancedo brought, that Velázquez, governor of Cuba, was still the enemy of Cortez, and had pursued his resentment with such application and diligence, that he remonstrated to the court upon the desertion of Cortez, and obtained a commission from the king, appointing him lieutenant not only of the island of Cuba, but sole director of all the discoveries and conquests which should be made on the continent, with power to bestow employments, and equip expeditions, in whatever manner he should think proper. It was necessary for Cortez to vindicate his own conduct to the court, and efface any bad impressions which might probably remain from the misrepresentations of Velázquez. He likewise thought it incumbent upon him to have his commission immediately from the king, and wholly independent on Velázquez; for which purpose he determined to dispatch Portocarrero and Montejo to Spain, with an account of his proceedings. He laid his intention before the town of Vera Cruz, and obtained a letter, signed by all the magistrates, giving a short relation of the success of the expedition, the provinces already brought under the obedience of his catholic majesty, the settlement made at Vera Cruz, the riches, fertility, and great plenty of this new world, the progress made by the gospel, and the dispositions that were making for bringing the powerful empire of the tyrant Moteczuma under subjection, by means of his own disaffected subjects. In this letter were mentioned the violences offered by Velázquez, with a full vindication of the measures taken by Cortez, the strongest encomiums upon his conduct, his valour, prudence, clemency, justice, and every quality that constitutes the general and statesman. Great praise likewise

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was bestowed on the courage and constancy of all the other captains and soldiers engaged in the expedition; and his majesty was intreated, in the name of the town and magistrates of *La Vera Cruz*, to confirm the authority of *Cortez*, and cherish, by his countenance, an infant colony, that promised to produce the greatest wealth and honour to his royal diadem. To this letter *Cortez* added another from himself, in which he entered more minutely upon his justification, and gave strong assurance of his well-grounded expectation of bringing the empire of *Moteczuma* under his majesty's obedience. With these dispatches were sent all the gold, jewels, and other presents and effects, which the colony had acquired since their arrival in *Mexico*, either by gift, conquest, or traffic, the soldiers cheerfully giving up their shares, that the offering made by their general might appear with the more splendor. The best ship in the fleet was got ready for this voyage, and the two envoys set sail for *Spain* on the 16th of *July*, with strict injunctions to pass through the channel of *Babama*, if possible, in order to avoid being intercepted by *Velaquez*, and at no event to touch upon any part of the island of *Cuba*.

SCARCE had *Cortez* finished this important business, when 151, he was alarmed by the discovery of a conspiracy to destroy the whole scheme, by giving intelligence to *Velaquez* of the course of the ship, and the contents of the dispatches. *De Solis* alleges, that the project was laid, to seize upon the ship, and carry her off, with all the dispatches, to *Cuba*. Be this as it may, *Cortez* had no sooner made discovery of the contrivance, than he seized upon the conspirators, two of whom were, after a regular trial, condemned to death, and two others to be whipped. All the rest were pardoned, except the chief mariner, who was sentenced to lose one foot, as a just punishment, which however would not disable him from the service. *Herrera* alleges, that the licentiate *Juan Diaz* was engaged in this conspiracy; but that *Cortez*, out of respect to his function, did not proceed against him; tho' *de Solis* vindicates the character of this gentleman: a point indeed of little consequence to the *English* reader.

CORTEZ having now discharged himself of all that appeared necessary towards confirming his own power, procuring the good of the colony, and promoting the success of the expedition, turned his thoughts towards employing his soldiers upon some greater enterprize than had hitherto been undertaken; but he first resolved to destroy the fleet, to cut off all possibility of retreating, and to convince the soldiers that their only security consisted in their valour and

perseverance. This scheme he communicated to some of his friends, by whom it was approved. It was then referred to the council, and obtained their approbation; and the measure was so well conducted, that even the mariners and pilots were satisfied with the prudence of the resolution, upon a presumption that the ships must necessarily sink for want of repairing. Accordingly all the ships were burnt, *Cortez* only reserving the *ringing*, and a few boats for fishing; a bold action, the merit of which *Castillo* claims to himself, by alledging that he had first suggested it to *Cortez*. Immediately measures were concerted for advancing farther into the country; preparations were made for the march, and a general muster was taken of the army, which was found to consist of five hundred foot, fifteen horse, and six pieces of cannon; a very inconsiderable force, with which to enter upon the reduction of a vast empire. Of this slender corps an hundred and fifty men and two horses were left for the defence of the settlement, under the conduct of *Juan de Escalante*, an officer in whose valour and abilities *Cortez* placed the greatest confidence. The cazique of *Zempoala* had provided 200 *Tamenes*, or *Indians*, accustomed to burdens, to carry the baggage; and had besides augmented the army with a body of troops, out of which *Cortez* picked 400 men that appeared the most strong and desperate, among whom were near fifty of the principal nobility of the province. To the cazique he recommended, in the strongest terms, obedience to *Escalante*, governor of *Vera Cruz*, who would not fail to protect him from all insults and injuries during his absence, provided that his behaviour merited favour and regard.

He begins
his march
for Tlascala.

JUST as the troops were beginning their march, *Escalante* sent advice to the general, that a squadron had been seen off *Vera Cruz*, without caring to come to, though he made them signals of peace. Such intelligence was not to be disregarded; accordingly *Cortez* set out from the army for the settlement, and found, upon his arrival, that one of the vessels had come to an anchor, and some men were landing, who approached without any symptoms of fear. It soon appeared that one was a notary, and the rest witnesses of his notification to *Cortez*, that *Francisco de Garay*, governor of *Jamaica*, had, by virtue of the king's commission, equipped a squadron, consisting of three ships and two hundred and seventy men, under the command of *Alonso de Pinada*, to make discoveries, and that they had already taken possession of the lands near the river *Panuco*, where it was intended to establish a colony, about twelve or fourteen leagues to the westward.

ward. *Garay* therefore required that he should not attempt to make any settlements that way. To which *Cortez* answered, that he was a stranger to forms of law; but if the captain would favour him with an interview, every thing should be adjusted in the manner most beneficial to the public, as they were both subjects of the same prince, and mutually obliged to promote his service. On the notary's refusing to go back with this message, and insisting in a disrespectful manner, upon a direct answer, *Cortez* ordered him and his companions to be seized, and had afterwards the good fortune to take prisoners three more of the ship's crew, who enlisted without scruple, in his service, as did the notary and his companions; a reinforcement of some consequence at a time when seven *Spaniards* were become so valuable. Upon this he returned to *Zempoala*, giving himself no uneasiness about *Garay's* attempts, and congratulating himself that it was no ornament sent by *Velaquez* to obstruct his projects. He began his march with a body of *Spaniards*, in the van, and another of *Indians* in the rear; the charge of the artillery being committed to the strongest of the *Tamenes*, and the baggage distributed among the rest, passing through several towns belonging to the mountaineers, in all which he was kindly received, and combated every obstruction, which scarcity of provision, inclemency of weather, bad roads, mountains and precipices, could throw in his way. The cold was excessive; and the showers of rain hard and frequent, insomuch that the soldiers, deprived of the means of shelter, kept on marching to avoid being chilled to death. *Cortez* at last gained the top of the mountains, just as a struggle began to appear between the strength and resolution of his soldiers; from whence he could discover some villages at a little distance, to which the army proceeded with alacrity, and met with refreshment, that soon effaced the memory of all their past labours. They were now on the borders of *Zozthlan*; a large and populous province, the *cazique* of which resided in the capital of the same name with the province, situated in the valley, at the foot of the mountain. *Cortez* gave him notice of his arrival by two *Zempoalans*, and received an invitation from the *cazique* to lodge in his city, where, however, upon his arrival, the soldiers met with such indifferent entertainment, as satisfied the general that he was invited rather from motives of fear than affection. When the *cazique* visited him, it was apparent that he was the mere tool of *Moteczuma*, employed to inspire his enemies with dread, by exaggerating his power. *Cortez* penetrated into his designs, and frustrated them, by acquainting the chief, that

Encour.

tors diff.

culties.

he was sufficiently informed of the emperor's power; but though his intentions were pacific, he did not fear the whole strength of *Mexico*, as one of his men was able to cope with whole armies of such troops as *Moteczuma's*. "I shall never, says he, draw my sword without just provocation; but once drawn, every thing shall be put to fire and sword, and nature will assist me with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightning. I come to abolish human sacrifices, and to vindicate the cause of a tremendous Being, who is shocked at the barbarous superstition and ignorant idolatry of *Moteczuma*, which you reverence as part of his grandeur." The impression which this bold speech made on the cazique was perceivable; he not only accommodated the soldiers with better lodging and provision, but shewed an awful respect towards the meanest *Spaniard*, as if he believed him his superior; for what could he imagine of a handful of men, who set at defiance what he believed to be the greatest power on earth, but that they were something supernatural? As a difficulty arose about the rout which *Cortez* should take, the cazique recommended *Chotula*, because the country was fertile, and the inhabitants, who were more disposed to commerce than war, would grant him an undisputed passage; whereas he with great earnestness dissuaded him from the road of *Tlascala*, as the people were of a bloody warlike disposition. This advice, however, was opposed by the *Indians* that attended *Cortez*. They affirmed that *Chotula* was a very populous city, the people of which were insidious and treacherous; besides that, it was generally filled with *Moteczuma's* troops. As to the *Tlascalans*, they affirmed, he had nothing to fear, since they were bound by the strictest ties of amity and alliance with the *Zempoalans* and *Totonagues*, and waged continual war with *Moteczuma*. What they said was agreeable to the general's own sentiments; and chusing rather to confide in approved friends than in the cazique, who appeared so much attached to *Moteczuma*, he gave orders for the army to march straight for *Tlascala*, on the frontiers of which he soon arrived. Then he halted at a town called *Xacozango*, upon hearing that the province was in arms; but the design was kept secret, in order to gain a more intimate knowledge of the strength and disposition of the people.

At this time *Cortez* learned that the province of *Tlascala* was populous and extensive, its frontier being about fifty leagues. The country was rough and mountainous, the towns were built on eminences difficult of access, and the inhabitants brave, hardy, and accustomed to arms. At first the government

government was monarchical; but the independent spirit of the *Tlascalans* not brooking subjection to an individual, threw off the yoke, and after living for some time in a state of anarchy, formed themselves into a regular common-wealth, under the direction of a senate and certain magistrates, whose jurisdictions were limited to certain towns. The republic was now in the zenith of her power and glory, having for a series of years foiled all the power of *Moteczuma*, and established liberty on the most solid basis, in consequence of alliances formed with several provinces for their mutual defence. In particular the *Tlascalans* were strictly confederated with the *Otomies*, a people deemed savage even in this barbarous country, fierce in war, and cruel in conquest. This information determined *Cortez* to address the *Tlascalans* with an embassy, to request a free passage through the territories of the republic; and he chose for this employment the *Zempoalan* nobles, who had advised the road of *Tlascala*, that their credit might be interested in the issue of the negotiation. Four *Zempoalans*, perfectly instructed by *Cortez*, set out to execute their commission, dressed with all the badges of embassy usual among the *Indians*, and entering the city of *Tlascala*, were lodged in the *Ca'pisca*, the apartments destined for the reception of foreign ministers, and next day admitted to an audience of the senate. The members of this assembly were ranged on low chairs, made of one piece of wood, called *T'opales*. At the entrance of the ambassadors, they rose up and welcomed them with a kind of reserved civility, and important gravity. After paying their respects to the senate, the *Zempoalans* walked leisurely up to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled down, and waited for leave to speak; which being granted, the orator of the embassy delivered himself to the following effect, as reported by *Antonio de Solis*. "Noble republic, potent and valiant *Tlascalans*, the cazique of *Zempoala*, and the lords of the mountains your friends and confederates, send you health; and wish you abundant crops, and the death of your enemies: they give you to understand, that certain invincible men are arrived among them from the east, who seem to be divinities; for they sail upon great palaces, and command thunder and lightning, the peculiar arms of heaven. They serve another God, superior to our gods, who detests tyranny and sacrifices of human blood. Their captain is ambassador from a very potent monarch, who, from motives of piety, is impelled to reform the abuses of our country, teach us the knowledge of the true God, and rescue us from the oppression, tyranny, and cruelty of the bloody *Moteczuma*.

He sends
an embassy
to Tlascala.

“ Having already delivered our provinces out of bondage,
 “ and placed us in a state of liberty, he desires to pass
 “ through your republic in his way to *Mexico*, and to be in-
 “ formed in what the tyrant has offended you, that he may
 “ add your cause to the others which justify his undertaking.
 “ We know his valour, justice, generosity, and pacific in-
 “ tentions, and therefore come in the name of the caziques
 “ your allies, ~~we~~ ^{they} ~~rest~~ and exhort that you will admit these
 “ strangers as the friends and benefactors of your confede-
 “ rates; and on the part of their captain, we can assure you
 “ that his dispositions to the republic are friendly, and that
 “ he only demands a free passage through your country, af-
 “ ter you shall be persuaded of the sincerity of his good will,
 “ and that his arms are the instruments of justice, reason,
 “ and religion, which vindicate the cause of heaven; mild
 “ and good in their own nature, and terrible only to the
 “ wicked.” Having finished their harangue, the four re-
 “ tired to their seats, and were answered by the eldest sena-
 “ tor in the name of the rest, “ that the proposition of the
 “ *Zempoalans* and *Totonagues* was grateful to the republic; but
 “ that the answer to the captain of the strangers required
 “ mature deliberation:” with which answer the ambassadors
 “ retired to the *Calpisci*, while the senators shut themselves up
 “ to discuss the propriety of granting the demand made by
 “ *Cortez*. . . .”

*Divisions
 in the se-
 nate of
 Tlalcala.*

ON this point they were soon divided in opinion, whence
 ensued very warm disputes. Some were for attacking the
 strangers, and destroying them as enemies to the country in
 general; others were for granting their demand, and attach-
 ing them by civilities to the republic; while a third party
 steered a middle course, and advised giving them no molesta-
 tion, provided they continued their march without entering
 upon the dominions of *Tlalcala*. After abundance of alter-
 cation, *Magiscarzin*, one of the oldest senators, and a person
 of great authority, desired to be heard. He mentioned the
 tradition of their ancestors, and the revelations of their
 priests, that a race of invincible men, of divine origin, who
 had power over the elements, should come from the east,
 to subdue their country. He compared the resemblance
 which the strangers bore to the persons figured in the tradition
 of *Mexico*, their dominion over the elements of fire, air and
 water; he reminded the senate of their prodigies, omens and
 signals, which had lately terrified the *Mexicans*, and indicated
 some very important event; and then declared his opinion,
 that it would be rashness to oppose a force apparently assisted
 by heaven, and men who had already proved, to the sad ex-
 perience

perience of the *Tabascans*, that they were invincible. In a word, he ballanced the danger of a refusal against the advantages which might result from granting the request of the strangers; and declared his opinion, that they ought not only to be allowed a free passage, but distinguished by all the respect and honour which the republic had power to bestow.

THE sentiments of this sage met with great applause, and all the senate were inclined to follow his advice, when *Xicotencal*, a young senator of great spirit, valour, and reputation in arms, rose up, and answered him in the following words, which we quote on the authority of *de Solis*, as a specimen of the *Xicotencal's* national character, because it seemed to convince the audience. "Gray hairs, said the youthful orator, are not always *speech*.

"infallible in their decisions, as being more inclined to cautious reflections, than to hardy enterprizes. I pay all due respect to the authority and opinion of *Magiscatzin*; but you will not think it strange, considering my age and profession, if I have notions less refined, and politicks more daring. When we talk of war, we are often deceived by that which we call prudence; for whatever resembles fear is not virtue, but a passion. It is true, there is an expectation among us of those oriental reformers, which is kept up by a prophecy that is slow in its completion. It is not my inclination to discredit a tradition that has become venerable by the consent of ages; but tell me, I pray you, what security have we that these are the promised strangers? Is it the same thing to come from the east as to come from the celestial regions, which we consider as the birth-place of the sun? The fire-arms and great embarkations which you call sea-palaces, may be the effects of human industry, which are admired for their novelty; and perhaps they may be the delusion of some enchantment, like the deception of the sight, which we call cunning and juggling in our diviners. Was what they did in *Tabasco* any more than their defeating an army superior to themselves in number; and shall this be thought wonderful in *Tlascala*, where greater actions are daily performed by natural means? May not the great benignity they have used towards the *Zempoalans* be an artifice to gain the people? at least I shall deem it a suspicious sweetness to please the palate, and cover the internal poison, as it is perfectly consistent with what we already know of their pride, avarice, and ambition. These men, if they be not in fact some monsters thrown up by the sea on our coasts, rob our people, live at discretion, guided by no other law than their own will, and given up to the de-

“lights of this country, despise our constitutions, and endeavour to introduce innovations equally dangerous to religion and government. They destroy our temples, as appears from their conduct at *Zempoala*, pull in pieces our altars, and blaspheme our gods; and is this the race you call celestial? If the *Zempoalans* and *Totonagues* have received them into their friendship, it was without consulting our republic; consequently we are under no ties by the laws of nations. They advance under no protection than the want of reflection, which deserves to be punished as presumptuous. These prodigies and signals, so magnified by *Magiscatzin*, rather persuade us to treat them like enemies, as being constant harbingers of calamities and miseries. Heaven, with its prodigies, does not give us notice of what we wish, but what we are to fear; for those felicities never come accompanied by terrors; nor does heaven light comets to lull us to sleep, but to awake us to a sense of our danger. My opinion therefore is, that we assemble our forces, and crush them at one blow, for they come into our power, marked by signals in the heavens, purposely that we may look on them as oppressors of our country, and revilers of our gods; and that establishing the reputation of our arms upon their punishment, the world may perceive that it is not the same thing to be immortal in *Tabasco*, and invincible in *Tlascala* (A).”

Resolution
of the Senate
to oppose
Cortez.

THE speech of *Xicotencal* was echoed with loud acclamations; it soon effaced every trace left in the minds of the audience by the more cautious advice of *Magiscatzin*; it was congenial to the warlike humour of the people, full of fire, spirit and resolution, and therefore received us more honourable. It was from this consideration resolved, that *Xicotencal* should assemble a body of forces, to measure his strength with the strangers, without engaging or hazarding the whole power of the republic. If he overcame the enemy, the reputation of the republic in arms was preserved; and if he should be defeated, there was room to treat of peace, by laying the blame upon the *Otonies*, and declaring it was a disorder occasioned by their ferocity. In consequence of this determination, the *Zempoalan* ambassadors were detained, which raised suspicions in the mind of *Cortez* that the embassy was ill

(A) The authors have inserted this speech as a masterly piece of elocution, which the reader may, if he thinks proper, ascribe to the imagination of the

Spanish historian. At any event it may serve to convey an idea of the disposition of the warlike-spirited *Tlascalans*.

received,

received, and obliged him, after staying eight days in his encampment, to draw nearer to the city of *Tlascala*. With his army drawn up in good order, he passed a strong wall which joined two mountains, and had been raised at a vast expence of labour by the ancient inhabitants against the invasions of their enemies. It was happy for *Cortez* that the *Tlascalans* had not thought of defending this post, either because they chose to give battle in the open plain, or had not so soon expected his approach. He had not marched far beyond the wall, when a party of the *Tlascalans* was discovered with plumes, which denoted that an army was in the field. These he drove before him by a detachment of six horse, obliged them to join another party, and then reinforcing the advanced detachment, charged the enemy with such vigour, that they began to retire, when five thousand *Tlascalans* rushed with loud shouts from the bushes in which they had concealed themselves, just as the infantry seasonably came up to support their slender body of cavalry. The enemy attacked with the utmost fury; but they were so much disconcerted with the first discharge of the fire-arms, that they retreated in confusion, and furnished the Spaniards with an opportunity of pursuing them with great slaughter. *Cortez*, however, suspecting that this could not be their whole force, and that it was rather a stratagem to draw him in than a flight, reunited his corps, and advanced with the utmost caution, in order of battle, to an eminence, from whence he discovered the whole *Tlascalan* army, composed of near forty thousand men of different nations, under the command of *Xicotencal*, general of the republic. The experience which the Spaniards gained at *Tlascala* prevented their being discouraged with the vast superiority of the enemy; they marched down the hill with perfect composure, formed on the plain, brought down their artillery without hurry or confusion, and disposed every thing for attacking the *Tlascalans*, with the strongest assurance of victory. *Xicotencal* had indeed shewed his dexterity, by disposing his troops into such a manner as to surround the Spaniards, which he had no sooner effected, than he contracted the circle with incredible diligence, and rained showers of darts, stones, and arrows, which almost covered the little army of *Cortez*. Being sensible, however, by the terrible slaughter of his troops, of the inferiority of the Indian missile weapons to the fire-arms of the enemy, he closed, in order to try the effects of his pikes and swords. In this particular the Indians were not more upon an equality; they fought with great courage and impetuosity, but they fell in heaps, either by the sword, or the volleys discharged

He defeats the Tlascalans in several engagements.

charged among them from the artillery. It was their policy to conceal their slain and wounded; yet it was apparent their numbers were diminished, and their fury abated, for they fell back to a greater distance, though they still continued the engagement. Cortez, who had all this while fought in the form of a square, presenting a front to every side, now consulted his officers, whether he ought not to force his way through the enemy, to a place where he might extend his line, and fight to more advantage? which they approving, he formed his men into a column, pushed on with irresistible fury, and after an obstinate engagement, entirely broke and routed the enemy, chiefly by means of the horses, animals so wonderful and dreadful to the *Tlascalans*. In the pursuit, one *Nicron*, a *Spanish* horseman, engaged himself too far, was surrounded, and taken prisoner by the *Indians*, after they had killed his horse, and cut off the head of the monster, which was placed as a trophy on the point of a spear, and carried in triumph to the senate, though *Nicron* had the good fortune to be rescued by his companions. By this accident the *Tlascalans* were encouraged to rally, and renew the charge, which they begun with redoubled vigour, that might have proved fatal to the lives of many *Spaniards*, had it continued; but fortunately *Xicotencal* had ordered a retreat to be sounded, on discovering that most of his officers were slain, apprehending that he should not be able to govern such a multitude of soldiers by his own authority. Thus the *Spaniards* remained masters of the field, tho' the *Tlascalans* likewise claimed a victory, only because they were not completely defeated, and they had taken what they deemed an inestimable prize, the head of a *Spanish* horse, which was greatly admired, and sacrificed with the utmost solemnity in one of the temples. On their side the slaughter was very great, but not certain as to the number, the killed and wounded having been carried off the field with the utmost diligence; while Cortez sustained no other loss than that of one horse, and nine soldiers who were wounded, and prevented for a few days from doing duty.

THE field being now open, Cortez marched to a village in the way to *Tlascala*, of which he took possession without opposition, and then refreshed his soldiers with abundance of provision, which the enemy had left behind; but it was obvious that the road to *Tlascala* would still be disputed, and that the republic, by no means, acknowledged herself conquered. The death of so many great officers and caziques occasioned various opinions in the senate; but still *Xicotencal* maintained a majority, who were for trying the fortune of
Tlascala

Tlascala in another engagement, notwithstanding the loud clamours raised by *Magiscatzin's* party against the general's vanity and rashness. *Xicotencal*, on the other hand, animated his drooping countrymen by the trophy of the horse's head; he desired a reinforcement, and promised to give a good account of the enemy with so much confidence, that the senate was ready to enter into the measures dictated by his revenge, when an auxiliary cazique arrived with ten thousand men, and infused fresh spirits into the republic, because it was regarded as succours from the gods, being unexpected. *Cortez* would have made proposals of peace; but he could find no *Zempoalans* who would undertake the commission, being terrified with the usage their countrymen met with, who had now escaped from confinement, upon notice that they were to be sacrificed in a few days to the gods of *Tlascala*. He advanced at the head of a party, seized upon several villages in the way to the capital, and returned to the camp with great quantities of provisions, and a number of prisoners, from whom he had intelligence, that *Xicotencal* was encamped at the distance of two leagues, and diligent in recruiting his forces, which would in a day or two be much more numerous than in the former engagement. He was sensible, that if victory depended upon numbers, the *Spaniards* would have no chance with the *Tlascalans*; *Cortez*, therefore, released all the prisoners, saying, he would augment *Xicotencal's* army, to shew the republic how little he feared her utmost strength; an act which gave the enemy the most extravagant ideas of his valour and generosity, and contributed greatly to his future success; besides, that by this means he increased his own strength, having no occasion to employ troops to guard the prisoners. Chusing out the most intrepid and ingenious among the persons whom he set at liberty, he charged them with a message to *Xicotencal* to the following effect: That he was concerned for the loss which the republic sustained in the battle; but the senate was to blame for treating them in a hostile manner, who had only pacific designs. Notwithstanding this cause of displeasure, he would still, he said, enter upon a negotiation as if nothing had passed; but insisted upon *Xicotencal's* disarming, unless he wanted to draw down his vengeance to be utterly destroyed, and the name and misfortunes of *Tlascala* be made a terror to all the neighbouring nations.

It was imagined this bold message would intimidate the *Indian* general; but it produced the very contrary effect, and so roused his resentment, that he sent the prisoners back, mangled for their presumption, with an answer, that *Cortez* should

should see him in the field at the first rising of the sun; for his intention was to carry him, and all his people, alive, to offer them up as sacrifices to the gods of the republic. This notice he gave him, that he might prepare himself; saying, that he was not accustomed to lessen the glory of his victories by taking the enemy at a disadvantage. With these menaces *Cortez* and *Xicotencal* irritated each other, while both made the most vigorous preparations for executing their promises, and deciding their fortune by one battle. The *Spanish* general kept strict guard during the night, and next morning advanced half a league to an advantageous post, where he determined to wait for the *Tlascalans*, in such a disposition as the experience of the preceding engagement dictated to be necessary. His flanks were secured by the artillery, orders were issued with respect to the times and distances when the cannon could be discharged to most advantage, every contingency was foreseen, and *Cortez* took his own post at the head of the cavalry, that he might superintend the whole, succour those who were hard pressed, and move with more facility and velocity to the different parts of his army, as occasion might require. In a short time the enemy's van appeared, and the scouts returned with advice, that an army was in motion which covered the whole country. It consisted of fifty thousand men; the whole strength of the republic united to that of her allies. The golden eagle of *Tlascala*, which is only brought forth upon the most extraordinary occasions, was displayed aloft in the middle, and every circumstance declared that the engagement would be bloody and decisive; the republic risking her fate on the issue. When the *Indian* army approached within a proper distance, the artillery poured such destruction upon their ranks, that they reeled back, and seemed divided between the different passions of shame, fear, and resentment; but the latter prevailing, they advanced in a tumultuous manner, and were saluted with such volleys from the musquetry and cross-bows, as put them a second time in suspense whether they ought not to leave the field to the enemy. *Xicotencal*, however, raised their passions by his eloquence, and animated them by his example, to such a pitch of despair, that they pushed each other on to destruction, the rear ranks trampling upon those in the front, and rushing like a torrent with such violence, that they broke the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*, and required the utmost abilities of *Cortez* to rally his forces, and withstand so furious a charge. He flew to every part, exhorted, intreated, and animated with such success, that, recovering themselves, the *Spaniards* dealt destruction on every side, and

and *Cortez*, with the cavalry, bore down all before him, and closed his ranks just as an accident deprived him of the honour of gaining a complete victory by his own valour. The enemy were of a sudden observed to be in the utmost confusion, their troops moving to different parts, and dividing and bearing upon each other, until the rear guard retired in a tumultuous manner, and those who were engaged in the front were left to find safety in flight. *Cortez* suspected some stratagem, and therefore pursued with caution; but he soon learned from the prisoners, that the proud and passionate *Xicotencal* had affronted one of the most powerful of his allies, who, resenting the injury, drew off his troops, and with them the bulk of the confederate army, which obliged *Xicotencal* to leave the field, and an indisputable victory to the *Spaniards*: yet such was the slaughter which preceded this accident, that it is highly probable it was upon the whole favourable to the republic, by preserving the lives of her subjects, and yielding more easily a victory, which must in the event have been the reward of such discipline, and well-regulated courage as the *Spaniards* exerted on this occasion. Their loss was inconsiderable, only one soldier being killed, and twenty slightly wounded; their triumph was complete; yet were the *Spanish* soldiers discontented, taking shame that they should have been broken, and put in disorder by barbarians; a circumstance which touched them so nearly, that they returned to their quarters, melancholy and disheartened, as if they had been defeated. This laid the seeds of dissension and mutiny, the soldiers blaming each other, and some charging the whole fault on *Cortez*, declaring that they would not sacrifice themselves to gratify his humour, and would repair to *Via Cruz*, leaving him alone to perfect the dictates of rash ambition. Notice of the seditious disposition of the soldiers was no sooner brought to *Cortez*, than he assembled the whole army, placing the most discontented near his person, and laid before them his present circumstances, as if he had desired their council and advice. He represented all they had to hope from advancing, and to fear if they retreated; he painted in such lively colours the shame of abandoning the fruits of so many glorious victories, and he placed every thing in so favourable a point of view, that all murmuring ceased, and one of the most mutinous told his companions aloud, "That the general instructed them in what they ought to do, while he was only asking their advice: it is not possible for us, said he, to retreat, without sacrificing our hopes, our glory, and our lives." All were convinced of the rectitude of the general's opinion; and

He accuses a mutiny of his troops.

it was resolved, by universal acclamations, to prosecute the enterprise.

MATTERS went otherwise on at *Tlascala*, where nothing but confusion, disorder, and dismay, appeared. The second defeat of the army spread a general consternation. The common people cried out for peace; and the nobility, had they been unanimous, were unable to carry on the war without their assistance. It was the opinion of the more timid, that they ought to retire with their families to the mountains; of the more superstitious, that the *Spaniards* were deities, and ought as such to be worshipped; of the more resolute, that another engagement should be hazarded; and of the more prudent and moderate, that peace should be solicited, and the *Spaniards* gained by kindness, since they could neither be conquered by numbers nor valour. Consultations were held in the senate, the result of which were, that the *Spaniards* indeed were not gods, but that their actions were so extraordinary and supernatural, as to require the influence of magical powers; for which reason it would be proper to consult the magicians of the republic. Accordingly these sages were called, and pretending that they had already discovered by their art the point in which they were to be consulted, declared without scruple, that, in consequence of profound study, and deep observation of their circles, they had fully discovered the source of those supernatural acts of valour performed by the strangers. The whole they alledged consisted in this, that the *Spaniards* were the children of the sun, produced by his own active quality in the mother earth of the oriental regions, impregnated by his spirit; and their greatest enchantment being the presence of their father, whose warm influence communicated to them a force superior to human nature, and rendered them immortal while his beams shone upon them; but that upon his returning to the west, the influence ceased, and his children remained disheartened, weak, and withered, like the herbs of the field, and reduced to the mortal condition of other men: for which reason they advised they might be attacked in the night, and destroyed before the rising sun again rendered them invincible.

The Tlascalans consult the magicians, and are again defeated.

As the wisdom of these magicians was beyond all dispute, it is no wonder the senate of *Tlascala* should accede to their sage admonitions, especially as the opinions of those mysterious interpreters of futurity was nearly consonant to their own sentiments. They did so, and orders were immediately dispatched to *Xicotencal*, to begin his attack on the *Spaniards* after sun-set, with the utmost privacy, and cut them all off before

before morning. This general, whether he entertained any opinion or not of the advice of the forcerers, cheerfully followed his instructions, because he desired nothing more than an opportunity of fighting, until he wiped off his former disgrace. Accordingly he selected a body of ten thousand of the most desperate soldiers in his army, and advanced under cover of the night, with profound silence, towards the *Spanish* intrenchments. *Cortez*, however, was upon his guard; the centinels on the out-posts brought advice that the enemy were in motion, and every thing was disposed for their reception without noise or confusion. The *Indians* were suffered to ascend the wall drawn round the camp before any intimation was given that their design was discovered, and then such a shower of bullets was poured from the cannon, small arms, and cross-bows, as made dreadful havoc, and convinced *Xicotencal* of the delusions of the forcerers; but this served only to animate his courage, and drive him on to desperate efforts. The assault was made in three different quarters, the whole body of *Tlascalans* rushing upon the *Spanish* defences. Their exertions of valour were indeed extraordinary, considering how unacquainted they were with forcing intrenchments; they climbed upon each others shoulders, ascended the walls, and paid no regard to the death of those who went before, until themselves met with the same fate. For several hours the battle raged with unparalleled fury; when at length *Xicotencal*, convinced by the carnage of his troops, that perseverance could serve no other purpose than procuring the destruction of his army, ordered the signal to be made for retreating; which was no sooner observed by *Cortez*, than he detached a party to harass his rear, equipped with little bells, that, by the novelty of the noise, spread the utmost terror among the enemy. In the pursuit great numbers were slain; and this complete victory was obtained at the inconsiderable expence of one *Zempoalan* who was killed; an event deemed miraculous, considering the multitude of darts and arrows that were found within the intrenchments.

It was now obvious to the *Tlascalans* that their forcerers were mistaken, and despondency ensued. The *Spaniards* were found to be proof against strength and stratagem, equally inscible in the middle of the night, as when the sun was in its meridian. The common people grew more clamorous for peace, the nobility were dissatisfied and divided, and the senators ashamed and silent. The magicians were immediately punished, as if this last disgrace had been wholly owing to their impostures. Two or three of the principal

The people desire peace, but *Xicotencal* is obstinate.

were

were sacrificed at the altars, to appease the supposed indignation of the gods, who afflicted the republick with such heavy calamities, and the rest were severely reprimanded, and delivered over to contempt. The majority inclined to peace, and applauded the prudence and foresight of *Magiscatzin*, who had predicted all that happened; even the most incredulous believed the *Spaniards* were actually the celestial beings mentioned in their prophecies. Orders were immediately dispatched to *Xicotencal* to suspend hostilities, and keep on the defensive, until he was made acquainted with the farther resolution of the senate, and the success of the pacific negotiations they proposed establishing. To this order *Xicotencal* refused obedience, answering with arrogance, "That he and his soldiers were the senate, and would support the honour of the republic, which was now deserted by those who were called fathers of their country." Disappointment rendered him quite frantic; he resolved upon another assault in the night, but took his measures with unusual caution. Observing that the neighbouring peasants carried provisions to the *Spanish* camp, which they exchanged for beads, bells, and other trinkets, he detached forty soldiers in the habit of those rustics, and sent them loaded with pearls, fowls, and other provision, to *Cortez*, ordering them to mark exactly the nature and strength of the fortifications, and where they might be forced with the least difficulty; a stratagem which sufficiently demonstrates that this barbarian was possessed of sagacity and a truly military genius, although the scheme proved abortive. The curiosity of those spies giving suspicion, they were seized, and put to the torture, until they confessed the whole project, and that an assault was that very night to be made by twenty thousand *Tlascalans*, at different quarters of the camp, agreeable to the directions they were to bring after inspecting the works. *Cortez*, who was at this time indisposed, gave the necessary instructions for resisting the enemy, and then deliberated on the punishment of the delinquents, ordering that fourteen of the most obstinate should be punished with the loss of their hands or fingers, and dismissed in that manner, with a message to *Xicotencal*, that he sent his emissaries back again, to acquaint him with the situation of his fortifications, and that he was waiting impatiently for the assault. The *Indian* army, that was in full march, was struck with the bloody spectacle, and *Xicotencal* was particularly concerned at the discovery of a stratagem, in which he rested his last hopes. He persuaded himself, that the secret thoughts of his people, of whose fidelity he was confident, must have been obtained

by the assistance of some divinity; and just as he was revolving this thought in his own mind, ambassadors arrived from the senate, with orders for him to resign his command, on account of his insolence and disobedience. All his officers were, besides, prohibited, on pain of death, any longer to obey his directions; and this accident, so immediately succeeding the discovery of so deep laid a scheme, not only broke all *Xicotencal's* resolution, but rendered the army extremely averse to the prosecution of a war attended only with disgrace and misfortune. The soldiers dispersed with extraordinary readiness, and took the road of *Tlascala*, leaving their general to return, attended only by his friends and relations, and to appear before the senate, to answer for his last act of disobedience.

MEAN time the *Spaniards* continued in the utmost suspense, whether they were to expect the enemy. The whole night they remained in arms, without venturing to take any rest, until their scouts brought word next day that the *Tlascalan* camp was removed to a greater distance. It was on the third day that the joyful news arrived, that the hostile enemy was broke up; news that was soon confirmed by the appearance of ambassadors from the senate, with terms of pacification. They apologized for the conduct of the republic, laying the blame of the war upon the *Otomies*, and other fierce allied nations, whom the senate had not been able to restrain. Altho' *Cortez* was sensible of the falsity of this excuse, he suppressed his resentment, and only desired the ambassadors to acquaint the senate, that their proposals of peace were extremely agreeable to him; though the senate must consider, as no slight proof of his goodness, that he did not pursue the dictates of revenge, and impose laws upon them as a conqueror. Yet, before he laid himself under any obligations, he would see how they persevered in their resolution to merit his friendship, and employ the intermediate time in appeasing his captains, and endeavouring to prevail upon them to drop their just indignation. In a word, he would suspend the punishment with an uplifted arm, and leave it to the discretion of the senate, either to procure pardon, or to sustain the blow which must put an end to the existence of the republic of *Tlascala*.

By this answer *Cortez* intended to check the pride of the senate, and particularly of the friends of *Xicotencal*, who might possibly grow insolent, on the presumption that the *Spaniards* were greatly weakened, before they would grant peace so readily. He likewise wanted, that the fame of his victories might have time to spread over *Mexico*, in order to

be assured what effect it might produce at the court of *Motexuma*, whence he should be enabled to square his conduct to the republic with more advantage to himself. This measure demonstrated the great foresight of the *Spanish* hero; for every thing fell out just as he expected. *Motexuma*, who had regular accounts from his emissaries of what was transacting at *Tlascala*, was so much struck with the wonders reported of *Cortez*, that he was resolved to send him an embassy, to compliment him on his conquests over the republic, and engage him by fresh presents and civilities not to approach nearer to his capital, at the same time that the ambassadors were instructed to throw all possible obstruction in the way of the expected pacification between him and the *Tlascalans*. Five *Mexicans*, of the first quality, were appointed to execute the purposes of this embassy, and they arrived in the camp soon after the departure of the republican ambassadors. They were received with great ceremony and respect, heard attentively, and thanked for *Motexuma's* present, valued at a thousand pieces of eight; but *Cortez* deferred giving his answer until they should have an opportunity of seeing the *Tlascalan* ministers: a precaution which answered more important purposes than the general expected; for the *Mexicans* were not long in the *Spanish* quarters, before they betrayed their whole instructions, by the indiscreet manner in which they asked questions about the negotiation with the republic.

*Xicotencal comes
ambassador to
Cortez.*

ALL this while the senate was exhibiting proofs of their desire to regain the friendship and esteem of the *Spanish*, who were plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions for the peasants, at the expence of the republic; strict orders being issued, not to receive the smallest return or reward for the provisions. Soon after *Xicotencal* in person, attended by fifty gentlemen of his family, arrived at the quarters, in the name of the senate and republic of *Tlascala*; this nobleman having requested the commission out of public spirit, and an earnest desire to save his country. He had tried the efforts of arms, as long as prudence dictated to him that the *Tlascalans* ought to rely upon their own valour; and now he was ambitious of promoting a peace, because he believed not only salutary to the republic, but the only means by which he could merit the good opinion of *Cortez*, whom he esteemed, and even adored, as a hero, inspired and assisted by the gods. He appeared with the open bold air of a soldier; and having paid his respects to the general, took his seat, told his name, and confessed himself the sole author of the war, and the general of those forces who had endeavoured

resolved to destroy the *Spaniards*; but, struck with their valour and magnanimity, came now, with the merit of submission, to put himself in the hands of the conqueror, hoping by this acknowledgment to obtain pardon for the republic, whose name, power, and authority he had to sue for peace, with all possible deference, and to accept it upon the terms which the *Spanish* general should think fit to impose. "I ask this," said he, once, twice, thrice, in the name of the senate, nobles, and commons of *Tlascala*, intreating you, with all earnestness, to honour the city with your presence, where you shall find quarters provided for your men, and all the respect and service that can be expected from those who are brave, and submit to intreat and obey. I only pray of you, not as a condition of the peace, but as an act of your own generosity, that the inhabitants be well used, and our gods and wives preserved from the licentiousness of the soldiers."

CORTEZ was delighted with the noble freedom of the *Tlascalan* warrior, and expressed his satisfaction in his countenance: however, lest *Xicotencal* should mistake the motive, and ascribe it to the joy with which he received the proposals for peace, he answered with the utmost gravity by the interpreter, "That the republic was highly blameable for declaring so unjust a war, and *Xicotencal* no less faulty in prosecuting it with such uncommon obstinacy; however, that as the *Spaniards* were averse to blood, except in cases of extreme necessity, and sensible of the valour of the *Tlascalans*, they granted the peace he desired, out of respect to the gallant exertions they made in their own defence, though upon a mistaken principle; he would favour the city with a visit, and would be careful that no violence or extortion should be committed by the soldiers;" adding, that he would give the senate timely notice of his march, that proper quarters might be provided. *Xicotencal*, who considered this as a pretence of Cortez to examine into the sincerity of the *Tlascalans*, shewed his concern at the suspicion, and turning his eyes upon the audience, cried out with vehemence: "You have reason, great *Teules*, or gods, to chastise our sincerity with your distrust; but if it be not sufficient to gain your credit when the whole republic of *Tlascala* speaks to you by the lips of her captain-general, and these gentlemen of my retinue, who are the principal persons in the commonwealth, I and my attendants will remain as hostages in your hands, and even submit to imprisonment, during your residence in our city." This offer, however, was refused by Cortez, who

told him, that the *Spaniards* wanted no other security than their own valour; that he had no doubts of the sincerity of the republic, as she must know it to be her interest; that the peace remained firm and secure; and that he would proceed to *Tlascala*, as soon as the proper dispositions were made for quitting his present situation, and dispatching the ambassadors of *Moteczuma*.

Endea-
vours of
the Mexi-
cans to
break off
the negoti-
ation.

WHEN the *Tlascalans* were gone, the *Mexicans* used their utmost address to persuade *Cortez*, that no confidence ought to be placed in the protestations of a barbarous, perfidious people, who only wanted to draw him into an indolent security, the more easily to destroy him and his whole army; but when they found him resolute, they used intreaties, and requested, with the utmost submission, that he would defer his visit to *Tlascala* for the space of six days, until they could inform *Moteczuma* of what had passed, and receive his farther instructions. *Cortez* thinking it necessary to maintain the respect due to so great a monarch, consented, in hopes of removing those difficulties which had hitherto obstructed his request of being admitted to the court of *Mexico*. At the expiration of the time, however, the ambassadors returned, and with them were six gentlemen of the royal family, with a splendid attendance; and a presence still more valuable than any of the former. They represented the great *Moteczuma's* profound respect for the prince whom the *Spaniards* obeyed, whose grandeur was sufficiently apparent from the valour of his subjects. They represented, that the emperor found himself inclinable to cultivate the friendship of their monarch, by paying him a yearly tribute, and giving him those riches in which he abounded; because he held him in great veneration, as the offspring of the sun, or at least the lord of those happy regions, where light is produced: but that two previous conditions were necessary to this agreement. The first was, that no peace should be concluded with the *Tlascalans*; and the second, that *Cortez* should lay aside all thoughts of marching to *Mexico*, as, by the laws of the empire, the sovereign could not suffer himself to be approached by strangers. They concluded with an invective against the perfidy of the *Tlascalans*, the danger into which *Cortez* was plunging headlong through his own credulity, and the little reason which the *Spaniards* would have to complain of the most fatal consequences, after having so repeatedly shut their ears to most salutary admonitions.

FROM the whole of this discourse, the fear of *Moteczuma*, rather than his esteem or veneration for the *Spaniards*, was very apparent. *Cortez* deferred his answer, only telling the ambassadors,

ambassadors, that it was necessary they should take some rest after so long and fatiguing a journey. He was willing they should be witnesses to the peace concluded with the *Tlascalans*, and prevented from returning before that event was placed on the most secure basis, lest *Moteczuma*, enraged at his resolution, should begin to put himself in a posture of defence. Hitherto he knew no preparations had been made, the court relying wholly upon the force of presents, and the exaggerated representations of the imperial power; and it was his business to keep up this infatuated negligence and security, which had taken possession of *Moteczuma* and his council. Yet, though the delays were necessary to *Cortez*, they proved extremely irksome to the *Tlascalans*, who were resolved, as the last proof of their sincerity, that the whole senate in a body should wait upon him at his quarters, determining not to return until they had conducted the general to their city, and broke off the negotiations with the *Mexicans*; a mutual jealousy of their ancient rivals, which *Cortez* knew how to improve to his own advantage. The appearance of the senate was solemn and numerous; all being adorned with plumes and other ornaments of such colours as denoted their proper persons. They were conveyed in litters, supported by the shoulders of inferior officers. *Magistrate*, that venerable sage, who had always favoured the *Spaniards*, holding the most distinguished and honourable rank. Next to him came the father of *Xicotencal*, blind with old age, but vigorous in his intellects, and extremely respected on account of his good sense and experience. Such was the curiosity of this old man to become acquainted with *Cortez*, that he advanced before his companions, desired to be led near the captain of the strangers, embraced the general with marks of sincerity and extraordinary esteem, and then touched and felt him all over, as if he was desirous of supplying the want of sight with his hands. Upon this the ambassadors were seated, and the blind sage addressed himself to *Cortez* in a sensible speech, in which he apologized for the late acts of hostility, demanded his friendship, and assured him of the sincerity of the republic in her proposals of amity. He touched upon the negotiation with the ambassadors of *Moteczuma*, and their endeavours to frustrate the pacific designs of the senate; and exhorted *Cortez* not to pay any regard to the tradition and insidious suggestions of the tyrant, their inveterate enemy; concluding with offers to put the liberties of *Tlascala* into his hands, and earnest intreaties that he would take up his quarters in the city: a request urged with so much importunity by the whole body of the senate, and such appearances

Cortez
makes his
public en-
try into
Tlalcala.

Septem-
ber 23,
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of candor and sincerity, as were not to be longer resisted. Cortez, therefore, answered the senate with the utmost civility, making presents to each, and passing his word, that as soon as he could assuage the people from the villages necessary for conducting his artillery, he would set out for *Tlalcala*, admonishing the senate, and indeed exerting his authority, to oblige them to return, as he could not lodge them with the conveniency due to their rank, quality, and friendship. With this promise they departed; and scarce had the sun appeared next morning, when the *Spaniards* found five hundred *Tamemes*, or carriers, at their quarters, so officious to do them service, that they disputed who should have the honour of bearing the heaviest burdens. Every thing being now in readiness, the *Spaniards* began their march with all the order and caution constantly observed by this little army. On every side the fields were crowded with spectators, and the air was filled with cries of joy and loud acclamations. The senate came a considerable way out of the city to meet the *Spaniards*, with all the pomp observed in public solemnities; and having paid their compliments, surrounded the person of the general, and conducted him to *Tlalcala*. When they entered the city, the rejoicings became louder and more tumultuous, human voices being mixed with the harsh music of the *Indian* flutes, horns, and drums, and the crowd so great; that the officers of the senate found the utmost difficulty in clearing a passage for the procession. Women shewed flowers in the streets, and some of greater resolution pressed through the concourse, and put garlands into the hands of the soldiers, while the priests, in their sacrificing habits, offered incense, and a variety of perfumes to their possors. All shewed the sincerity of their hearts in their countenances; but in general the joy of the people yielded to wonder and veneration at the appearance and valour of the strangers. The quarters assigned were extremely commodious, the whole *Spanish* army being lodged in adjoining spacious apartments in contiguous squares. Cortez carried with him the ambassadors of *Motexuma*, and lodged them, at their desire, under his own protection, as they seemed terribly apprehensive of some violence from the *Tlalcalans*. Every day brought fresh testimonies of the real esteem in which the *Tlalcalians* held the *Spaniards*; though they ventured to complain of their going armed, as if they still entertained suspicion of the sincerity of the republic: a necessary caution, which Cortez excused, by assuring them it was the custom of his country, and arms a part of the dress and equipage of a soldier, which he never laid aside in the most peaceable times, because they injured him

him to fatigue, obedience, and vigilance. In a word, during the space of twenty days, which the Spaniards continued in *Tlascala*, not a single act of offence passed on either side, and the basis of a firm alliance was laid between the two nations, of so much consequence to the future conquest, that to this day the inhabitants of this province enjoy a variety of privileges and exemptions, in reward of their friendship and fidelity.

In those days the city of *Tlascala* was poor, but populous; *Description* we mean with respect to gold and silver, tho' the inhabitants enjoyed most of the conveniences of life without the city and luxurious, and were so abstemious and strongly attached to *province* liberty, that they eat all their food without salt, rather than carry on any intercourse with *Moteczuma*. The town was built upon four eminences, differing in height, and at a small distance from each other, stretching in length from east to west, and being naturally fortified by rocks, precipices, and steep ascents. These hills were divided into four wards, each governed by a *cazique*, under the authority of the senate, the supreme legislative and executive power. They were united and joined by several streets, lined with thick walls, that served as a defence where the natural situation was not thought sufficiently strong. The houses were low, consisting only of one floor, the roofs flat, and decorated with galleries. The streets were narrow and crooked, and the whole contrived more for external security, than internal convenience. The circuit of the province was about fifty leagues, the country ragged and mountainous, but extremely fertile in the valleys, all of which were finely watered. The adjacent provinces were all subject to *Moteczuma*; but the republic was divided from them by rough high mountains, as if nature had provided a barrier for the defence of the liberties of this warlike people. The *Tennoques*, *Otomies*, and other fiercer mountaineers, who had preserved their freedom, were in strict alliance with the republic; which, besides the capital we have described, was filled with other towns and large villages. From the earliest infancy the *Tlascalans* were addicted to arms and superstition. Their valour was distinguished over all *Mexico*; and this natural courage was directed by skill in martial exploits, to which all degrees of men were exercised. Such was the abundance of Indian wheat in this province, that from thence it was called *Tlascala*, or the land of bread; besides which it produced great abundance of delicious fruits, game, and that valuable commodity *cochineal*, of the use of which the *Tlascalans* were ignorant, regarding it only as an useless ex-

presence of the plant they called *Tuna*, though it has since been discovered to be a female insect. With all those blessings of plenty and security, *Tlascala* had its inconveniences, particularly by being exposed to great tempests and dreadful hurricanes, as well as to the inundations of the river *Zabul*, which frequently destroyed the harvest, and even the towns of the *Tlascalans*, unless they happened to be situated on high eminences. To these we may add the want of salt, a commodity of which the *Tlascalans* were fond, tho' the country produced none; and they were too obstinate in their enmity to be supplied from *Mexico*.

SUCH was the character of this republic, at the time it was conquered by *Cortez*, and linked by ties of perpetual amity to his interest; and we have been the more particular in describing this commonwealth, because the *Tlascalans* were extremely instrumental in all the future conquests made in *New Spain*, by which name the empire of *Mexico* began at this time to be distinguished (A).

AFTER

(A) It may be necessary on this occasion to take notice of the means by which the *Spaniards* fell upon the *Tlascalans*, which afterwards proved of the utmost importance, though it was then regarded only as a matter of curiosity. From the highest eminence on which the city *Tlascala* was situated, might be seen the volcano of *Popocatepec*, which sent forth a constant smoke, at which the *Indians* were no way terrified, because it was usual. While *Cortez* resided here, the volcano began to look unusually cloudy; it vomited smoke and flame with such violence, that the superstitious *Tlascalans* presaged some terrible calamity to their republic. The flame and fire was a phenomenon to which they had not been accustomed, and they explained it, by alledging, that those sparks of light which did not again return to the volcano, were the souls of tyrants sent abroad to chastise the earth, and were the instruments of the divine vengeance. This notion gained credit with *Magiscatzin*, and some of the greatest personages of the state; although their understanding in other respects were clear and extensive, and they were entertaining *Cortez* with their wild superstitions, when *Diego Ordaz* came to ask his leave to ascend the top of the mountain to examine the volcano more accurately; a request which greatly astonished the affrighted *Tlascalans*, who regarded him as little better than a madman, or else a being conscious of his own immortality. *Cortez* yielded to the pressing instances of *Ordaz*, who, accompanied by two soldiers, ventured to the very mouth of the gulph, at the bottom of which he discovered a great mass of liquid fire; whence he conjectured, that the bowels of the mountain must abound with

AFTER Cortez had resided some days at *Tlascal*, and by the mutual civilities which passed between his people and the republicans, convinced the *Mexican* ambassadors of the solidity of the peace, he thought proper to dispatch them with respectful compliments to *Moteczuma*, without relinquishing his pretensions to visit the court of that prince. He then made preparations for advancing towards the capital, while the *Tlascalans* endeavoured all in their power to put off the time of his departure, by amusing the *Spaniards* with festivals, public entertainments, dancing after their manner, and feats of dexterity and agility. At last the day for the march being appointed, a dispute arose, whether they should march through *Cholu'q*, a populous city attached to *Moteczuma*, or take a longer and less convenient rout, rather than run any hazard. Cortez himself was disposed to the former, but the *Tlascalans* used all their influence to dissuade him from the resolution. Mean time new ambassadors, with another picture, came from *Moteczuma*, and by their behaviour determined Cortez in his sentiments. They told him their monarch had now condescended to suffer himself to be visited by the *Spaniards*; and that he had provided quarters for them at *Cholu'q*, and every thing which could render the journey agreeable and easy. This sudden change in *Moteczuma's* councils and behaviour, afforded suspicion that some deep stratagem was intended; however, this only served to confirm his resolution of going by *Cholu'q*, lest his betraying any symptoms of fear, might inspire the enemy with courage; and that he might likewise have an opportunity of trying his strength with *Moteczuma*, before he found himself inclosed in the heart of his empire. The *Tlascalans* were certain that treachery was at the bottom of *Moteczuma's* affected kindness, and therefore renewed their instances; but Cortez, who affected being superior to cunning and strength, laid before them such arguments in support of his opinion, that they acquiesced; even *Magiscatzin* and *Xicotencul* applauded his magnanimity and judgment.

with sulphur; and this conjecture was proved by experiment in course of the conquest of *Mexico*. The army being in great want of powder when Cortez entered that country a second time, he recollected the volcano in *Tlascal*, sent thither to look for sulphur, and found great quan-

ties, of which he made powder, which proved so essential to the success of the expedition, that *Ordaz*, the discoverer, was rewarded for an action, which, at the time, was deemed rather curiosity, and had for his arms the burning mountain. *De Solis*, lib. iii. cap. iv.

Cortez
prepares to
march for
Cholula

BEFORE Cortez begun his march, he received new marks of suspicion that the people of *Cholula* were but little disposed to his service, and he took notice to the *Mexican* ambassadors of his surprize: they had not favoured him with an embassy, if they entertained the friendly sentiments which they alledged, as even those *caziques*, who never expected him into their country, had shewn him this piece of respect. The apology which the ambassadors made served rather to confirm than remove suspicion; they ascribed the conduct of the *Cholulans* to inadvertency, and endeavoured to repair the omission by giving them notice of the opinion of the *Spaniards*: in consequence of which, four *Indians* came to *Tlascala*, in quality of ambassadors, but of so mean rank, that Cortez refused admitting them to an audience; telling the *Mexicans*, that certainly the people of *Cholula* were very little acquainted with the modes of civility, when they made amends for a neglect, by adding ill-manners and discourtesy. When Cortez drew out his troops to begin their march, he found an army of *Tlascalans*, in the field, whose officers had orders from the senate to obey his orders, and attend him not only to *Cholula*, but as far as *Mexico*, where they supposed he would meet with the greatest danger and difficulties. This body of troops was very considerable; and some writers enlarge so far, as to affirm it amounted to one hundred thousand men: certain it is, that the flower of the republic's forces was called forth on this occasion; and that, although Cortez refused the obligation, he expressed his sense of this proof of the affection of the *Tlascalans* by the most endearing expressions. He represented to the senate the inconvenience consequent on the march of so large an army, especially as his designs were pacific; and procured their consent that he should be attended only by a few companies of their people; which himself acknowledges, in his relation, amounted to six thousand men: though *Herrera* reduces them to half that number. The first day's march brought Cortez within a league of *Cholula*, and he encamped all night in the fields, rather than expose his troops to the danger of stratagems in the dark, in a place with which he was entirely unacquainted. Next morning, as he drew near, an embassy, of better appearance than the former, came out to meet him, bringing a present of all kinds of provision, and excusing the *caziques* for not waiting upon the general at *Tlascala*; under pretence that it was an enemy's country. They offered him quarters, and expressed the great joy which it gave the inhabitants of *Cholula*, to have an opportunity of entertaining strangers so amiable for their generosity, and renowned for their valour; and

and every appearance, as they advanced, seemed to declare the sincerity of their profession. As he drew near the city, the priests met him with a numerous attendance of unmarried people; the road was lined with a multitude, who expressed their satisfaction by their acclamations; and except that the people of *Cholula* objected against admitting their enemies, the *Tlascalans*, into their city, there was not a circumstance passed, but what tended to confirm the *Spaniards* in the opinion, that animosity had dictated the unfavourable description of the *Cholulans*, while they lived at *Tlascala*. This objection, indeed, was extremely reasonable; nevertheless, it would have disconcerted the general, had not those friendly *Indians* voluntarily removed all difficulties, by offering to take up their quarters without the gates, in a place whence they might quickly come to the assistance of their friends, since they resolved, contrary to all advice and reason, to be duped by the appearances of traitors. The *Spaniards* made their entry amidst a prodigious concourse of ^{He enters} that city, the inhabitants, who rent the sky with their shouts, strewed ^{discovers a} the ground with flowers, and gave every possible demonstration of the most hearty reception: but in less than two days ^{conspiracy,} their treachery was discovered by a fortunate accident, which ^{and punish-} exit with severity. probably saved the *Spaniards* from utter destruction. Donna *Marina*, who attended *Cortez* in all his adventures since his arrival on the continent, had gained the friendship of an ancient *Indian* lady in the town, of considerable distinction. This lady bemoaned *Marina's* captivity, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake those abominable strangers, and take refuge in her house. This proposal created suspicion in the breast of *Marina*; and that she might dive to the bottom of the secret, she complained of the hard usage she met with, accepted of the friendly invitation, and perfectly gained the confidence of the old lady, who acquainted her that it was absolutely necessary she should escape from the *Spanish* quarters, for that the time appointed for the destruction of the strangers was near, and it would be a pity that so valuable a woman should perish with them. *Moteczuma*, she said, had prepared twenty thousand men, at a small distance; to make sure of the design, six thousand chosen men, of that body, had already been privately introduced in small parties into the city, and abundance of arms had been distributed among the inhabitants, quantities of stones carried up to the tops of the houses, and deep trenches cut across the streets, with sharp stakes fixed in the bottom, covered over at the top with earth on slight supporters, and railed in, in such a manner, that the cavalry should be directed to the traps.

She

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She said that *Moteczuma* had given directions, that all should be put to the sword, except a few, which he ordered to be sent alive to *Mexico*, to gratify his curiosity, and sacrifice to his gods; and that he had presented the citizens with a gold drum, curiously embossed, to encourage them to the enterprise.

THIS intelligence was of the utmost importance, and *Marina* lost no time in communicating it to the general. Under pretence of carrying off her jewels and valuable effects, she went immediately to his quarters, laid the whole before him, and returned soon enough to have the old lady seized, without the smallest disturbance or suspicion that the conspiracy was detected. Upon further examination, and threats of punishment, the *Indian* lady not only confirmed the intelligence of *Marina*, but added a variety of other particulars, which would have set the truth of the fact beyond all dispute, had it not likewise been ascertained by a variety of other circumstances taken notice of by the *Tlascalans* and *Zempoalans*, who observed the inhabitants removing their families and effects in the night. Upon this *Cortez* resolved to take signal vengeance, but still to appear to the *Mexican* ambassadors in his quarters, as if he entertained no suspicion of *Moteczuma*. Before he fell upon a stratagem to render his revenge more complete, and at the same time less hazardous. Suppressing every sign of the discovery he had made, he sent for the *caziques* of the city, and published his march for next day, demanding the necessary provisions, *Tamenes* to carry his baggage and artillery, and two thousand men to accompany him, in imitation of the *Tlascalans* and *Zempoalans*. The armed men were sent with the greatest readiness, because the *cazique* imagined, that, by introducing those concealed enemies among the *Spaniards*, they could have them to advantage when occasion offered; and *Cortez* accepted them, as he wanted to divide the enemy, and to have in his power a part of the traitors, whom he resigned to chance. Notice at the same time was sent to the *Tlascalans*, to hold themselves ready to act upon the first discharge of the fire-arms, and advance to the city, bringing with them all the people they found in arms. The ambassadors of *Moteczuma* were given to understand, that the conspiracy was discovered, though *Cortez* pretended to believe that the court had no share in it; and they were laid under a gentle constraint, to prevent their having any communication with the *Cholulans*, until he had completed his project of revenge. As to the two thousand *Cholulans* sent to attend him on his march, they were divided into small parties, under pretence of being

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ing incorporated with the *Spaniards*, and then confined under a guard in different squares. Having thus made his dispositions, and issued out the proper instructions, *Cortez* mounted his horse, and ordering the city-caziques to be brought before him, told them, that now their base designs were discovered, and their punishment fixed. In order to justify himself, he ordered them to be confronted by donna *Marina*, the old *Indian* lady, and certain priests, from whom he extorted a confession. He then fell upon the *Indians* kept in the squares, and put all to the sword, except a few, whose agility enabled them to escape by flight, and climbing over the walls. At the same time the *Tlascalans* entered, agreeable to the signal, and made dreadful slaughter, sacrificing all before them with fire and sword.

NOR were the *Cholulans* idle; perceiving they were now engaged in open hostilities, they called in the remainder of the *Mexican* army, and joining in a large square, in which stood three or four large temples, they filled the towers and porches with soldiers, and threatened a resistance, which could only be surmounted by setting fire to the temples, and playing upon them with the artillery. This *Cortez* effected with admirable address, while the *Tlascalans* were attacking the rear of the enemy; by which means the *Cholulans* were entirely subdued, after several thousands of their people, and of the *Mexican* soldiers, perished. The same method was practised at the other temples, to which the people escaped as the strongest defences. Afterwards they ranged through the whole city, and drove out both inhabitants and *Mexicans*, until they gained entire possession, and blood ceased to flow for want of enemies. More than six thousand dead bodies were found in the streets and temples, the conspiracy was entirely defeated, the *Cholulans* were severely punished for their treacherous project, the valour of the *Spaniards* was fully established, and the *Tlascalans* not only pleased with the destruction of their enemies, but inticed with plunder, especially salt, to them the most inestimable booty, which they immediately sent home in great quantities. Foreign writers have accused the *Spaniards* of cruelty upon this occasion; but it is sufficient only to their justification to reflect upon the provocation, and the necessity they were under of severely punishing so deep laid a scheme of treachery. It is much to the honour of *Cortez*, that he no sooner surmounted danger, than he gave proofs of his clemency. The prisoners and *Motzuma's* ambassadors being called before him, he represented to them the crimes of which the *Cholulans* had been guilty, as an apology for the rigour

rigour of the chastisement, and then assuring them that he had laid aside his resentment, he published a general pardon, released all the prisoners, and made it his request that the people should return to their former habitations and employments, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. He likewise obliged the *Tlascalans* to restore all the booty they had taken, excepting the salt, and gained so much confidence to his professions, that the *Cholulans* returned to the city with their families, opened their shops, performed their several occupations, were reunited to the *Tlascalans*, and again restored to the blessings of tranquillity under the protection of the *Spaniards*. It was one of the finest strokes of the policy of *Cortez*, to engage the affections of the nations he had conquered, to efface their mutual animosities, and unite them all in his own alliance and interest. By his address he subdued, in a few days, the ancient enmity subsisting between the *Tlascalans* and *Cholulans*, and set on foot a treaty of alliance, which was confirmed by both parties; the act of confederacy being celebrated in the presence of the magistrates of both cities, with the solemnities usually observed on those occasions by the *Indians*. This mediation was of the greatest consequence to him, as it opened the way for supplies from *Tlascala*, and also to a retreat, should circumstances turn out contrary to expectation.

He reconciles the *Tlascalans* and *Cholulans*.

HAVING thus completed his business at *Cholula*, he permitted several *Zempoalans*, who desired it, to return, sending by them letters to *Juan Escalante* governor of *Vera Cruz*, acquainting him with his progress, and advising him to strengthen the colony, by new fortifications. He likewise sent a present to the cazique of *Zempoala*, recommending to his care the *Spaniards* left in his district, and then, after residing in *Cholula* four or five days, was preparing to begin his march, when another embassy arrived from *Moteczuma*. That prince was desirous to efface all the suspicions which the *Spaniards* might entertain that he was concerned in the conspiracy of *Cholula*. Accordingly the ambassadors thanked *Cortez* for having chastised that treacherous people as they deserved; setting forth the emperor's indignation at their perfidy, with protestations, every syllable of which the *Spaniards* knew to be false, though they prudently concealed their sentiments. The message was accompanied with a magnificent present, intended to lull *Cortez* into security, and draw him into another ambush prepared, of which he had notice in his march from the cazique of *Gua-jozingo*. The *Mexicans* had placed a great number of men in ambush on the further side of the mountain of *Chalco*,

Avoids a snare laid by the *Mexicans*.

over

over which the *Spaniards* must pass, stopped up the royal road which leads to the province of that name, with great stones and trees, and opened and smoothed another road, which would lead *Cortez* into an impracticable pass, where his soldiers would be intangled in precipices, and put out of all condition to defend themselves against the intended attack. *Cortez* was incensed at the intelligence; but he restrained his resentment, in order to be assured of the truth of the allegation. When he came to the place where the two roads divided, he asked *Moteczuma's* ambassadors, who were near his person, what those two roads meant? and they answered, "that the best was levelled for the convenience of his troops, as the other stooped up was craggy and difficult." To which *Cortez* replied, without hesitation, "You are but little acquainted with my people: they will march in this way that you have blocked up, for no other reason than its difficulty; for the *Spaniards*, whenever they have it in their option, always incline to that which is attended with most difficulty and danger;" and saying this, he ordered the *Indians* to advance, and clear away all the obstacles which had been raised to his passage; leaving the ambassadors in admiration at his sagacity, and fully persuaded that his resolution was guided by some divinity. This artful use *Cortez* made of his intelligence to keep up the reputation of his foresight, avoid the stratagem laid by *Moteczuma*, and yet seem as if he entertained no distrust of the good intentions of that monarch. As to the *Mexicans*, in an ambush, they no sooner perceived the *Spaniards* taking the royal road, than not doubting but their design was discovered, they retreated with as much consternation as if they had been actually defeated in battle; by which means the *Spaniards* were left a free passage.

THESE accumulated disappointments broke the spirit of the haughty *Moteczuma*. He fluctuated between contending opinions and passions, and at length gave himself up to the most cruel devotion, sacrificing hecatomes of wretched human beings at the altars of his gods, to appease their supposed resentment. The contradictory oracles uttered by his idols entirely disheartened his imagination, some admonishing him to open his gates to the strangers, that he might thereby secure them all for a sacrifice; while others advised to keep them at a distance, and endeavour to destroy them without endangering his person. The last disappointment drove him almost to madness, and silenced his oracles and counsellors, who now left him to be directed by the magicians and sorcerers; a set of men in the highest reputation in Mexico.

Mexico. The society of necromancers were ordered to take on, the field, and by their enchantments either to destroy the *Spaniards*, or at least so to confound their counsels and stupify their intellects; so as they might become an easy conquest. If they succeeded in this, they were to be rewarded beyond expectation; but if they failed, they should be treated as impostors, and punished with the utmost severity. The magicians, either confident of their own powers, or afraid to discover the cheat with which they had so long deluded the public, assembled in numerous companies, and set out against the *Spaniards*. They were in the army which fled from *Chalco*; and finding all their circles and arts vain, they returned to *Moteczuma*, with a dreadful story of the devil's having appeared to them, with assurances that nothing could resist the *Spaniards*, for the gods had deserted the *Mexicans*, and taken part with the strangers. Upon hearing which *Moteczuma* exclaimed, "What can we do for our gods forsake us? Let the strangers come, and the heavens fall upon us. To hide our heads, or turn our backs on misfortune, would be dishonourable. I only lament the old men, women, and children, who cannot defend themselves;" a reflection which shewed the natural elevation of his soul, although power had rendered him a prey to his passions. From this time the emperor and the whole court began to make preparations for entertaining the *Spaniards*, believing that their prophecies were now fulfilled, and that the strangers were actually the orientalists mentioned in their traditions, who were to conquer the country with the assistance of the gods; an opinion that was corroborated by the astonishing actions of the *Spaniards*, and the marvellous signs and prodigies which had lately appeared in the heavens. Hence it was that another embassy, more splendid than any of the preceding, was dispatched to *Cortez*, headed by prince *Caminatzin*, nephew to *Moteczuma*, and lord of *Tehuacan*.

AT this time *Cortez* had descended without impediment from the mountain of *Chalco*, and advanced through a beautiful country, filled with groves and gardens, that spoke the bounty of nature, and the force of culture, as far as *Anemeca*, where he halted. Here he received the compliments of the adjacent caziques, who appeared exceedingly reserved before the *Mexican* ambassadors, but in private declared freely their detestation of the royal tyrant, whom they taxed with cruelty and oppression; adding with tears, that they were forced to surrender their women as a tribute to his lust, and that of his ministers, who chose and rejected them

them at pleasure: nor were the mother arms a security to their daughters, or the nuptial-bed any protection to a wife. The army was encamped at *Ameneca* when the prince of *Receivés*, *Gaminatzin* arrived, attended by four of the first grandees of an *em-Mexico*, and carried in a fine chair, covered with plumage *bassy* from of the most beautiful colours finely disposed, and supported *Motezuma* by the shoulders of some officers of his family. On his *ma*, alighting, troops of *Indians* ran before to clear and sweep the way, and *Cortez* went to receive him to the door of his apartment. When the proper compliments had passed, the prince took his seat with an easy majestic air, and began with welcoming *Cortez*, and the *Spanish* captains, to the *Mexican* dominions: he acquainted them with the amicable disposition with which *Motezuma* expected their visit, and how much he desired to establish a firm and lasting friendship with the powerful eastern prince, whom they acknowledged as their master, and whose power *Motezuma* was obliged to confess, for certain reasons which they should learn from his own lips. He concluded with compliments and apologies for the difficulties which *Cortez* must encounter in his way to *Mexico*, owing to the scarcity of provisions, and the late barrenness, which had left the people destitute; but in such a manner as if he would dissuade the *Spaniards* from the journey, at the same time that he seemed to invite them. *Cortez* easily penetrated into the design of this discourse, and answered it as he had always done upon similar occasions, by representing the pleasure which the *Spaniards* had in surmounting difficulties, the importance of his own embassy, and how much it would tend to the mutual advantage of the monarchs their sovereigns, that he should be admitted to a personal interview, which he now accepted from *Motezuma*, by the report of his ambassador and kinsman, with the most profound acknowledgments.

SUCH an answer convinced the prince that all attempts to divert his attention would be to no purpose; he therefore waved the subject, and, after receiving some presents from *Cortez*, accompanied the army to *Texcuco*, the capital of his dominions, and then repaired to *Mexico* to report the issue of his embassy. The *Spaniards* were highly delighted and astonished at the sight of this beautiful city, the second in *Mexico* for extent, and the first for antiquity. The front of all the buildings was extended on the borders of a spacious lake, in a delightful situation, where the great causeway of *Mexico* began; over which *Cortez* pursued his march, without stopping at *Texcuco*, his design being to reach *Iztacpalapa*, from whence he could march with ease next day to *Mexico*. At

this place the pavement was twenty feet in breadth, built with large stones cemented with lime, and adorned with some works that answered the double purpose of strength and ornament. The cazique of *Quitlavaca* came out with a great retinue to meet *Cortez*, desiring he would honour his town with a visit, which he did not care to refuse, notwithstanding he had some suspicion of treachery, and the place lay out of his way in pursuing the direct road to the capital of the empire. To *Quitlavaca* the Spaniards gave the name *Venezuela*, or *Little Venice*, because like that famous city it rose out of the waters; and here *Cortez* proposed making some stay, both that he might not disoblige the cazique, and that he might have an opportunity of observing the situation of the lake, cities, and causeways, with every thing which could either forward or obstruct his march, should the *Mexicans* resolve to cut down the bridges. *Quitlavaca* commands a prospect of the greater part of the lake of *Mexico*, than which nothing can be more beautifully diversified with cities, towns, paved ways, and vessels in perpetual motion. Trees and gardens seemed to float upon the water, and to grow, as in their proper element; a sight which at the same time raised the astonishment of *Cortez*, and roused his ambition. The army was abundantly supplied with provision, and well accommodated with quarters; the people entertained the Spaniards with cheerfulness, and every action was performed with that politeness, which shewed that they partook of the manners of a court, and improved by their vicinity to the capital. It was a peculiar encouragement to *Cortez*, that the caziques of the whole country through which he passed, expressed the same sentiments with respect to *Moteczuma*: they detested his tyranny, but they dreaded his power; and although they shewed their inclination to break their fetters, and received the Spaniards as persons destined for their deliverance, yet so habituated were they to slavery, and so often had they bled under the scourge of his cruelty, that they could scarce elevate their souls to the pleasing prospect of liberty. Possibly they imagined, from a certain foreboding which the mind sometimes has of future calamities, that the strangers would deliver them from the yoke of *Moteczuma*, only to subject them to a still more rigorous bondage.

As *Cortez* had altered his rout to oblige the cazique of *Quitlavaca*, he was under the necessity of again proceeding to *Ixtopalapa* in his way to *Mexico*. Forming his army as well as the causeway would allow, eight men a-breast, he began his march at the head of four hundred and fifty Spaniards

(B), and above six thousand *Indian* allies, and with-
out any remarkable adventure reached *Ixtopalapa* before the
evening. The manner of building, the elegance of archi-
tecture, richness of furniture, number of houses, and po-
pulousness of the place, surprised the *Spaniards*. It con-
tained above ten thousand habitations, many of which were
superb edifices; either rising out of the waters, or fronting
the lake. The *cazique* of this and some other towns came
out with numerous *retinues*, and presents of fruit and pro-
visions, to meet *Cortez*, and accompanied him in his entry
amidst such loud acclamations as evinced the sincere wel-
come of the inhabitants. The *Spaniards* were lodged in the
palace, and the *Indian* auxiliaries in courts and squares, co-
vered over with cotton cloths, where they could securely
and commodiously pass over the night. In the palace were
magnificent apartments, adorned with paintings on cotton
of great ingenuity, and roofed with cedar prettily covered.
The town was watered with a number of fountains, convey-
ed by a variety of aqueducts from the neighbouring moun-
tains, and adorned with several pleasant, large, well
cultivated gardens. The *cazique's* garden, in particular,
into which he conducted the *Spaniards*, would have reflected
honour upon the taste of a people who had made greater
progress in the polite arts.

HAVING sufficiently amused himself with the beauties of *Ixtopalapa*, and informed himself of the strength of the *rivers* at
place, and disposition of the inhabitants, *Cortez* set out early
next morning for *Mexico*, in order that, after paying his
complements to *Moteczuma*, he might have leisure to recon-
noitre the city, and fortify his quarters. About half way
he was met by four thousand persons of distinction, sent to
receive him, and conduct the strangers to the capital. On
drawing near the city, they met a stone fortification secured
by a tower on each side, which took up the whole breadth
of the causeway, and obliged the troops to make a circuit
gates which opened in another part of the causeway, termi-
nated by a draw-bridge, which defended the entrance of the

(B) *Herrera* alleges that he had but three hundred *Spaniards* when he left *Tlafcala*, and ima-
gining some were left behind, that he dispatched *Alvarado* to
bring them together (1); but we have adhered to the relation
of *De Solis*, which appears to be more consistent with the ori-
ginal number of the troops, the garrison left at *Vera Cruz*, and
the killed, or dead, by accident and disease.

(1) *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. 2.

city with a second fortification. The *Mountain* nobility filed over the bridge, and then falling back to reach to made a lane for the *Spaniards*, from whence they discovered a large street with uniform buildings, and windows and battlements crowded with spectators. Soon after appeared the first troop of the royal procession, consisting of about two hundred noblemen richly dressed in the same fashion, adorned with large plumes similar in colour. They filed to each side, and discovered through the avenue they made a more numerous and brilliant company, in the midst of which was *Moteczuma*, carried on the shoulders of his favourites, in a chair of burnished gold, says *de Solis*, though *Herrera* omits the chair, and relates that he came under a rich canopy of green feathers and gold, disposed in the most beautiful proportions. This canopy, which formed an elegant kind of net-work, was supported by four lords of the first distinction, and preceded by three great officers with golden rods in their hands, which they waved as a signal of the emperor's approach, that all might prostrate themselves, without presuming to lift up their eyes, which was deemed a kind of sacrilege. When *Moteczuma* alighted from his chair, *Cortez* dismounted and approached him, while *Indians* were employed in laying carpets on the intermediate way, to prevent the royal feet from touching the ground. His form was solemn and majestic, being supported by two nephews barefooted, in token of respect and humiliation. *Moteczuma's* apparel was a fine cotton mantle, adorned with jewels in such abundance, that it appeared rather an incumbrance than an ornament. It was laid carelessly on his shoulders, and swept the ground behind. On his head he wore a light gold crown resembling a mitre, and his feet were cased in shoes of beaten gold, in form not unlike the *Roman* sandals. His presence was majestic, his stature middling, his age about forty, his constitution rather delicate than robust, his complexion fair for the climate, his nose aquiline, his eyes lively and piercing, and his features regular and handsome. He condescended to salute *Cortez* with a respect which he had never before shewn, bending his body so low that he touched the ground with his hand, while the general made the most profound reverence in the manner of his country; which, however, was thought extremely impolite by the imperial attendants. *Cortez* threw round his neck, while they were making their compliments, a chain of cut glass, in imitation of diamonds, which he had reserved as a present for the first audience; and the princes who supported *Moteczuma* would have prevented him, because it

It was not lawful to approach so near the foreigners; but *Moteczuma* reprimanded them, and was so pleased with the chain, that he placed it among his jewels of inestimable value. The manner in which he returned it was sufficient proof of the price he put upon it; for he ordered a collar made of red shells to be brought, set together with the greatest art, and adorned with eight crabs of beaten gold, which exactly imitated nature. This was reckoned among the most valuable of the royal jewels; and the emperor, with his own hands, suspended it round the general's neck, to the great admiration of all the *Indians*, who now began really to persuade themselves that this must be some celestial being, to whom the emperor paid such veneration. The speech made by *Cortez* was concise and energetic; the answer returned by *Moteczuma* was also short, discreet, and full of dignity; after which he ordered the *Spaniards* to be conducted to their quarters, and returned to his chair and palace with the same ceremonies as we have described. In this manner did *Cortez* surmount the greatest difficulties, arriving safely in the capital of *Mexico*, after having defeated the *Tabascans*, eluded all the stratagems of *Moteczuma*, conquered the warlike republic of *Tlascala*, engaged that state in a perpetual alliance, punished the dangerous conspiracy of *Chilula*, escaped the snares laid for him in the mountain of *Chalco*, appeased the mutinies of his own people, and gained the respect of not only the tributary princes, and lords of *Mexico*, but of the haughty *Moteczuma* himself, who was forced to treat him upon a footing of equality, and with a reverence which he refused to the gods themselves.

• S E C T. V.

Containing an Account of Moteczuma's Pomp, Wealth, Government, Power, and at last of his Imprisonment by Cortez, with divers other Particulars, which occurred in the Course of his Confinement.

CORTÉZ had now reached the capital, where himself and troops were treated with a respect that exceeded the most sanguine expectation; but with regard to the great object of this expedition, namely, the subjection of this vast empire to the crown of *Spain*, it was in appearance as remote as ever. Had *Moteczuma* opposed his advances by open

hostilities, and been defeated, the fate of *Mexico* would have immediately been determined; but on the friendly footing was admitted to the presence of that prince, and into the heart of the kingdom, it was difficult to execute his projects without the greatest perfidy and violation of the sacred rights of hospitality. Time, however, rendered easy what appeared beyond the reach of human genius; and lucky circumstances were so judiciously improved, that although we cannot altogether vindicate the conduct of the *Spaniards* in that point of justice and integrity, they will appear less culpable than is supposed by many writers.

1519.

It was on the 8th day of *November* that *Cortez* made his public entry into *Mexico*. He was lodged with all his forces in one of the royal palaces, a superb edifice, fortified with strong walls, and flanked with high towers. The accommodations were good; some of the apartments designed for the superior officers were hung with ingenious cotton paintings, and furnished with handsome wooden chairs, carved out of one block of timber, and beds shaped like pavilions, with bottoms of palm mats, and bolsters of the same materials; and with the same simplicity lived the greatest princes of this opulent country. *Cortez* immediately distributed guards, placed his artillery, and took equal care to make the lodgings of his soldiers commodious, and their quarters secure. A splendid banquet had been prepared, by order of the emperor, in the principal apartments of the *Spanish* quarters, and great abundance of less delicate provision for the soldiers. After dinner *Motexuma* honoured the general with a visit, and ordering the attendants to retire, entered upon a laboured, but seemingly familiar, harangue, in which he gave him to understand, that he was sensible the *Spaniards* were mortals like the *Indians*, and the thunder which they grasped nothing more than some secret in science. "Your ears have been abused," said he, as well

Motexuma's
speech to
Cortez.

"as mine. You have been told that I am immortal, that my power and person are equal to those of the gods, that I tune rains down her favours upon me, that the walls and coverings of my palaces are all of gold, and that the earth bends beneath the weight of my treasures. You have also been told that I am cruel, tyrannical, oppressive, proud, unjust, and a stranger to mercy. Both the one and the other are equally false. This aim (uncovering a scar) will shew that I am mortal. My riches, indeed, are great, but they have been magnified by fame and flattery; from these instances you may judge that my bad qualities have been likewise aggravated. Suspend, therefore,

your

your judgment until you know whether that which they call cruelty and oppression be not necessary chastisement. With respect to yourself, some report, that you are wicked, malicious, revengeful, covetous, proud, and the slave of your passions; but I see that you are of the same form and composition as the rest of mankind; though you are disguised from us by some accidents arising from different countries. You are courteous and affable, you are brave and religious, your resentments are founded upon reason; you bear hardships like true soldiers; the liberality which I myself have experienced evinces that you are not sordid. In a word, you are men like ourselves, but with superior qualities; and as to the wild beasts you command, which report hath so magnified, they are only a kind of deer, tractable and docile, with such an imperfect degree of knowledge as may be attained by brutes. We must, therefore, forget, on both sides, all past misformations, and thank our eyes for undeceiving our understandings. We are not ignorant that the great prince whom you obey, is descended from our ancient *Quezalcoatl*, lord of the seven caves of the *Navatl*iques, and lawful king of those seven nations, which gave beginning to the *Mexican* empire. By ancient tradition, which we regard as infallible, we know that he departed from these countries to subdue regions in the east, leaving a promise that in time his descendants should return to model our laws, and reform our government. The marks which you carry about agree with our tradition and prophecies, and the prince of the east, who sends you, manifests in your exploits the greatness of his illustrious progenitor: we have, therefore, determined that all things shall be done to his honour; of which I now advertise you, that you may truly declare whatever you have to propose, and ascribe to so noble a cause this excess of my goodness."

Cortez perceived the drift of this speech, and answered it with equal address. He endeavoured to maintain *Moteczuma's* opinion of the extraordinary valour of the *Spaniards*, without departing from truth. He acknowledged that the fire-arms which the *Indians* mistook for lightning and thunder, were the invention of human genius; but he left *Moteczuma* from this very circumstance to judge of the superiority of the *Spaniards* in point of contrivance and understanding. He told him that the horses were not deer as he imagined, but animals of a more generous nature, martial, furious, and ambitious of emulating the glory of their masters. He made a politic use of the absurd tradition to

Cortez's
answer.

firmly believed by the emperor, and the original which the *Indians* followed on the catholic king, believing that it would give greater weight to his embassy; he touched upon the impious religion of the *Mexicans*, and gave a short sketch of the principal tenets of the christian faith; telling *Moteczuma*, that to reform the abuses of the most abusive idolatry, was the main object of his commission from the king. But *Moteczuma* patiently heard all his arguments without the least appearance of contention; and when the general had done, rose up from his seat, addressing himself to *Cortez* in the following words. "I accept, with due acknowledgment, the friendship you propose from the descendant of the great *Quetzalcoatl*; but all gods are good: yours may be so in your country; mine are so in mine. Let each enjoy their attributes undisturbed: Repose yourselves now, looking towards the *Spaniards* in general; you are in your own house, where you shall be served with all the regard due to your valour, and to the great prince your master." After which he gave presents of gold, pieces of cloth, and several fine plumes, to *Cortez*, distributing also some jewels of lesser value among the other *Spaniards*, and then withdrew to his own palace.

Cortez desired leave to return this visit next day, and his request was readily granted. He went attended by his cap-
wists Mo- tains, and six or seven favourite soldiers, and among the rest
tezuma in *Diaz del Castillo*, the earliest historian of this conquest, who
his palace. had already begun to collect materials for his work. The
streets were crowded with people, and the *Spaniards*, amidst
the acclamations, heard the word *Teule*, or divinity, fre-
quently repeated to their great satisfaction, because it shewed
in what estimation they were held by those simple *Indians*.
The appearance of the royal palace sufficiently demonstrated
the great magnificence of the sovereigns of *Mexico*. The
pile was of such extent that thirty gates opened to as many
different streets; and the front, which occupied the whole
side of a spacious parade, was built of fine, polished jasper
of different colours. Over the great gate was the imperial
arms pompously blazoned. Here *Cortez* was received by
the officers of the court with great ceremony, and after being
conducted through three extensive squares, at last arrived at
Moteczuma's apartments, where there was equal reason to ad-
mire the grandeur of the rooms, and the richness of the fur-
niture. The floors were covered with a variety of different
mats of beautiful workmanship and texture, the walls with
cotton hangings finely painted, and interwoven with the
skins of rabbits, and the most interior apartment was adorned
with

with a kind of tapestry, made of the plumage of birds, formed into pictures with most elegant shades, and disposed in the most pleasing order of colours. As to the roofs, they were all of cedar and other sweet-scented woods, with different foliage and relievos, that discovered taste and genius in the artists. Besides, the manner in which the cieling was supported with rails, or beams, was exceedingly curious, this being entirely effected by force, opposition, and the pressure of the lateral on the central parts, which displayed a mechanical invention in the architects, superior to what might have been expected from so rude and ignorant a people as the *Mexicans*, whose knowledge was entirely the result of genius and reflection, as they had no communication with any other nation so civilized as themselves. Every thing was new and extraordinary to the *Spaniards*, and every thing contributed to increase their respect for the monarch. The grandeur of the palace, the ceremonies, the crowds of attendants, their quality, and the profound silence observed by so numerous a train, all impressed the imagination with the most exalted idea of the power of *Moteczuma*, and the potency of the *Mexican* empire.

THAT prince was standing in the midst of all these ensigns of his authority, when, observing *Cortez*, he advanced to meet him, laid his arms familiarly on his shoulders, and then addressed the rest of the *Spaniards* with a gracious nod and smile. The visit was long, and the conversation such as might be supposed to pass among friends upon a perfect equality. *Moteczuma* divested himself of all the pomp of majesty, without losing sight of his dignity, and condescended to question *Cortez* about the nature, politics, and curiosities of the eastern countries. All his interrogations evinced strong sense, and a manly extensive understanding. He then touched upon the obligations of the *Mexicans* to the descendents of their first monarch, and expressed his particular satisfaction that the prophecies concerning the reformations to be made by strangers, were compleated in his time; a compliment less fraught with truth, than the politeness of a court. *Cortez* artfully drew on the conversation to the topic of religion: but all his arguments on this head proved fruitless; except with respect to the barbarous custom of decking the royal table with dishes made of human flesh, which *Moteczuma* ordered henceforward to be disused. But as to the point of human sacrifices, he said he could see no impiety in offering to his gods these prisoners of war already condemned to die; nor did he at all approve of that maxim laid down in sacred writ, to extend neighbourly

hourly affection to an enemy. Though he seemed to approve of the benevolence and humanity of the christian religion in certain particulars; he, notwithstanding, constantly returned to his old assertion, "That his gods were good in Mexico, as well as the christian gods in the east." The *Spanish* writers speak as if policy alone had invented Motezuma from embracing the catholic doctrines, and represent Cortez as an able tutor and divine. He looked upon the basis of royal authority to be laid on the absurd superstition of the people, and their reverence for the priests, with whom it would be dangerous to have any altercation upon a topic in which their interest, influence, and characters, were so deeply concerned. He dreaded their displeasure, and the contempt of his vassals, in case he should relax in his zeal for the worship of his gods, out of complaisance to the strangers. The *Spaniards* corroborated this opinion by an incident which fell out about this time.

Motezuma shows his temples to the Spaniards.

Motezuma took it into his head one day to display the magnificence of his temples to the *Spaniards*, and accordingly asked Cortez to attend him, with some of his principal officers, and favourite soldiers. When they came to the entrance, Motezuma ordered them to halt, and advanced himself to know of the priests if it was lawful to bring into the presence of their gods men who refused to worship them? This question was answered in the affirmative, provided they would behave with proper respect. Immediately all the gates of this superb edifice were set open, and Motezuma took upon himself the office of explaining the uses of all the different vessels, instruments, and utensils, which he performed with such ridiculous ceremony and reverence, that the *Spaniards* could not refrain from laughter. Of this Motezuma seemed to take no particular notice, only looking upon the *Spaniards* as desiring to restrain their mirth, until Cortez, transported with inexpressible zeal, addressed himself to him in the following terms. "Permit me, Sir, to fix the cross of Christ before these images of the *idols*, and you shall see whether they deserve adoration or contempt." This proposal enraged the priests, and reduced Motezuma to great perplexity, between his reverence for religion, his dread of the priesthood, and his regard to the *Spaniards*, and the rights of hospitality. "You might, at least, said he, have shewed this place the respect due to my person;" a reproach which equally shewed his good sense and politeness, though the *Spanish* writers ascribe it to the terror with which the strangers had inspired him. It would appear however from their own confession, that Cortez regarded it in another light;

light; for he took an immediate resolution not to converse any more on the subject of religion, and accordingly laid aside his zeal to make converts.

That the reader may have a stronger idea of the difficulties which Cortez had to surmount, in course of this extraordinary adventure of the conquest of Mexico, it may be proper that we should exhibit a short description of the capital of this vast empire, the splendor of the court, the immense revenues of the monarch, and other particulars, equally conducive to gratify curiosity, and render the subsequent narrative more entertaining and intelligible. This great city, anciently known by the name of *Tenuch-chitlam*, was situated in an extensive plain, surrounded by high rocks and mountains, from which rolled down streams into the valley, that formed themselves into different lakes, and particularly into two of a larger size, where the valley happened to be deepest. Between these two great lakes were sluices, by which the defect of water in the one was supplied from the redundancy in the other; and it is reported, that the waters had different qualities, the uppermost being clear and sweet, abounding with fish; and the lower, salt and sterile, from a nitrous quality in the soil at the bottom. It is certain that salt was made in the latter, though it could possibly have no communication with the sea, and was frequently filled with the waters let down from the former. All the lakes put together contained a space of near thirty leagues in circumference, and were adorned with about fifty different cities and towns, which afforded a most delightful and romantic prospect. In the middle of the salt water lake stood the city of *Mexico*, which, at the time we are speaking of, is said to have contained not less than sixty thousand families. It was joined to the land by dykes and large causeways, erected at a prodigious expence, giving an air of grandeur, and great convenience, to this capital. That over which the Spaniards marched pointed to the south, and was two leagues in length; another extended to the northward above a league; and a third led to the west, nearly of the same length. All the streets were broad, and in a direct line; but what rendered them very peculiar was, that some were entirely covered with water, so as to admit the passage of small vessels and canoes, with which they were perpetually crowded. Bridges were likewise laid over, for the greater dispatch of business, and ease of carriage. In general, the streets consisted of earthen banks, faced with stones, raised with prodigious labour in the midst of the waters, and thus were composed of earth and water, with a foot-road on each side; the

the whole forming the most agreeable appearance that imagination can conceive. Nothing could be better contrived for all the purposes of commerce or pleasure; and *Mexico* resembled in miniature, what we are told of the vast empire of *China*, in the variety of land and water, the canals filled with boats, the multitude of inhabitants, the perpetual bustle of the people, and that constant motion in which every object was beheld.

Great
fair of
Mexico.

THE city was divided between the vulgar, and the court and nobility, the former possessing the district called *Tlatelulco*, where the buildings were lower, meaner, and crowded. The other district was larger, and occupied by the nobility, filled with the buildings of the court, and other public edifices, all faced with stone, and of good architecture. Both districts were laid out in parades, where an infinity of merchandize was daily exposed. At certain days of the year, fairs were held in *Tlatelulco*, to which all the merchants and traders in the empire flocked. It was held in a square of vast dimensions; one of the largest in the world, says *Herrera*, yet was it filled with tents pitched so close, that there was scarce room left for the buyers to pass each other; notwithstanding which, all business was carried on with the utmost regularity, and nothing like confusion appeared. Here might be seen jewellers and goldsmiths, who sold toys of the most curious workmanship. Here were rows of painters, who exhibited the figures of animals, and landscapes composed of feathers, so nicely placed, as exactly to imitate nature. To this fair were brought all the different kinds of cotton manufactures made in the empire, whether plain or painted, with such abundance of other commodities, as it would be too tedious and unnecessary to enumerate; sufficient it is, that the *Mexican* artists here constantly exhibited the most extraordinary proofs of their ingenuity and patience. Traffic was carried on chiefly by an exchange of commodities, and goods of small price were bought chiefly with maize or cocoa. The *Mexicans* had no standards of weight, but they had measures for space and quantity, and a kind of number by which they adjusted the price of commodities by the taxes they paid, and the labour employed; but as we shall have occasion to treat afterwards of the manners and customs of those people, we shall omit, in this place, every thing not relative to the state of the kingdom at the time it was visited by *Cortez*. For the greater dispatch of business, and preservation of order, a board of justice was appointed, not only to decide all disputes which might arise among the merchants who frequented this fair, but

but likewise to inspect that all the commodities exposed for sale, were marketable. Inferior officers were continually employed in going about to prevent frauds in contracts, suppress tumults, and preserve tranquillity; and such was the dread, which these magistrates were held, that seldom any irregularity or disturbance ever happened. It was not therefore, without reason, that the Spaniards beheld with astonishment the opulence and good government of this empire, and the industry, address, and genius of the inhabitants, whom they nevertheless termed barbarians.

NOTHING added more to the beauty and magnificence of the city of *Mexico*, than the great number of stately temples, with which it was adorned. The great temple, in particular, dedicated to the god *Vitzliputzä*, was stupendous. great temple. The part of the building that first presented itself was a square, the wall of which was of hewn stone, wrought on the outside with serpents intertwined, that gave a very horrible aspect to the portico. At a little distance from this was a place of worship still more dreadful, as it was adorned with the heads of men who had been sacrificed to the gods, an exact account of whom was regularly kept by the priests. Every side of the great square had a gate, over which were four statues of stone, which seemed to point the way back to those who came to public worship in an improper disposition. Round the walls were the habitations of the priests, who were extremely numerous; and yet there remained an area large enough to contain ten thousand dancers upon public festivals. In the center of this square, stood a tower, which exalted its head above all the buildings in the city, terminated in a half pyramid of such dimensions, that the flat upon the top was forty feet square, after it had risen into the air a hundred and twenty stone-steps of a beautiful staircase. The pavement was of jasper, a kind of serpentine balustrade enclosed it, and both sides were covered with a stone resembling jet, mixed with red and white cement, that produced a pretty effect. Near the ending of the staircase were two marble statues, which supported two candlesticks of enormous size, and admirably well expressed the weight of the burden, by the straining of their arms. A little further was the stone on which was extended the wretched human victim to be sacrificed to the gods, and emboweled; and beyond this stood a chapel of excellent workmanship and materials, covered with a roof of precious wood. Here was placed the idol, behind a curtain, on the high altar. It had some resemblance to a human figure, of a terrible aspect, was seated on a kind of throne, sustained by a blue globe, representing

representing the heavens, from the sides whereof came forth rods, headed like snakes, which the priests placed on their shoulders, when they exposed the idol to view. The idol held in the right-hand a twining serpent, which answered the purpose of a staff, and in the left four arrows, which were worshipped as a celestial present. Opposite to this was another chapel of the same size and figure, the habitation of an idol called the partner and brother of the former, and dividing with him the spoils of war. The ornaments of both Chapels were inestimable; all the walls were hung, and the altars covered, with jewels and precious stones; placed in feathers of beautiful colours. Every part of the town had its temple, which was the repository of the principal riches of that district to which it belonged; hence it contained two thousand idols. There was hardly a street without its tutelary deity, nor any calamity, incident to nature, without its altar, to which man had recourse for a remedy. Only one good effect resulted from the superstition of the people, namely, the beauty which all these temples, reared by ignorance, added to the city.

Pleasure-
houses of
Motezu-
ma.

BESIDES the royal palaces and temples, there were other fine buildings that highly contributed to the decoration of Mexico; these were the pleasure-houses of *Moteczuma*. One of them, a most magnificent structure, with vast galleries, supported by pillars of jasper, was converted into an aviary. Here were assembled all the birds which *New Spain* produced of value, either on account of their voices or plumage. The number of these birds were so great, that above three hundred persons were constantly employed in feeding and cleaning them. From their feathers were made the most beautiful paintings in *Moteczuma's* collection.

AT some distance from hence, *Moteczuma* had another house of such extent, that it contained an apartment capable of holding his whole court. There huntsmen resided, and with them an infinity of birds of prey, kept in cages, among which were the kings hawks, no way inferior to a *European* in seizing on their prey, and returning to the lure. The *Spanish* writers have described the royal eagle of a monstrous size, and voraciousness scarce credible. In another square of the same house were kept the emperor's wild beasts, lions, tygers, bears, and among others the *Mexican* bull, not unlike the wild bull of *Bohemia*, or buffalo, called *urus* by *Latin* writers. This animal is large, strong, fierce, and majestic in his appearance, with a large hunch or excrescence on its back, and the neck clothed with long hair like a lion. It was customary with the *Mexicans*, from the remotest antiquity,

quity, to estimate the grandeur of a prince by the number of wild beasts in his possession: whence we may judge of the number maintained by *Motezuma*, who was absolutely the greatest prince, in all respects, that ever swayed the Mexican sceptre.

THE most extraordinary circumstance of *Motezuma's* humour appeared in the collection he made of the deformities and monsters of human nature. Here were dwarfs, giants, or men of extraordinary stature, hump-back'd, crooked men, persons who had any unaccountable mark in their features, or defect in their eyes, and others whose minds were as deformed as their bodies. This institution might have been servicable and humane, had the emperor confined his care to wretched objects incapable of labour; but a mark or blemish of any kind that was uncommon, was sufficient to entitle the person to the benefit of this foundation; and parents were frequently known to disfigure their children, that they might be maintained at the king's expence:

BUT of all the public buildings belonging to this great prince, none was more curious, or worthy of observation, than the armoury. It was divided into two departments; the one, where the arms were made; and the other, where they were arranged in the most beautiful manner, after they were entirely finished. The several artists had certain shops assigned them, agreeable to their employments. In one place they prepared the wood for the arrows, in another they shaped and formed it; in a third bows were made, and in a fourth swords or darts. All kinds of arms, whether offensive or defensive, were made by particular workmen, in distinct shops, under the direction of superintendants, who kept an exact account of the quantity and kinds of arms. From the magazine were distributed arms to the troops as occasion required, and the empty spaces were filled up by new weapons of every denomination. To all these houses were annexed extensive gardens, laid out with great taste and magnificence; and in each of these was a large piece of ground, wholly occupied by medicinal plants, and herbs, for all kinds of wounds, pains, and infirmities, in the knowledge of which consisted the whole skill of the Mexican physicians. It would be endless to describe all the public buildings of this great city, and institutions of the magnificent *Motezuma*: but there is one which we must not omit on account of its whimsical nature. This was called the house of sorrow, to which the emperor retired upon any public or private misfortune, that required external signs of grief and mourning. There was a horror in the very appearance of the

the building: the walls, roofs, and ornaments, were all black, and light was admitted only through narrow chinks, just sufficient to discover the gloominess of the place. Here *Moteczuma* used to spend his time in solitude during the period of mourning. The *Mexicans* alledged that he conversed with the gods; and the *Spanish* writers, who are credulous and superstitious, suspect that all his intercourses must have been with the devil, who delights in darkness.

IN the country *Moteczuma* likewise had a great number of spots, where he sometimes partook of field-diversions, and chiefly of hunting, in which he extremely delighted. He frequently went with the nobility to a large and pleasant park, fenced round with a fine canal, where they brought the game of the neighbouring mountains, among which generally came several lions and tygers, which the *Mexican* hunters fought with great courage and address. *Moteczuma* would sometimes engage himself in this diversion, and let fly a dart or a javelin; but this he always did with reserve, not for want of courage, but because he was of opinion, that only the dangers of war became the grandeur of a monarch.

Grandeur
of *Moteczuma's*
private
economy.

AGREEABLE to the external magnificence that appeared round the court of *Moteczuma*, was his private economy, where all was splendid, ceremonious, and great. When this prince ascended the throne, he augmented the number, quality, and brilliancy of his court, into which none were admitted but nobility of the first distinction. He excluded the common people, against the advice of his council, because it was a maxim with him, that princes ought to govern at a distance those who either had no sense of an obligation, or were unable to express their gratitude by proper returns. The nobility were even employed to protect the royal person, *Moteczuma's* body-guards being composed of two hundred young gentlemen of the first quality in the empire, the out-posts only round the palace being defended by the common soldiers. There was indeed a principle of policy, as well as pride, in this institution; for it inured the nobility to the use of arms, to fatigue, and business, and also kept them in dependence on the sovereign. With respect to the emperor's women, they were without number; though two only bore the title of queens, who were lodged in separate apartments, and attended with the utmost magnificence. Every woman of extraordinary beauty in the empire was sent to court, a sacrifice to *Moteczuma's* lust; many of them being forced from their parents or husbands, by the ministers and farmers of the revenue, who regarded the maintenance of the monarch as a point of importance to the grandeur of the state.

state. When these mistresses were discarded by the satiated prince, they generally found husbands among the nobility, on account of their wealth or beauty; for they never failed to accumulate large sums while they basked in the royal favour: nor did their reputation at all suffer by the favours granted to *Moteczuma*; on the contrary, it was deemed an honour to have been thought worthy of his bed. While the concubines remained at court, they lived in the utmost decorum, their conduct being subject to the inspection of certain grave matrons, who made their report to the emperor: jealousy was a reigning passion in the breast of *Moteczuma*, which poisoned all his other enjoyments.

WHEN he gave audience, nothing could be more solemn, pompous, grave, and austere, than *Moteczuma's* carriage: for as to the reception given to *Cortez*, it was so extraordinary as to excite the astonishment of the whole court. He ate alone, and frequently in public, but always with the state and magnificence of a prince. His table was generally covered with two hundred dishes of the most exquisite in their kinds that the empire could afford. Before he sat down, he run his eyes over the whole, selected a few the most agreeable to his palate, and ordered the rest to be distributed among the nobility in waiting. Nor was all this daily profusion any more than a small part of the expences of his household; for he kept tables sumptuously served for all the officers and servants of the court, and even for those who resorted thither, either upon business or pleasure. Every thing was sent up to the emperor's own table in gold, curious shells, or some other valuable materials, enriched with jewels; and the attendants were constantly supplying him with different sorts of liquors, some finely perfumed, some mixed with salubrious herbs, and many impregnated with certain medicines that were regarded as restoratives or provocatives. After dinner he drank chocolate, and smoked tobacco perfumed with liquid amber. During meals a band of music attended, which no sooner ceased than the emperor suffered himself to be entertained with the jokers, or the tricks and frolics of a number of buffoons and dwarfs, kept for that purpose about his person. He was fond of these wretches, he said, only because he could discover truth under their pleasantry; whereas there was no penetrating through the mask of hypocrisy wore by thorough-paced courtiers. Amidst this instrumental music were singers, who, in a kind of recitativo and musical cadence, chanted the exploits of their ancestors, and the memorable actions of their kings, which were transmitted to posterity, teaching the rising

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generation to prevent the achievements of the nation from sinking into oblivion, by those elucidations of the historical pictures, and the hieroglyphical *Mexican* annals. Dances were frequently performed before the emperor, and he sometimes condescended to join in the diversion, for the greater entertainment of the *Spaniards*. Among these dances the most extraordinary was a kind of masquerade, called *Xilotes*, composed of a multitude, in which all degrees mixed indiscriminately in a sort of gorgeous disguise. The emperor honoured it sometimes with his presence; and as all drank freely, the diversion ended in a general intoxication, or some more extravagant frolic. In a word, every day produced some new diversion or public exhibition, supported at the emperor's expence, probably to engage the attention of the people from too curious a scrutiny into his conduct, or to ballance their loss of liberty by a perpetual round of dissipation.

His revenues.

IT will readily be imagined, that the royal treasures must have been immense, to maintain so much pomp and magnificence, at the same time that prodigious armies were kept constantly in the field. In fact, they were inexhaustible. Incredible sums were drawn from the mines of gold and silver, the salt-works, and other rights established in the crown from time immemorial: but a still larger revenue arose from the contributions of the subjects, exorbitantly increased since the accession of *Motezuma*. In this vast and populous empire, there was not a husbandman but was obliged to pay a third of the produce of his lands and stock to the king. Artists were taxed in the same proportion, and the poor were obliged to work certain days for the court without fee or reward. All taxes were levied with the utmost rigour; nor was it without reason that the people clamoured against the tyranny of the administration, of which *Motezuma* was not ignorant, though he artfully disguised it in a speech made to *Cortez*. Every town in the vicinity of the capital furnished men for the king's works, provided fuel for the royal palace, or contributed otherwise towards the support of the court: whence it was that *Motezuma* was enabled to complete some stupendous buildings, aqueducts, and other public and magnificent pieces of architecture, at a very slight expence to the treasury. The tribute of the nobility consisted in guarding and attending the emperor's person, or serving in his armies with a certain number of their vassals, maintained at their own expence, or the expence of the enemy: yet were they continually making him presents, which he received not as presents, but regarded as rights due to his crown,

own, dignity, and the anxieties and troubles attending
loyalty.

As we shall have occasion elsewhere to treat of the civil *His civil*
government of *Mexico*, it will be sufficient to observe in this *and mili-*
place, that *Moteczuma* gave the utmost attention to the *dac tary go-*
administration of justice among his subjects, notwithstanding *vernment.*
he thought himself privileged to tyrannize over the whole
empire. Murder, theft, adultery, and all crimes committed
with respect to each other, where the crown had no concern,
were punished with death; if they at all affected royalty,
deeper infamy, and the most excruciating torments, were
annexed to the capital punishment. Corruption in mini-
sters, or persons in any public trust, was also capital; and
this custom *Moteczuma* observed with the strictest rigour.
Even the offering a bribe was thought worthy of death, and
the corrupter and corrupted placed upon a level; a severity
which deserves imitation in more civilized states, and under
more limited monarchies. One of the most laudable articles
of the policy of *Moteczuma*, consisted in the care taken of
the education of children, for which purpose he founded pub-
lick schools for the instruction of the vulgar, and colleges
or seminaries, with more extensive privileges, for the children
of the nobility. Here they were taught the imperfect know-
ledge of the *Mexicans*; the signs and characters, as well as
the tradition in which their history was contained; the prin-
ciples of the *Mexican* religion and morality; a general idea
of the laws and constitution; and, lastly, the several pro-
fessions which they were to follow in life. There were
also colleges for the education of women, but as all these
were not founded by *Moteczuma*, the subject may be reserved
to its proper article. *Moteczuma* instituted honorary rewards
for merit, whether in a civil or military capacity; and the
generous ardour with which the people aspired at these ho-
nours, is the best proof of the utility of the institution. Such
was the empire, such the monarch, and such the people,
whom *Cortez*, with a handful of *Spaniards*, proposed con-
quering. We shall soon have occasion to see that this daring
project was founded upon reason, since he found means to
establish such an influence, that he obliged the great *Mote-*
zuma to surrender his liberty in the heart of his capita, and
submit his feet to fetters, while surrounded with troops, and
guarded by all the nobility in his empire. With respect
to the generosity and justice of this transaction we would chuse
to be silent: examine the most glorious conquests, and va-
liant exploits recorded in history, by the test of religion and
morality, and they will be found to consist of a series of the

most cruel oppressions, bloody carnages, shocking barbarities, and trespasses on the laws of God, of nature, and of nations.

His kindness to the Spaniards.

MOTEZUMA made an artful display of all his pomp and grandeur to the *Spaniards*; either to engage them as friends, or deter them from hostile attempts; or, perhaps, out of a principle of hospitality, and real respect for strangers, whose valour he could not but admire. He went to all public entertainments, attended by *Cortez* and the *Spanish* captains, whom he treated with the most polite familiarity. They were admitted on all occasions to his palace, without form or ceremony, while he only retained the reserve of a sovereign to his own subjects. He was daily distributing presents among the officers and soldiers, with just distinction and discernment of merit; and his example obliged the nobility to treat the strangers with a respect bordering on submission and servility; for courtiers always push to excess every imitation of the qualities of the sovereign: as for the vulgar, they beheld the *Spaniards* as gods, and bent their knees to the meanest of the soldiers; who would have grown insolent by their importance, but that *Cortez* checked every emotion of pride, and tendency to tyranny. In this happy manner did they pass away the time, when advices arrived from *Vera Cruz*, that wrought an entire change in the face of affairs, reduced *Cortez* to extreme perplexity, and suggested to him the necessity of executing the most daring enterprize that ever entered into the head of mortal. Two *Thusians* soldiers, disguised in the habits of *Mexicans*, found means to reach the capital, through bye-ways, brought this intelligence, by a letter from the colony.

Intelligence from *Vera Cruz* alters the face of affairs.

SINCE the departure of *Cortez*, the settlement at *Vera Cruz* met with no accident to disturb their repose, until one of *Moteczuma's* generals arrived with an army in the country, pillaged some towns, and attacked several *caziques*, who were in alliance with the *Spaniards*, and on this occasion claimed their protection. It is true, they had relied so much upon the friendship and valour of the *Spaniards*, that they refused paying the usual taxes, or the submission required by *Moteczuma*; and had, in fact, thrown off all obedience to that monarch. The *Mexican* general, *Quallpopoca*, had come with an army to the assistance of the collectors of the tribute and taxes, and committed several violences in consequence of the obstinate refusal of the inhabitants. The country of the *Tontomeques* was wholly laid in ashes, and they were the first who laid their grievances before *Juan Escalante*, governor of *Vera Cruz*, and besought him with so much earnestness

els to take arms in their defence, that he sent messengers, in a friendly manner, to the *Mexican* general, requesting him to suspend his hostilities until he received fresh advices from the emperor; since it was not possible that he should authorize injuries to the allies of a monarch, whose ambassadors he received in so friendly a manner at his court. To this message the *Mexican* returned an insolent answer, as the *Spanish* writer reports: "Saying, that he was able to comprehend and execute the orders of his prince; and that he likewise knew how to defend in the field what he had undertaken:" which *Escalante* interpreted into a challenge, that could not be refused, without prejudice to his reputation in the opinion of his *Indian* allies. Therefore assembling a body of 2000 *Totonques*, of the hilly country, fifty *Spaniards*, and two pieces of cannon, he set out with intention of falling upon the main body of the *Mexican* army, of the disposition of which he had intelligence. He came up with the enemy, defeated *Quahpotea*, after a bloody action, in which the *Totonques* misbehaved, but received a wound, of which he died. Seven *Spanish* soldiers were also killed in this action, and one was carried off by the *Mexicans*, having engaged himself beyond the possibility of being relieved; which proved an irreparable loss to the garrison, and more than a compensation for the victory. A relation of this affair, with all its circumstances, was now transmitted by the council at *Tera Cruz* to *Correa*; and he immediately communicated it to his officers, desiring their advice in what manner he should act in so delicate a conjuncture, and enjoining that it should be kept a profound secret, lest it might transpire among the soldiers, and produce bad consequences. From the whole of the account given by the *Spanish* writers, it is plain, that they are determined, at all events, to vindicate *Correa* of the imputation of ingratitude, and a violation of the rights of hospitality; however, as they are the only authorities, we must adhere to their relation.

BEFORE the council of officers came to any determination, the general sent privately for some of the most sensible and faithful *Indians* in his army, and questioned them, "Whether they had observed any suspicious circumstances in the conduct of the *Mexicans*?" To which their answer was, that the vulgar were entirely immersed in the entertainments given by the emperor; but that the nobility seemed pensive and mysterious: and that they had overheard some expressions which would admit of a sinister interpretation; such as, the possibility of breaking down the bridges of the causeway, with others to the same effect. They alleged it had

been likewise whispered, that the head of a *Spaniard* was brought privately in a present to *Moteczuma*, which he received with astonishment, on account of its size, and the fairness of the aspect, strength of the features, and roughness of the beard; marks which agreed with *Juan d'Aguillo*, the soldier who had been carried off prisoner in the battle with *Qualpopoca*; whence it was inferred, that every thing must have been transacted by the emperor's order. Indeed the *Tlascalan* nobility affirmed, that, without express commands from the court, the *Indian* general would never have presumed upon commencing hostilities with the *Spaniards*, at a time when they were so highly favoured by the monarch (A) When the officers assembled in council came to give their opinions, there was no agreement among them: some advising, that a passport from *Moteczuma* should be solicited; others declaring this would be a reflection upon the character of the *Spaniards*, and an acknowledgement of their weakness; a third party thought, that as the relief of the colony was essentially necessary, it would be best to march off privately with all the riches they had acquired; and a fourth gave it as their sentiments, that the only honourable means of safety would be to remain in *Mexico*, until some means of a retreat could be contrived, without seeming to have any knowledge of what was transacted at *Vera Cruz*. All appeared confident that *Moteczuma* was privy to *Qualpopoca's* conduct; which, however, is by no means evident from circumstances; that general being very naturally led into hostilities with the *Spaniards*, in consequence of their taking upon them to protect subjects of the empire, whom he considered as rebels. None of these propositions fell in with the opinion of *Cortez*; who, after commending the zeal and freedom of the captains, objected first to the passport as unworthy of soldiers who had opened a way, by dint of arms, to the capital of the empire. The notion of retreating privately would prove equally injurious to their honour, upon which depended their greatest security: the moment they

(A) It is reported that *Cortez*, ruminating the whole night upon his situation, and endeavouring to devise some remedy, wandered about the palace lost in thought, and stumbled upon a place where *Moteczuma* had concealed the treasures of his father. A door plastered up

excited his curiosity; he immediately got workmen to break it open, and then, after having viewed the treasure, ordered the breach to be repaired, without taking any thing away. *Herrera*, dec. ii. *De Solis*, lib. iii. cap. xviii.

sunk in the esteem of the *Indians*, from that moment they might date their ruin; since it would be impossible to think of opposing, by mere force, such a multitude of people. The moment their flight would be known, it would be easy for the emperor to give notice, by scouts, to the armies on the frontiers to intercept them, while himself rushed like a torrent, from the capital, on their rear. They would find themselves beset and hemmed in upon every side, without one foot of ground on which they could tread with security. He therefore joined in opinion with those who were for remaining in their present situation, but differed with respect to the manner. Some great action, he said, must be performed; and it would be absolutely necessary to excite the astonishment of the *Mexicans*, in order to recover their esteem and veneration, sunk by the late unfortunate accident. The only probable means that occurred to him was, to seize upon the person of *Moteczuma*, and carry him prisoner to the *Spanish* quarters; a resolution which must strike terror, and though apparently rash, by no means impossible to be executed. This point he laboured with so much zeal, that a majority went over to his opinion, all acquiesced, and the spirited resolution was immediately taken, the conduct of the whole being reserved to *Cortez*. Nothing could appear more desperate, than for a handful of men to attempt imprisoning a powerful monarch in the heart of his own capital, and in his own palace, surrounded by multitudes of guards. The fact would be really incredible, were it not vouched by undeniable testimonies, and confirmed by circumstances; and the *Spaniards*, who speak of *Cortez* as the mirror of justice, would probably have suppressed this action, because it detracts as much from his gratitude, as it adds to his valour, had they not been at a loss otherwise to account for the revolution which it wrought. Be this as it may, certain we are, that, in a military view, history cannot instance an action more bold, more seasonable, more judiciously planned, nor more successfully executed.

THE hour when it was usual for the *Spanish* captains to pay their compliments to the emperor, was chosen for the execution of this great project, that no alarm might be given by an unseasonable visit. All the *Spaniards* were ordered under arms in their quarters, and to hold themselves in readiness without noise or disturbance, until they received further instructions. The avenues to the palace were secured by small parties of soldiers, dropt in proper places as if by accident; and *Cortez*, attended by his captains, and followed by thirty chosen soldiers, sauntering at some distance, as if

for curiosity, advanced to the palace, where they were immediately admitted, their arms giving no suspicion, it being always customary with them to come in this manner into the royal presence. *Moteczuma* came out in his usual manner to meet them, and all took their seats, his servants always having orders to retire. Upon this *Cortez* began his complaint, relating, in the strongest manner, every circumstance of the conduct of general *Quelposca*, the death of several *Spaniards*, and the excuse made to the colony, that every thing had been transacted by orders from the emperor; which he, nevertheless, pretended to disbelieve: concluding, that he owed too much respect for his royal person to credit any thing so unworthy of his majesty, as to be countenancing strangers at his court, while he was endeavouring to destroy them in his provinces.

It is reported, that *Moteczuma* changed colour at this recital, which the *Spaniards* construed into a proof of his guilt. He was under the greatest perplexity, until *Cortez* relieved his confusion, by assuring him of his full conviction, that he could have no share in the cruel death of them whom he so highly honoured with his favour, notwithstanding the declaration of his general and officers, who pleaded his order as the only apology they could make. But he said that it would be necessary to give some extraordinary proof of his regard, and of the falsity of the general's charge, in order to efface the impression of such a calumny; and that therefore he was come to entreat him to go immediately to the *Spanish* quarters, without noise or disturbance, as if by his own free choice, with a resolution not to stir from thence until it should be made apparent that he was no ways concerned in so perfidious an action. By this generous confidence, he would not only appease the just indignation of the great monarch, whose servants the *Spaniards* were, but restore the lustre of his own honour, which at present was tarnished by the baneful breath of malignity. He gave his word as a gentleman, a soldier, and the minister of the greatest monarch in the universe, that he should be treated among the *Spaniards*, with all the respect due to his royal dignity; since they only desired to be sure of his good-will, to have it in their power to hear and obey him with the greater veneration. Perceiving that *Moteczuma* was silent, as if he remained in astonishment at the boldness of the proposal, *Cortez* added, by way of palliating the overture, that the quarters which his imperial majesty had been pleased to assign to the *Spaniards*, was a royal palace, where he sometimes passed a few days; and that it, therefore, could not appear

appear strange he should change his residence, to exculpate himself in an affair that was, properly speaking, the complaint of one monarch against another. If it should appear to be the fault of his general, it might be redressed by a proper correction, without pushing things to those violences, which generally attend the decisions of quarrels between sovereigns.

IMPATIENT at this discourse, to which his ears had been little accustomed, *Moteczuma*, at last, broke out with vehemence, "That princes of his rank could not submit to deliver themselves up to imprisonment; nor would his subjects permit it, should he forget his own dignity so far as to stoop to so mean a compliance;" a speech that obliged *Cortez* to deliver himself with more firmness. He therefore replied, that, provided his majesty went willingly, without obliging the *Spaniards* to forget the respect they owed to his person and dignity, he valued not the opposition of his subjects, against whom he could employ a sufficient force, without breach of their mutual amity. This led to a kind of altercation, in the course of which *Moteczuma* made several other proposals, which he hoped would answer the same intention, without either derogating from his dignity, or endangering his liberty. Among others, he offered to send for *Quilpepeca* and his officers, to be surrendered to the *Spaniards*, and punished as they thought proper; and to surrender two of his sons as hostages to the *Spaniards*, for the execution of his promise: but *Cortez* had now gone too far to recede with safety, and therefore rejected all those expedients. The dispute was prolonged so far, that the captains, who attended *Cortez*, suspecting the danger that might arise from delay, grew impatient, and *Juan Velazquez* cried out in a transport, "Let us leave off parlying, and either seize or kill him;" of which words *Moteczuma* desiring to know the meaning from the interpreter, Donna *Marina*, who always discharged this office, told him with admirable presence of mind, as if she desired not to be over-heard by the *Spaniards*: "Your majesty is in great danger, by not complying with the instances of those people, who are equally resolute and powerful. I am your own loyal slave; my thoughts are always employed to do you service, and I am likewise one of their confidants, well acquainted with their most secret intentions. If you go with them, you will be treated with all the respect due to so great a prince; but if you resist longer, the consequences may be fatal." This well-timed speech, delivered with an air of sincerity and solicitude about his welfare, wrought the effect, and determin-
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ed *Motexuma* to comply. He presently called for his servants, and ordering his chair and equipage to be got ready, he told his ministers, that, for certain reasons of state, he had resolved to spend some days with the *Spaniards*. He desired they would publish to all his subjects, that he went voluntarily, and for the interest of the crown, and the advantage of the nation in general. At the same time he ordered one of the captains of his guards to bring *Qualpopoca*, and his principal officers, prisoners to *Mexico*; giving him for his authority the royal signet, which he always carried tied to his right arm: all which orders were explained by *Marina* to the *Spaniards*, to prevent their taking umbrage, or conceiving any suspicion at hearing the emperor talk to his people. And accompanied by his usual attendants, *Motexuma* quitted his palace; the *Spaniards* marching on foot, close by his chair, for the greater security, but under pretence of doing him honour. The report instantly spread, that *Motexuma* was carried off by the strangers; the streets were immediately crowded, every face appeared full of admiration and astonishment, but no attempts were made to rescue him; though some bewailed his condition with tears, others made loud outcries, and multitudes flung themselves on the ground in despair. *Motexuma* appeased the tumult, by telling the people, with an air of gaiety, that he was going to divert himself, a few days, with his friends the strangers; and when he was arrived at the *Spanish* quarters, he gave orders to his guards to disperse the mob, and published, that every riot, tumult, or disturbance, should be punished with immediate death (B).

The emperor is reconciled to his confinement.

WHEN *Motexuma* arrived in the *Spanish* quarters, he fixed upon his own apartments, which were immediately furnished by his own servants with the best moveables; and *Cortez* placed a guard of *Spaniards* at the different passages leading to the palace, and doubled the centinels round the quarters, to prevent being surprised by any attempts to rescue the monarch. Orders were issued to the soldiers, to admit all the gentlemen of *Motexuma's* retinue, and also the nobility and ministers, just in the same manner as if he were under no restraint; only with this caution, that a certain number at a time should only be allowed, under pretence of keeping the

(B) *Herrera* relates, that, before *Cortez* entered upon the subject of this visit, *Motexuma* had offered him his own daughter in marriage; but *de Solis* omits this

circumstance, as it might possibly appear an additional charge of ingratitude, injustice, and violence.

monarch from being crouded. *Cortez* desired leave to visit him the same evening, with as much ceremony as before ; and a similar respect was shewn him by all the *Spanish* officers and soldiers ; by which means *Moteczuma* resumed his wonted cheerfulness, distributed presents among the *Spaniards*, and caressed them with the same cordiality, as if they had done him no injury : a strong instance either of his magnanimity, or of his hypocrisy. In a few days he became so perfectly reconciled to his situation, that he seemed to have no inclination to change his condition, and his retirement came to be considered as the effects of a whimsical disposition. Although some of the courtiers discovered that he was actually under confinement ; yet they were so thunder-struck with the intrepidity of the *Spaniards*, and the incredible boldness of the measure, that all resolution was broke, and they contented themselves with pitying what they believed would admit of no remedy. As to the affairs of government, they went on in the usual train: *Moteczuma* discharged all the functions of a sovereign in his prison, as if he were actually in his palace ; gave audience at the accustomed hour ; heard the advice and representations of his ministers, and applied himself to all business, civil and military ; in order to persuade the people, that his residence in the *Spanish* quarters was entirely the result of his own inclination, and a desire to enjoy more uninterruptedly the company of men whom he highly esteemed. All the hours that he was disengaged from business, he passed with the *Spaniards*, and used to declare, that he was not himself without them. Every one studied to please him, and this he perceived with extreme satisfaction. In the evening, he used to play with *Cortez* at a game called *Tololoque*, or little gold balls, with which they endeavoured, at a certain distance, to strike down pins of the same metal. They played for jewels, and other curiosities; *Moteczuma* distributing his winnings among the inferior officers of the *Spanish* troops, and *Cortez* doing the same with his gains to the emperor's retinue.

In the midst of this scene of amity, the officer sent for *He meets* *Quaalpopoca* returned with his prisoners, who were conducted into the emperor's apartment. *Moteczuma* immediately mortification sent them to *Cortez*, that he might inform himself of the truth, and inflict such punishments as he imagined the delinquents might deserve. In course of their examination, they confessed the whole charge of their having violated the peace, provoked the *Spaniards* of *Verd Cruz* by hostilities, and killed *Aguillo*, their prisoner, in cold blood, without any authority, for such proceedings, from the emperor. However,

However, when they were afterwards urged to a more complete discovery by menaces, they affirmed that they had the imperial orders; an allegation which *Cortez* treated as an evasion and falsity to apölogise for themselves. They were accordingly adjudged by a court-martial of *Spanish* officers to deserve death, and to be publicly burned before the royal palace, as criminals, who had not only violated the sacred laws of nations, but incurred the penalty of high treason, by presuming to involve their sovereign in their own guilt.

THIS was a cruel and severe sentence, dictated wholly by policy. If the *Spaniards* believed, as we are certainly told, that the officers acted by authority, they must confess them not culpable; nor indeed do we see the necessity of this signally barbarous punishment, all the purposes of which might have been answered by more gentle chastisement. In fact, *Quahpopoca* only performed what he had reason to believe was the duty of his office: but his death was a sacrifice to *Spanish* pride; *Cortez* believing, he could not more strongly confirm his influence and power, than by thus insulting, in his own capital, a monarch who had loaded him with civilities. However, before he ventured upon executing the sentence passed on the *Mexican* officers, he determined upon a farther exertion of his power, in order the more thoroughly to convince *Moteczuma* of his dependence. To this purpose another bold stroke was resolved on, in consequence, probably, of the facility with which the last was accomplished, and the resignation of the monarch under the loss of liberty. *Cortez* now came into the emperor's presence, attended by a soldier, who carried openly in his hand a pair of fetters, which he ordered to be clapped on the feet of *Moteczuma*; telling him, "that he had been accused by his officers as an accessory to their crime; and that it was necessary he should expiate for the strong presumptions against him, by some personal mortification;" with which words he retired, leaving the unhappy prince in a state of the most cruel despondency, despair, and anxiety, whether his life was not to be the next sacrifice. For a while *Moteczuma* remained in a state of silence and insensibility; but recovering from his first confusion, he resumed his usual magnanimity, and determined to meet his fate with the fortitude of a hero; while his servants bathed his feet with their tears, and thereby demonstrated, that the character of this great monarch has been misrepresented by the *Spaniards* in vindication of their own conduct.

No time was lost in the farther execution of *Cortez's* design. His situation would now admit of no delay or hesitation; matters

matters were come to a crisis, and nothing but the same undaunted resolution could enforce success. The criminals were carried to the place appointed, and the sentence was literally executed in presence of the whole city of Mexico, without the least noise, murmuring, or shew of disturbance. The people were impressed with terror, intermingled with respect and admiration, wondering at the authority which those strangers assumed, without daring, even in thought, to call their power in question, as it was sanctified by the approbation of their sovereign. Immediately after the execution, Cortez repaired to the royal apartment, and addressing Motezuma with a cheerful countenance, told him, "That the traitors who had presumed to soil his character, were now justly punished; and that his majesty had sufficiently refuted calumny, by submitting to this short mortification and intermission of liberty." He then fell upon his knees, and with his own hands took off the fetters, endeavouring by this excessive complaisance and respect to wipe off all memory of the injury. Motezuma received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, which evinced how deeply the indignity of bondage had affected him. He embraced Cortez with transports, and seemed to forget in the person of his deliverer, his most dangerous enemy. When the attendants had withdrawn, Cortez gave the emperor to understand, that he was at liberty to return, when he pleased, to his own palace, the cause of his detention being now removed; but this Motezuma declined, saying it would by no means be proper to leave the Spanish quarters before Cortez departed the country, as his reputation would suffer greatly, when it was known that he had received his liberty from the hands of another; a thought which Cortez took care to suggest, by means of Donna Marina, before he ventured to make the proposal.

EVERY thing was now contrived in such a manner as to persuade the royal prisoner and his subjects, that he was at perfect liberty, and only a visitor by inclination to the Spaniards; and he returned the obligation with such affability and liberality, as really engaged the affections of the Spaniards. Before this time the virtues of Motezuma lay concealed from his own subjects. His generosity, sincerity, magnanimity, and warmth of friendship, were obscured by the necessary dissimulation of dignity, reserve, and austerity; perhaps misfortune too softened his heart, or the acquaintance with a people more civilized than his own, contributed to enlarge his understanding, and call forth the exertion of really natural qualities. Certain it is, that the Spaniards themselves allow

no prince could behave in a more amiable manner, or exhibit stronger proofs of a noble mind, than *Moteczuma* displayed during the whole period of his confinement. After he had, by his behaviour, fully gained and merited the confidence of *Cortez*, he one day asked his permission to go sometimes to visit his temples, promising, upon the word of a sovereign, faithfully to return to his prison, for so he used to call his confinement jocularly, when only *Spaniards* were in hearing. He told *Cortez*, that he now desired, for his own convenience, and for the sake of the *Spaniards*, to shew himself to his subjects, who began to suspect that he was detained by force, as the cause of his detention was ceased with the punishment of *Quahpopoca*, lest some commotion might happen, if he did not speedily prevent it by this proof of his liberty. The general answered, without hesitation, that he was at perfect liberty to go when and where he pleased, and that he ascribed his making as a request to him what he might command, to the excess of his goodness; but he accepted the promise which the emperor made of not changing his residence, as if he were extremely solicitous to preserve the honour and happiness which he had in the conversation and society of his royal guest. He likewise exacted another promise, that *Moteczuma* would abolish the barbarous custom of human sacrifices at the altars of his gods; a promise which that prince religiously performed, prohibiting all human victims, not only in the temples of *Mexico*, but in those of the whole empire.

Moteczuma's first excursion was to the great temple, whither he went with his usual pomp, the people celebrating the first appearance of their monarch with loud acclamations. Every one seemed now forgetful of the injuries, either real or imaginary, which they received from the tyrant, and nothing appeared to their eyes but the bright side of the royal character, the lustre of which became more conspicuous in adversity. He received their congratulations with an air of satisfaction and majesty, and was particularly profuse that day in the favours bestowed on the nobles, and the gifts distributed among the people. Having complied with the duties of his religion, he returned to his quarters, declaring to the *Spaniards*, "That the satisfaction he had in residing among them, made him equally desirous of returning, as the discharge of his promise." From this time he continued to go abroad when he pleased, and often partook of public diversions, always returning at night to his quarters; inasmuch that the *Mexicans* began actually to regard his perseverance as the effect of his love to the *Spaniards*. It was
now

now customary for the nobility to make their first application to Cortez whenever any favour was wanted from the emperor; and he was, in all respects, regarded as the chief counsellor, friend, minister, and favourite of the monarch.

BUT Cortez was not so intoxicated with prosperity, or lulled with flattery, as to neglect the immediate object of the expedition, and the concerns of the colony at Vera Cruz. He had already recovered all the reputation which the Spaniards lost in the late unfortunate affair, by the condign punishment of the Mexican general, and principal officers concerned in that affair; but as no governor had been appointed to succeed Juan Escalante, the settlement remained without a head, which might be productive of dispute and faction. To remedy every evil which might arise from this state of affairs, Cortez nominated captain Gonzalo de Sandoval, governor of Vera Cruz; but because he could not, in the present juncture, conveniently part with so good an officer, he suffered him to appoint Alonso de Grado for his lieutenant, to administer justice, and direct the affairs of the colony in his absence. Cortez is blamed for entrusting a place of such importance, and the only retreat which he had in case of a failure in Mexico, into the hands of a person whose fidelity he had reason to suspect, on account of his attachment to Velazquez; but of this Grado had as yet given no room for suspicion. Besides, that Cortez might reasonably imagine honour and gratitude would, after such a mark of his confidence, engage him more strongly to his interest; he made use of the opportunity which these journeys to and from Vera Cruz furnished, of bringing cordage and other materials for the vessels which he designed building on the lake of Mexico, in case of any rupture with the townsmen, or any further reason should arise for suspecting that they intended to break down the bridges. The manner in which he brought this about, without giving suspicion to the court, or the emperor, that he was not thoroughly satisfied about his security, was artful and sagacious. He first inflamed the curiosity of Motezuma, by describing the Spanish shipping, and those floating palaces, that moved with such velocity on the water without oars; and when he found that the monarch was extremely desirous of seeing such a novelty, he gave him to understand, that nothing was wanting to his gratification, besides a few necessaries from Vera Cruz; for that he had workmen in his army capable of building these vessels. The bait took with Motezuma, and he gave immediate orders that all his people should assist Cortez in whatever he should direct concerning the shipping. By this means, lake of

Mexico, means, in a few days, two brigantines were got ready, full
 which extremely light the emperor. rigged, and equipped, and *Moteczuma* was invited on board, to make the first trial of their sailing, of which he could form no idea. Accordingly he embarked for this purpose; and gave orders for a great hunting upon the water, in order that all his people might be diverted with the novelty presented by the *Spaniards*. On the day appointed, the royal equipage was ready early in the morning, and the lake was covered with a multitude of boats and canoes loaded with people. The *Mexicans* had augmented the number of their rowers on board the royal barges, with intention to disgrace the *Spanish* vessels, which they regarded as clumsy, unwieldy, and heavy; but they were soon undeceived; a fresh gale started up, the brigantines hoisted sail, to the utter astonishment of all the spectators, and soon left all the canoes behind, to the great triumph and satisfaction of *Moteczuma*, who gloried in the victory of the *Spaniards*, with the true politeness of the most civilized and accomplished prince. The novelty of this spectacle produced its ordinary effects. The *Indians* were equally pleased and astonished. Some admired the management of the rudder, others of the sails, believing that, by their means, the *Spaniards* commanded the winds and the waters. Those of more understanding regarded the ships as a beautiful invention, which shewed the genius and good sense of the people; and the vulgar fully persuaded themselves that the *Spaniards* must be something supernatural, thus to obtain dominion over the elements. Upon the whole, we cannot sufficiently applaud the foresight and prudence of *Cortez*, who thus united his own security, interest, and reputation, with the entertainment of the people, and the sovereign, in whose opinion he could not stand too high to succeed in his designs.

Address of
 Cortez. NOR was this the single point which his address obtained from *Moteczuma* that contributed to the accomplishment of his projects. He introduced the praises of the catholic king so favourably, and extolled his power, grandeur, clemency, and other qualities of the hearer, and goods of fortune, in so judicious a manner, that *Moteczuma* and his whole court eagerly desired the proposed alliance, and an established commerce between the two nations; as what must prove mutually beneficial. By way of conversation, and gratifying his curiosity, *Cortez* also made some of the most important discoveries; for he had so won the affections of the emperor, that he concealed nothing from him. All suspicion touching his ambitious designs were vanished, and he was now considered as the friend and ally of *Mexico*. By this means

He procured very circumstantial information of the strength and extent of the empire; of its divisions, frontiers, provinces, commodities, mines, rivers, and other particulars; of the distances of the south and north seas, their qualities, roads, and harbours: and Cortez seemed to have so little design in these inquiries, that *Moteczuma*, to indulge his laudable curiosity, ordered his painters, with the assistance of men skilled in the topography of *Mexico*, to draw out all his dominions on a piece of cotton, in such a manner as to give an exact representation of every particular meriting regard. He even permitted some *Spaniards* to take a view of the richest mines in the empire, and of all the ports and bays capable of receiving shipping; believing, with a truly generous confidence, that the same persons, whose qualities had engaged his affections, could never forfeit his esteem; and exhibiting the strongest proofs, that although his first professions of regard for the *Spaniards* proceeded from fear, they were now the dictates of love, and the warmest emotions of friendship.

SUCH were the happy circumstances of Cortez and his people, when superstition and enthusiasm, for we cannot call it rational zeal, impelled them to measures which had almost blasted the fruits of all their labour, and destroyed the confidence gained with so much trouble. Nothing could be more preposterous than to attempt, at this juncture, a revolution in religion; yet this, we are told upon unquestionable authority, was the resolution of the *Spaniards*; for which purpose Cortez sallied out one day at the head of a party to overthrow the idols, and convert the principal temple into a church. *Antimo de S. lis* pretends to call this fact in question; but the only reason he gives is its inconsistency with the rest of Cortez's policy, and the many other instances of his good sense and solid understanding; a method of arguing that would take from human actions their greatest peculiarity, their contradiction and inconsistency. Certain it is that the conjectures of *De S. lis* ought not to weigh against the universal testimony of other writers; even those who were eye-witnesses of the very facts they relate, and who were as much concerned to vindicate the reputation of Cortez as his panegyrist. This sudden measure threw the whole city into confusion, and *Moteczuma* into the utmost perplexity. The priests took up arms in defence of their gods, and the people espoused their cause. The respect they entertained for the *Spaniards* yielded to their devotion, and had not the idols

* CASTILLO, GOMARA, HERRERA, dec. ii. l. vi. cap. i.

been suffered to remain in their places, the consequence must have proved fatal to the reformers. *Herrera* relates that the dispute ended by a kind of compromise, effected through the influence of *Moteczuma*; by which no alteration was to be made in the principal temple, but another inferior in point of veneration was given to the *Spaniards*, to be turned into a chapel, or church, where they were allowed to perform mass publicly. In a word, mutual toleration was the basis of the accommodation.

A dangerous conspiracy discovered and defeated.

It was probably this, together with the circumstances of the monarch's restraint, which gave rise to a conspiracy that was at this time discovered, to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Mexico*, and set *Moteczuma* at liberty; or if he appeared determined to support the strangers, to bring about a revolution in the government, and place another prince upon the imperial throne. At the head of this conspiracy was *Caminatzin*, nephew to the emperor, an enterprising, spirited, patriotic youth, who grew quite impatient at seeing his uncle, his sovereign, and the whole empire, governed at pleasure by a stranger, unsupported by power, and whose sole influence was founded upon his own address, the credulity of the monarch, and the pusillanimity of the people. The *Spanish* writers call him an inconsiderate, hot-headed young man, blinded by ambition; and seem to treat as a crime what certainly merits the highest encomiums. He was not only a prince of the blood, but a sovereign of the first consideration, who held the kingdom of *Tecum* as a fief, if we may so call it, of the imperial crown. His rank, dignity, high blood, and spirit, gave him reason to aspire at the first dignity in the empire, upon a future election; and he thought he could not better recommend himself than by attempting an enterprise which must prove agreeable to the sovereign and the subjects, although fear might at present restrain the emotions of the heart. *Caminatzin* could not so bear observing that pusillanimity and meanness of spirit with which a whole powerful kingdom beheld their monarch in subjection to the ambassador of another prince. He painted the conduct of the *Spaniards* in the blackest and most odious colours, charging them with having violently confined a prince who was loading them with kindnesses, and with laying the foundation of a despotism, the most cruel and slavish of any, because it was raised upon ignorance, superstition, and hypocrisy. These subjects he seized every opportunity of introducing before the caziques and nobility; and when he found he had sufficiently prepared their minds, he held a secret council of all his friends and relations

relations at his palace of *Texcuco*, at which were present the kings of *Cayocan*, *Iztapalapa*, *Tacuba*, and *Maltacingo*, all of them princes of the empire, and subjects of *Motexuma*. These he harangued with such spirit, elocution, and fervour of patriotism, that the whole assembly applauded his resolution, and promised their utmost assistance, except the cazique of *Maltacingo*, who endeavoured to defeat his designs, by representing that it would be necessary and incumbent upon them to acquaint *Motexuma* with their intentions, and, before they took any violent measures, to have his permission. It would be dangerous, he said, to the royal person to attack the palace where he resided, without first placing him in a place of security, or at least giving him such intimations as might enable him to look to his own safety; nor would it add to their reputation to use violence to strangers, who were under the protection of their sovereign, until they had given some just provocation, and exhibited stronger presumptions of their sinister intentions. It was obvious to the whole assembly that this cazique spoke from prejudice to *Caminatzin*, whose rival he was in pretensions to the crown, and in glory. His opinion was therefore unanimously rejected; and *Caminatzin* could not refrain from reflections injurious to his honour, which the other bore patiently, the better to pursue his intentions of making a compleat discovery both to *Cortez* and *Motexuma*. As soon as he had furnished himself with all the information, he sent advices to the *Spanish* quarters, and *Motexuma* was going in quest of *Cortez* to communicate his intelligence, when he found the general had anticipated his design, and was coming upon the same errand to the royal apartments. It was sufficient to clear *Motexuma* from all suspicion of his being an accessory, that he was so ready to communicate his first advices; and indeed his future conduct fully justified the integrity of his heart. He expressed great indignation against the whole faction, and proposed chastising them with the utmost rigour; to which *Cortez* answered, that he was sorry to have been the occasion of any disturbance among his vassals, and for that reason found he was obliged to take upon himself the remedy. He was therefore come to ask his permission to march immediately with his *Spaniards* to *Texcuco*, to crush in embryo a conspiracy that might be attended with bad consequences to his imperial majesty, unless suppressed in proper season. It would be necessary, he said, to seize upon *Caminatzin* before he should join his confederates, and thereby prevent the effusion of blood.

MOTEZUMA admired the undaunted spirit of the *Spanish* general ; but he declined his proposal, saying, it would be a diminution of his power and authority to use foreign arms in the chastisement of his own subjects. He therefore desired that *Cortez*, for his sake, would dissemble his private resentment, and gave it as his final resolution, that every motion of the *Spaniards* would only serve to increase the hatred of the people to them, and occasion their insisting more obstinately upon their removal from the country. That would, therefore, be best to assist him with his counsel, and act as mediator, if circumstances should require any interposition. He likewise thought it proper, first to try the effects of gentle remedies, and whether his nephew would be brought to reason, by reminding him of the duty and obligations which he owed to his sovereign, and of the general benefit that would result from an amicable intercourse with the *Spaniards*. For this purpose *Moteczuma* sent one of his attendants to the prince, desiring to see him ; and likewise acquainting him on the part of *Cortez*, that he sought his friendship, and could wish to have him nearer the royal person, that he might give him proofs of his esteem : to which message, it is reported, the prince returned an insolent answer ; probably imagining, that the whole had been dictated by *Cortez*, who laid this specious snare to deprive him of liberty, as he had done the emperor. Upon this *Cortez* made fresh application to *Moteczuma*, for leave to chastise the rebel, for such the spirited prince is called by all the *Spanish* writers, who treat every attempt against *Cortez* as an insult upon the sovereign ; but the emperor persisted, that, in this case, there was more dependence on deliberation than action ; and desired it might be left wholly to his management, as he was better acquainted with the temper of his own people, and the source of the present disaffection. *Moteczuma* then, by pretending to despise the danger, and treat his nephew's behaviour as the effect of levity and youth, rendered the conspirators careless, countermined their plot, bribed the servants round the person of *Caminatzin*, and by that means seized his person, and brought him prisoner to the *Spanish* quarters, without the least noise or disturbance. It was now that *Moteczuma* discovered all his dissembled resentment, treated his nephew as a criminal guilty of high treason, and committed him to the same prison destined to noblemen condemned to undergo punishment. He was afterwards deposed, out of compliment to *Cortez*, and a young nobleman, his brother, whom *Cortez* was desirous of engaging in his interest, was raised to the throne of *Texcoco*. This

the emperor declared in a speech made at the investiture of the young prince, acquainting him, that he owed all his good fortune to the mediation of the *Spaniards*; and giving the nobility to understand, that the lenity of the punishment inflicted on *Caminatzin*, proceeded from the same cause. All applauded the chastisement, the moderation of which seemed no way agreeable to the usual severity shewn by *Moteczuma* on similar occasions; the superior judgment of the *Spaniards* was acknowledged; and the very novelty of punishing rebellion without bloodshed produced such extraordinary effects, that all the troops in arms for *Caminatzin* dispersed, and the confederate *Caziques* submitted themselves, without hesitation, to the royal clemency, and received pardon through the interposition of *Cortez*, who artfully seized this opportunity of rendering himself popular.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favourable issue of this conspiracy, there was sufficient cause of uneasiness to *Moteczuma*, who was too well acquainted with the motives of his nephew's conduct, and the genuine patriotism which warmed the breast of that young prince, although circumstances obliged him to conceal his sentiments, and to treat an attempt to rid *Mexico* of servitude to the *Spaniards*, as rebellion to the sovereign. Upon coolly examining into the behaviour of *Cortez*, he found something mysterious in his long residence in his dominions; and thought the continual restraint laid upon his liberty was scarce compatible with the character of ambassador assumed by the general. He began to be alarmed of the general reflections upon his want of spirit and resolution, for suffering himself to be wholly governed by the strangers. This had been one of the pretences urged by *Caminatzin* for taking up arms; and *Moteczuma* himself was sensible, there was too much occasion for murmuring. As the same reasons still subsisted, he was apprehensive of some fresh disturbances: the applause bestowed on the late sentence might be intended to cover further designs, and to lull the government into security. At any event there was danger from the sparks of a fire lately extinguished, of which even the *Spaniards* themselves might take advantage, to enlarge their dominion, and extend their influence over the *Mexicans*; which could only be effected by a diminution of the royal prerogative. Mature deliberation, therefore, upon his circumstances, determined him to alter his behaviour to the *Spaniards*, estrange himself gradually from them, and intimate to *Cortez*, that it was time to think of his departure, as he was ready to execute every particular of the purpose of his embassy. It was some time before he could

Moteczuma, by an instrument, acknowledges himself the vassal of the king of Spain.

prevail upon himself to make the proposal, or he could meet with a fair opportunity of introducing the subject. At last, as the general was one day visiting him, he said, that he had been thinking of making a voluntary acknowledgment of that vassalage which was due to the *Spanish* monarch, as successor of *Quezalcoal*, and proprietary lord of the *Mexican* empire; for which purpose he intended to assemble the *caciques* and nobles of the realm, and to make this acknowledgment in the presence of a full assembly, that they, after his example, testify their obedience by some contributions and tribute to the new sovereign. He had already, he said, provided abundance of jewels and stones of inestimable value, to discharge the obligation on his own part; and he was persuaded his people would contribute on theirs such a present, as would be worthy of the king, as the first acknowledgment of the *Mexican* empire.

By this artful proposal, *Moteczuma* concealed his design from *Cortez*, and actually persuaded the general, that he had no farther motives for this extraordinary resolution, than a superstitious compliance with the intention of the ancient prophecies, which he now regarded as fulfilled. *Cortez* returned thanks, and was extremely well pleased to have obtained more than he thought was practicable at the present juncture; little imagining that this was a snare laid for the emperor, to oblige him, in the fullest manner, to declare his ultimate designs, or to quit the *Mexican* dominions. On the contrary, he hoped now, that this extraordinary favour would enable him, without difficulty, to secure his residence in the capital, until further orders were received from *Spain*, and such a reinforcement as would be sufficient for the actual conquest of the empire, should it be necessary to employ violence. If we may credit *Hertera*, it was by the advice of *Cortez* that *Moteczuma* dispatched his convocatory orders to the *caciques*; although it is probable, from the dispatch used upon his occasion, that the orders were issued immediately after the proposal was made to the general, to prevent his penetrating into the designs of the sovereign. Certain it is, that the nobility met at *Moteczuma's* appointment, that *Cortez* was admitted into the assembly, and that the whole transaction, of acknowledging the sovereignty of the *Spanish* monarch, was performed with the utmost solemnity; though it was by no means the intention of *Moteczuma* to resign his throne, but only by this stratagem to break his fetters. He opened the assembly with a speech, in which he endeavoured, by the most soothing expressions, to conciliate the minds of the nobles. He reminded them of the many

proofs he had given them of his affection, and that they held their dignities from his bounty; inferring from thence the improbability of his making any proposal to them incompatible with their interest, and the honour and majesty of the empire. He said, that what he was now going to mention was the result of mature deliberation, and the advice of the gods, who had intimated their opinion to him, by manifest signs of approbation. He entered upon a short account of the origin of the Mexican empire; the expedition of the *Nabatlacas*; the extraordinary achievement of *Quezalcoatl*; the prophecy he left when he departed for the conquest of the east; foretelling, by the impulse of heaven, that his descendants should return to govern the kingdoms of the west. He affirmed, as an indisputable point, that his catholic majesty was the lawful successor of *Quezalcoatl*; whence he concluded, that they ought unanimously, in his person, to acknowledge the hereditary right of blood; although, for want of this, they had for years disposed of the crown by election. That for his own part he was such a lover of justice, and admirer of the virtues of the brave monarch *Quezalcoatl*, that he would cheerfully lay his crown at the feet of his descendant, and was now resolved to be the first in testifying his satisfaction at the completion of the prophecy. For this purpose he had selected the most precious jewels of his treasury, to be sent to the king of *Spain* in token of his vassalage; and hoped that his nobles would follow his example, not only in a similar acknowledgment, but in accompanying it with a handsome contribution of their riches. It is alledged by some Spanish writers, that, in despite of all *Moteczuma's* efforts to conceal his emotion at the necessity for making this concession, he found something so repugnant to his natural pride, and shocking to his dignity in the humiliating terms, that his expression was frequently interrupted with sobs and tears; which is not at all probable; if, with *de Solis*, we ascribe the convoking the caziques to the desire of getting clear of the Spaniards by this artifice. The whole assembly, we are told, sympathized with the prince; and *Cortez* found it necessary to comfort the disconsolate monarch, by assuring him, that it was not the intention of the king of *Spain* to dispossess him of the royal dignity, or to make the least alteration in the government; his whole desire being only, that the right of succession might be settled on his descendants. *Moteczuma* recovered courage upon this; but the whole assembly was confounded with the boldness and novelty of the proposal, which they regarded as the highest reflection upon the dignity of so powerful a monarch as *Moteczuma*. They eyed each

each other with amazement, observing a profound silence, until the prime minister, who was perfectly acquainted with the temper of the sovereign, ventured to reply, that the assembly would be ready to obey all his commands as their lord and natural sovereign, and to follow any example he should think proper to give; as they had no doubt but he fully weighed the consequences of his resolution, and consulted the gods upon an affair of so great moment. Upon this, a public instrument was drawn up in the manner of the country, with all the necessary solemnities usually observed in paying homage; and from that day forward, the emperor Charles V. king of Spain, was likewise regarded by those people as hereditary lord and sovereign of the Mexican empire: whence the Spanish historians deduce a variety of reasons in justification of their right, founded upon the concurring election of the people, and the voluntary submission of the sovereign; reasons rather specious than solid in a moral view; which, however, it is not our province to refute.

He orders **MOTEZUMA** had, by this acknowledgment of a vassalage to his catholic majesty, prepared the way for the execution of his farther designs. He delivered to *Cortez to* **Cortez** the present he had provided, which was extremely rich, consisting of gold, ornaments, pearls, precious stones, and beautiful pictures of feathers. Next he gave a faithful account of the tribute offered by the nobility to the king of Spain, which was indeed exceedingly splendid and valuable: after which he told **Cortez**, with a reserve and severity altogether unusual, that he should now begin to think of his journey. The motive for his farther stay being ceased, and the issue of his embassy so uncommonly successful; for the *quit his do-* **Mexicans** would take umbrage at his longer delay, suspect that he entertained farther and more dangerous designs than what he avowed, and that the sovereign authority would no longer be able to protect him against their resentment, in case their suspicions were at all corroborated by presumptions. "The gods," said he, are angry with me for the favour I have shewn to their enemies, and have denied me rain. They threaten to destroy the fruits of my harvests, and to send a pestilence among my people. Ask what you will have more, and I freely grant it, because, in despite of the duties of my religion, I love you and the other Spaniards. But you must be gone; religion, and the voice of my people, require this sacrifice." *minions.* **Cortez** was surprised with the air of resolution with which **Moteczuma** delivered this unexpected intimation; and then, for the first time, discovered the meaning of the presents, and the vassalage to the catholic

licking. The first emotion of anger would have compelled him to a resolute defiance; but, on further reflection, he thought it more advisable to dissimule, and seem to acquiesce in the emperor's resolution. Accordingly he replied, "that as he had obtained the ultimate aim of his embassy, he would now prepare, with all necessary dispatch, for returning to *Spain*; and he had come with intention to ask the emperor's permission, to build vessels to transport him (self) and people: those in which he came having been destroyed, and incapable of being repaired for so long a voyage;" with which evasive answer he gained time for further resolutions, and possibly for the arrival of instructions and reinforcements from *Europe*. The answer was highly pleasing to *Moteczuma*, who above all things avoided coming to a rupture with the *Spaniards*, for whom he entertained a real friendship; yet it is reported, that he had provided an army of forty thousand men to support his resolution, in case it had been disputed. But now finding that every thing flowed in the very channel which he directed, he told *Cortez*, in the most obliging manner, "That it was not his intention to insist upon his departure, without furnishing him with the necessary means; that he should give the requisite orders for building the vessels required, according to the general's directions; and that it was sufficient to appease the resentment of the gods, and silence the clamours of his subjects, that *Cortez* had, by his compliance, given proofs of his integrity, and the falsity of their suspicions." In consequence, instructions were immediately issued respecting the ships, and dispatched to *Vera Cruz*; the *Indians* being directed to cut down the wood, and convey it to the dock. The superintendency of this affair *Cortez* entrusted to *Martin Lopez*, a *Biscain*, and excellent ship-builder; charging him in private to prolong the work as much as possible, but with all the appearance of making the utmost dispatch.

In this train were the affairs of *Cortez* and the *Spaniards*, when a fresh piece of intelligence arrived, as a farther trial of their prudence and constancy. Advice came to *Moteczuma*, that eighteen sail of ships had been seen off *Vera Cruz*, and, from the painted cloths in which the figures and dress were described of the mariners, they appeared to be *Spaniards*. Immediately the emperor sent for *Cortez*, and laying the picture before him, said, that now he apprehended the proposition for his voyage would be unnecessary, since some ships of his nation were arrived on the coast, in which he might take his passage. It was not possible for *Cortez* to doubt that the Squadron was *Spanish*, nor difficult to conjecture the motives

news of the expedition; but as this was the first intimation he had, it was a great difficulty to restrain the emotions of surprise with which he was seized. The first thought which occurred was, that it must be a squadron equipped by *Velaquez*, to destroy all the fruits of his labour: but this soon gave way to more pleasing sentiments, and he flattered himself that *Portocarrero* and *Montejo*, having succeeded in their embassy, had procured this reinforcement. However, as there could be no certainty with respect to the intention of the fleet, he answered *Moteczuma* in general, that he would no longer delay his departure, if the ships of that fleet were bound back for any of the king of Spain's dominions; adding, that he should soon have an account from the Spaniards at *Zempoala* of the destination of the armament, the designs of the cruizers, and whether it would be necessary to proceed in building the vessels. In a few days letters arrived from *Sandoval*, governor of *Vera Cruz*, acquainting *Cortez* that the fleet belonged to *Velaquez*, and brought eight hundred Spaniards to oppose him in his conquests. The letter he received in the presence of *Moteczuma*, and it required his utmost fortitude to conceal the stroke he sustained by so unexpected a turn of fortune. His situation was now truly desperate, being on every side hemmed round by enemies. Even the report of another armament to oppose his army would destroy his reputation with the *Mexicans*, and give all his allegations the air of fiction, and himself the appearance of an impostor. Already the people entertained jealousies; this would occasion them either to think that an actual conquest of their country was intended, or that their opinion, with respect to the completion of the ancient prophecy, was fallacious: at any event his case was desperate, as appeared by the greatly superior force of the new armament. However, he bravely resolved not to sink under misfortune, but to exert his utmost abilities to bring to a happy crisis what appeared so dangerous. He concealed his uneasiness from *Moteczuma*, softened the account to the Spaniards, and deliberated within himself upon the proper remedies to be used in circumstance so desperate, as seemed almost to exclude hope of relief. But before we enter upon a relation of his measures, it will be necessary we should give some account of the nature and destination of this armament, which proved the source of so much anxiety to *Cortez*.

S E C T. VI.

In which are recited the Strength of the Armament fitted out by Velaquez, its Object, the Proposals of Accommodation made by Cortez, the Attempts made to reduce the Colony of Vera Cruz, the Defeat of the Spaniards under Narvaez, the Mexican revolt, and Cortez's return to the Capital.

THE new honors with which *Velaquez*, governor of *Cuba*, had been vested by the court of *Spain*, served the force only to whet his animosity to *Cortez*, in proportion as they equipped enabled him to execute the dictates of resentment, and the by *Velaquez* most implacable enmity. He was not only appointed the *king's* lieutenant of the island of *Cuba*, by letters-patent, but also of all the lands on the continent, or elsewhere, that should be conquered by any force sent out under his direction and authority. The applauses given to *Cortez*, and the extraordinary success of that officer, rendered him quite outrageous, and compelled him, without reflecting upon the consequences, to equip such a fleet and army, as he thought would assuredly destroy his rival, and all who adhered to his fortune. He bought ships, enlisted soldiers, visited all the settlements on the island, to encourage the people to embark in the enterprise, and took every effectual measure for blighting all the laurels gathered by *Cortez*, and fruits collected for the benefit of the *Spanish* nation. By representing the immense profits which would arise from the just punishment of a rebel and traitor, he drew together a considerable number of volunteers, and expended the bulk of his fortune in purchasing the necessary arms and provisions for the expedition. In a word, he assembled in the space of a few days such a fleet and army, as in that part of the world might be deemed formidable. The army was composed of eight hundred *Spanish* foot, eighty horses, twelve pieces of cannon, and great abundance of small arms and ammunition. *Amabilo de Narvaez*, a native of *Valladolid*, a gentleman by birth, of reputed capacity, and of great distinction in *Cuba*, was nominated to conduct the expedition. To this general he gave instructions, that he should try every expedient to seize *Cortez*, and send him under a strong guard, that he might receive from his hands the just punishment of his treachery and temerity: That his officers should be used in the same manner, in case they appeared

perred obstinately attached to his interest; and that he should take possession, in his name, of all the new acquisitions, they being within his jurisdiction as king's lieutenant. He never suffered the possibility of disappointment from any accident to enter into his thoughts; he relied, with so much security, on the superiority of his forces and armaments, that he never reflected on the courage of *Cortez*, and the long practice which all the soldiers had in arms, as well as the friendships and alliances they had formed.

VELAQUEZ met with some difficulties in the outset, which seemed to preface an unfortunate issue to the expedition; but he was not a man to be startled with omens, directed by counsel, or discouraged by difficulty. The supreme ecclesiastical tribunal at *St. Domingo*, presiding over the royal audience at *Hispaniola*, and all the other islands of the *West-Indies*, was informed of his preparations; and sensible of the inconveniences that must arise from a competition, dispatched one of their number, *Luis Vasquez d' Ayllon*, to dissuade *Velaquez* from the prosecution of a measure so injurious to the public service; with orders, if he continued obstinate, to exert all the authority of the tribunal, commanding him, upon the severest penalties, to disband his army, unrig his fleet, and refrain from giving any molestation to *Cortez*, under any pretence whatsoever; insisting, that he would urge his complaints in a legal method before the royal audience, where he should be sure of receiving justice, and meeting with the strictest impartiality. On the arrival of this minister in *Cuba*, he laid his instructions before *Velaquez*, and arguments and persuasion; but finding himself repulsed, proceeded to menaces, and the full exertion of his powers. Even this was not sufficient to stop the resolution taken by *Velaquez*, who was too sanguine in the hope of revenge, and not too far embarked in the enterprise to relinquish it, without injuring his fortune and his reputation; whereupon the lieutenant *D' Ayllon* resolved to accompany the fleet, in expectation that he should either prevail upon the men to obey his orders, or at least find some opportunity of accommodating differences between *Velaquez* and *Cortez*, before they should come to open hostilities. Nor did *Velaquez* oppose this resolution, because he was desirous the fleet should sail before the news of his obstinacy could arrive at *St. Domingo*. It was no less fortunate to *Cortez*, that his old friend *Andres de Duero*, secretary to *Velaquez*, likewise accompanied this expedition, with the generous design of preventing the destruction of a person whom he esteemed, and of promoting the public service.

In the month of April, *Pamphilo de Narvaez* set sail, with *the fleet* favourable gale; but soon meeting with tempestuous weather, *arrives on* ther, lost one of his ships near the mountains of *St. Martin*. *the coast of* He came to an anchor in the port of *Ulva*, on advice received from *Mexico*. by three *Spanish* soldiers, who joined him at the island of *1520*. *Sacruces*, left there by *Pizarro*, that the garrison at *Vera Cruz* was incapable of making any resistance. Here a party was landed, and soon had the good fortune to seize upon *three* *braiding* soldiers belonging to the colony; who, from fear of punishment, or private disgust to *Cortez*, gave exact information of all that had been transacted in *Mexico*, of the condition of the garrison of *Vera Cruz*, and the general disaffection of the soldiers, both there and in *Mexico*; thus endeavouring to procure for themselves better usage, by misrepresenting facts, and flattering the hopes of *Narvaez*, who greedily swallowed every syllable of their false relation. As it was not probable that *Sandoval*, the governor of the settlement, would attempt, in the present desperate situation of affairs, to oppose so powerful an armament, *Narvaez* sent one *Guavaya*, a clergyman, to receive his submission; but this person behaved with so much arrogance in the conference, that the governor ordered him, with his attendants, to be seized, and sent, under the conduct of a *Tempoalan* guard, to *Mexico*.

MEAN time *Cortez* received constant intelligence of what *Cortez* *en-* passed at *Vera Cruz*. The news that *Narvaez* had landed *deavours* quite perplexed him, as he foresaw difficulties in every mea- *to effect a* sure that could be proposed. It appeared rash to think of *reconcili-* meeting him in the field with a force so unequal, especially *ation*. as part of his little army must be left in *Mexico*, to defend his treasures, and maintain the footing he had established. The most rational scheme was to make overtures of accommodation to *Narvaez*; but to this the pride and obstinacy of that general, as well as the express injunctions of *Velaquez*, appeared an insurmountable obstruction: nor could the haughty spirit of *Cortez* stoop to make concessions unworthy of his honour, altho' they should appear necessary to the good of the common cause. But what gave him the greatest anxiety was, to find himself obliged to feign security and content in his circumstances, while his heart was oppressed, and his breast agitated, by a variety of contending passions. It was of the utmost consequence to conceal from the *Mexicans*, that the *Spaniards* were at variance; he therefore told *Moteczuma*, that *Narvaez* was a second ambassador arrived from the king of *Spain*, to enforce the proposition he had already made; that he was come with an army, according to the custom

the country; but as every thing was already adjusted, he would endeavour to prevail upon him to return, and would himself take his passage on board his fleet, as his majesty's generosity had left him nothing farther to desire. It was equally necessary for *Cortez* to conceal his chagrin and uneasiness from his own troops, lest their spirits might sink under the greatness and variety of the danger. He hid from them the probability that *Narvaez* would come to a reconciliation, and prefer his own interest, and the service of his sovereign, to the absurd revenge of a private man, blended with passion, pride, and animosity. For his own part, he said, he had reason to thank *Velaquez*, for having sent him so seasonable a reinforcement, as he had not the least doubt but he should make fellow soldiers and companions of those who had come against him with hostile intentions. He even concealed from his captains his own opinion of his circumstances, although he laid before them the state of affairs, and desired their advice, after he had disposed their minds to his own inclinations. It was the general resolution of the council of war, that proposals of accommodation should immediately be dispatched to *Narvaez*, and that in the mean time preparations should be made, as if there was a certainty that the proposals would be rejected.

SUCH were the measures concerted and carrying into execution, when the Spanish prisoners, sent by *Sandoval*, arrived. *Cortez* went out to receive them, ordered their fetters to be knocked off, embraced them with great humanity, and told the licentiate *Guavara*, that he would reward *Sandoval* for the little regard he shewed for his person and function. He intimated how much he esteemed the happiness of having the expedition commanded by *Narvaez*, who was his old friend and intimate acquaintance; he took care that all the Spaniards should appear chearful and gay before this clergyman; he made him a witness to the favours he received from *Moteczuma*; he gave him several valuable presents; and, in a word, soothed, cajoled, and insinuated with so much address, that he entirely gained the licentiate to his interest. In the same manner he treated the other prisoners; and without seeming to tamper with their integrity, released them in four days, strenuously attached to his person, and engaged by his liberality. His next step was to send father *Amedo*, a moderate, sensible, and eloquent friar, with proposals to *Narvaez*; likewise furnishing him with letters to *Vasquez D'Ayllon*, and his old friend the secretary *Alvaro*, with several jewels, which he was to distribute, at his discretion, among the troops. The instructions were filled with

He sends
proposals of
peace.

arguments

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arguments, demonstrating the importance to the common cause of a reconciliation, expression of civility to *Narvaez*, and a relation of the progress which *Cortez* had made in the conquest of *Mexico*. He represented the fatal consequences to both, of giving the *Mexicans*, a warlike and powerful people, reason to think, that discord prevailed among the *Spaniards*: and he finally desired to know the purport of his instructions; for if they came from the king, or tended to promote the public service, he was ready to surrender his commission, and contribute his assistance in a private station; but if they were dictated by *Velaquez's* resentment, they ought both to consider, with equal attention, how much they hazarded by obedience; concluding, that he did not make use of arguments because he wanted force; on the contrary, he knew how to defend his propositions when slighted, as well as to relax in them, whenever they appeared unreasonable.

HAVING dispatched *Almedo*, he sent to his friends at *Tlascalala*, desiring that the republic would immediately provide six thousand men to attend him on an enterprise, in which it was possible he might want her service. An officer was likewise sent among his other allies, the caziques of *Chinantecas*, to desire them to levy two thousand men for the same occasion. The people of this country were the declared enemies of the *Mexicans*, and had made the strongest professions of friendship to *Cortez*. As they were brave and warlike, the general imagined he might profit by their assistance; he even condescended to imitate some of their arms. Hearing that the *Chinantecas* made use of extreme long lances in their wars, he thought they might prove useful against *Narvaez's* cavalry; and accordingly ordered three hundred to be made, pointed with copper for want of iron, and divided among his troops. In a word, we made every necessary preparation for taking the field; justly imagining, from the known temper of *Narvaez*, that it would be difficult to bring him to reason by the force of arguments only. This conjecture was soon verified. *Narvaez* was at *Memphala* when *Guavara* returned from *Mexico*, with an account of the grandeur and magnificence of *Moteczuma*, his respect for *Cortez*, the great merit of that general, and the humanity and politeness with which he had entertained him. He commended *Cortez's* prudence in desiring to conceal from the *Mexicans*, that any cause of difference subsisted between the *Spaniards*, and run so largely in his praise, that *Narvaez* ordered him to quit his presence; upon which the priest, and his companions, sought a new auditory, distributed their presents among the soldiers,

Cortez

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gains a
party for
Cortez.

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proceedings
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vaez.

soldiers, and established, what was of the greatest consequence to Cortez, a high opinion of his generosity and valour, and a general inclination for peace. Father de Almedo arrived seasonably to stamp deeper the first impressions made by *Guaraca*. He delivered his instructions to *Narvaez*, accompanied with an eloquent oration, enforcing the necessity of maintaining a perfect harmony; and received an answer filled with invectives against Cortez, and with so much passion and acrimony, that the reverend father despairing he should be able to bring him to reason, proceeded to the execution of the other part of his instructions. He visited the secretary *Duero*, and the licentiate *D' Ayllon*, delivered the letters from Cortez, and found them extremely disposed to bring about a reconciliation. They likewise promised to assist, with their utmost influence, the purport of his dispatches; and loudly condemned the inexorable severity, and injudicious vehemence of *Narvaez*. *Almedo*, in the next place, visited the officers and soldiers of his acquaintance, distributed his presents, and prejudiced them all in favour of the valour, humanity, justice, and generosity of Cortez; inasmuch, that there was great reason to hope for a strong party in his interest, or at least, in favour of an accommodation. *Narvaez* had no sooner notice of what was practising in the camp, than he ordered *Almedo* to be brought before him, loaded him with abuse and menaces, calling him a mutinous and a seditious traitor, and threatening to secure his person, had not the secretary *Duero* interposed, and represented the bad consequences that might flow from such irreverent treatment of a venerable ecclesiastic.

ALMEDO was no sooner dismissed, than *Vasquez D' Ayllon*, commissary from the royal audience at *St. Domingo*, proposed, that a council of war should be held, to deliberate upon a proper answer to the embassy sent by Cortez; and he was seconded in this proposition by a majority of the army: but *Narvaez*, to stop all such proceedings, made solemn declaration of war, with fire and sword, against Cortez; threatening, with the severest punishment, whoever should make any farther overtures of reconciliation, and offering a great reward to any who should take or kill his inveterate enemy. At the same time the army had orders to march, and the orders of the general were proclaimed at the head of the army. *D' Ayllon*, out of all patience with these violent proceedings, resolved to exert his authority. He commanded the crier to desist; and signified to *Narvaez*, that he should not stir from

Zempoala under pain of death, not employ his forces in shedding the blood of their own friends and countrymen, without the unanimous consent of the army; which so irritated the passionate general, that he ordered him to be seized, and shipped off for *Cuba*; though the priest had address enough to prevail on the sailors to convey him directly to *St. Domingo*, where he laid before the royal audience, the impetuous, headstrong temper, and violent measures of *Narvaez*, with such partiality to *Cortez*, as determined the board to support his interest more powerfully. Indeed, he profited more by the very conduct of *Narvaez*, than he could expect from his own most strenuous endeavours. That officer carried his resentment so far, as to incur the displeasure of those who were no friends to his enemy; and once their own general fell in their esteem, it was an easy transition to bestow their affections on the subject of his hatred. Accordingly the soldiers began to desert to *Vera Cruz*; a *Portuguese*, named *Villabobus*, having entered, with seven other soldiers, into the service of *Sandoval*, and brought with him the written agreement of several others, to follow his example, in case *Narvaez* continued implacable. *Moteczuma* too, after he came to understand the variance among the *Spaniards*, continued extremely attached to *Cortez*, offering to support him with a numerous army; nevertheless there are writers who assert, that he maintained a clandestine correspondence with *Narvaez*, and endeavoured to destroy both parties by professions of friendship to each: an allegation that is fully refuted by *Antonio de Solis*^d. It is true, indeed, that he sent presents to *Narvaez*, according to the hospitable custom of the country to all strangers; but *De Solis* justly regards this as no impeachment of his fidelity to *Cortez*, and clearly demonstrates the impossibility of a secret correspondence for want of interpreters to explain the mutual sentiments of the parties; the *Zempoalans* entertaining the most bitter resentment against *Narvaez*, on account of the tyranny and oppression exercised in their province.

ON the return of *Alonso* it was determined by *Cortez* and his officers, to take the field with the troops they could possibly assemble, to incorporate the auxilliary *Indians* of *Tlaxcala* and *Chimantlu*, and afterwards to march in a body to *Zempoala*; first halting in some considerable town, to renew the pacific negotiation, and if possible, to terminate the differences amicably. This resolution was immediately published among the soldiers, and received with so much ap-

^d DE SOLIS, lib. iv. cap. vii.

place, that *Cortez* was forced to exert his authority before he could oblige eighty of his people to remain in *Mexico*, all being so desirous to attend his person and fortune. He softened the motives for his journey to *Moteczuma*, telling him that the *Spanish* captain at *Zempoala* had given some proofs of a disorderly passion, owing to his misinformation; for he came thither as lieutenant to the governor of a remote province, who was not acquainted with the last instructions of the court of *Spain*; and therefore persuaded himself, that the embassy in which himself (*Cortez*) was employed, was an affair properly belonging to his office. All the preparations to support so frivolous a pretension would vanish, he said, without any farther trouble, than his laying before the captain his commission, giving him full power and jurisdiction over all the *Spaniards* who should arrive on that coast. To anticipate, therefore, the bad consequences which might ensue from the misinformation of *Narvaez*, he resolved to direct his march to *Zempoala* with part of his forces, to dispose the minds of the *Spaniards* to respect the *Mexicans* as a people now under the protection of the king of *Spain*; and that he would immediately execute this resolution, lest the approach of an army, so little disciplined, into the neighbourhood of the capital, might occasion some disturbances among the vassals of his imperial majesty. This was the artful turn which he gave the dispute between *Narvaez* and himself; and *Moteczuma*, who was already informed of the tyranny exercised by the *Spaniards* in *Zempoala*, greatly applauded his design, again renewing his offer of assistance, in case *Narvaez* continued obstinate and refractory; but when *Cortez* declined this proposal, the emperor told him, that he would shew all manner of countenance and favour, during his absence, to the part of his forces he should think proper to leave in *Mexico*.

EVERY obstruction to his march being now surmounted, he appointed *Alvarado*, an officer high in *Moteczuma's* esteem, to command the party he left behind; charging him to be so assiduous in his civilities to the emperor, as to render him insensible of his confinement; and strictly enjoining the soldiers to discipline and obedience to their captain, kindness and humanity to the *Mexicans*, and especially the attendants of the court. *Moteczuma*, with a prodigious retinue of the nobility, accompanied him out of the city, and upon taking his leave, told him, that if there was no other method of deciding his dispute, but by force of arms, he would not oppose him with an army entirely at his devotion, but even take the field in person for his defence; adding, that he would continue

Assurances
given by
Motezu-
ma.

tinue his protection to the *Spaniards* under *Alvarado*, and remain in his present quarters until the return of *Cortez*; a promise to which he religiously adhered amidst all disturbances that arose among the *Mexicans*. The general pursued his march to *Chalula* with all possible dispatch and circumspection, and was received in that city with a cheerful welcome. Thence he proceeded to *Tlascala*, and was met at the distance of half a league from the city by a splendid embassy from the republic. He was conducted into the town amidst the acclamations of the people, who now respected him as the conqueror of *Mexico*, and the subduer of the haughty spirit of *Moteczuma*. Immediately the senate deliberated upon the answer to be returned to the demand made by *Cortez* of six thousand auxiliaries, and determined to comply with the utmost punctuality. Authors, however, differ about this circumstance; but it is certain, that *Cortez* had no *Tlascalans* in his army when he engaged *Narvaez* at *Zempoala*. It is likewise confessed on all hands, that *Cortez* left *Tlascala* extremely well satisfied with his reception; and that, although the *Tlascalans* failed him upon this occasion, he had no reason to question their fidelity or attachment, having found them extremely ready, brave, and useful, in all his future engagements with the *Mexicans*. *Cortez* had sent orders for *Cortez Sandoval* to meet him, with the *Spanish* garrison of *Vera Cruz*, at *Matalequitan*, leaving the settlement to the care of doval. the confederate *Indians*; and thither he now directed his rout, and found *Sandoval* punctual to his instructions. Before his departure from *Vera Cruz*, *Sandoval* was fortunate enough to obtain exact intelligence of the enemy. Two soldiers of the fort, who artfully imitated the behaviour and gesture of the *Mexicans*, and greatly resembled them in features and complexion, offered themselves for spies, stripped themselves naked, and entered early in the morning into *Zempoala*, with baskets of fruit upon their heads. *Narvaez* had his head-quarters at this town; and with such address did the two *Spanish* soldiers feign the simplicity of the native peasants and their eagerness, that they had a full survey of the whole place, without creating the least suspicion. Their success encouraged them to another enterprise. Accordingly, the same soldiers entered the town a second time, with intention to discover what kind of watch was maintained, and whether there appeared a possibility of surprising *Narvaez*. Every thing corresponded with their wishes; they found the enemy careless and secure; and returned to the settlement in

Narvaez
rejects all
overtures.

safety, after having carried off a horse belonging to one of the captains, who expressed the greatest resentment against Cortez. There was something so extremely bold and ingenious in this attempt, as extremely delighted Cortez, and gave him a happy presage of the event. He built his greatest hopes upon the inexperience of the enemy, and the activity, vigilance, courage, and attachment of his own troops. The negligence of Narvaez was occasioned, he perceived, by the confidence he had in his superiority; and this furnished him with many advantages, in case the fresh instances of peace, he proposed making, should prove abortive. To shun, if possible, the effusion of blood, he dispatched father Almedo, a second time, with as moderate proposals as he could devise; but his negotiation having no success, he appointed Juan Velazquez de Leon to wait on Narvaez; imagining, that the near relation of this officer to the governor of Cuba might give him more influence. On the approach of Velazquez, it was generally believed at Zempoala that he had relinquished the interest of Cortez; and this notion prevailed so much, that Narvaez went out, with a numerous retinue, to receive him; but Velazquez soon disappointed their expectations. He enforced his commission with such eloquence, and entered upon the praises of Cortez with so much warmth, that Narvaez broke off abruptly, declined any farther conversation upon the subject, and dismissed him without an answer.

THIS mark of disrespect, to a person of so much consequence as Velazquez, gave umbrage to the soldiers under Narvaez, who insisted upon the expediency of hearing his message candidly; since it was not probable, that a person of so much honour and sincerity would have come with unreasonable propositions. These discourses proceeded so far, that, to quiet the soldiers, the secretary Duero was nominated to wait on Cortez, to apologize for the behaviour shewn to Velazquez, and to enquire into the substance and purport of his commission. This gentleman was received with all the respect due to his character, his moderation, and the friendship which he always professed for Cortez. Several conferences were held upon the subject of his commission, and every expedient for conquering the obstinacy of Narvaez was canvassed. Cortez is reported to have gone so far, as to offer abandoning the Mexican conquests to his competitor, and going, with his followers, ~~elsewhere~~, in search of fresh laurels. But this was an act of complaisance which Duero refused to accept; proposing, in its stead, an interview between the two generals, which it was hoped might terminate in

in contriving a medium. The proposition was readily accepted by *Cortez*; while, on the other hand, *Narvaez* proceeded so far as to pen under his hand, the place, the hour, and the circumstances of the appointment, at the same time that he was preparing an ambuscade for his rival. This treachery was discovered by *Duero*, and notified to *Cortez*; who finding that the sword must decide all differences, mustered his army, and prepared to march against the enemy. The base designs of *Narvaez* served only to animate his courage; for he persuaded himself that an officer, who endeavoured to purchase victory at the expence of his honour, could have no great dependence on his own abilities, or the valour and attachment of his soldiers. His progress within a league of *Zempoala* was rapid, his front was secured by the river of *Canfas*, and his rear by the territory of the settlement at *Vera Cruz*. He disposed his army in the most convenient manner, and placed double centinels at every accessible part, keeping, likewise, parties abroad to scour the country, and observe the enemy's motions.

NOTICE of the approach of his rival was no sooner brought to *Narvaez*, than he drew out his troops into the field, with an eagerness and confidence of victory productive of confusion. He promised a reward of two thousand pieces of eight to whoever should bring the head of *Cortez*, and thereby confirmed his own dread, and the opinion of the soldiers of the formidableness of that hero. He weakly imagined that *Cortez* would be rash enough to attack him in the open field, with numbers so disproportioned; obstinately persevering in that opinion for the whole day, and until the tempest that came on in the night, rendered the soldiers so clamorous, that he hastened to take shelter in the town, with a disorder and precipitation greatly resembling the consequences of a defeat. Hearing that *Cortez* kept himself encamped on the opposite side of the river, he reasonably conjectured that he had nothing to fear that night, when the storm of rain and wind was so great as almost to disable the soldiers from handling their arms; he therefore lodged his troops in the temples, resolving, as soon as day appeared, and a calm ensued, to lead them again into the field. *Cortez* had advice of all these particulars from the secretary *Duero*, who certainly betrayed his party; although *De Solis* palliates his conduct, by alledging that his sole design in sending this information, was to induce *Cortez* to pass the night quietly, in hopes that the next day might produce something favourable to the proposed accommodation. Be this as it may, it certainly enabled *Cortez* to plan that enterprise, upon the

He is surprised and defeated.

Success of which depended all his future fortune. He drew out his troops without delay, and they obeyed without complaining of the severity of the weather, or the unseasonableness of the motion, from a thorough confidence in the judgment of their leader, and the necessity of the measure. They passed the river, the water reaching almost to their breasts, and on their gaining the opposite shore, were made acquainted with the design of the march, the situation of the enemy, the facility with which they might be attacked, the great probability of victory, and every other circumstance which could inflame their courage, and give spur to their ardour. Fired with the concise animating speech of the general, all acknowledged the prudence of his resolution, and expressed their determination to conquer, or to die fighting by his side. Immediately he divided the little army in three corps; the first under the conduct of *Sandoval*, being directed to seize upon the stairs of the temple, and prevent the enemy from using their artillery; the second under *Christopher de Olid*, having orders to ascend the tower, and invest the quarters of *Narvaez*; while the third corps, led by the general in person, was reserved to support the two first, and carry relief to that quarter which should appear the hardest pressed. Orders were likewise given, that the drums should beat, and the warlike instruments sound, as soon as the attack began, in order to strike the greater terror, and increase the confusion consequent on being surprised. As he proposed reaching *Zempala* about midnight, the army marched slowly, to prevent their being out of breath when they began to engage; but they had not proceeded far, when they fell in with two of the enemy's centinels, one of whom was made prisoner. It was feared that the other, who had made his escape, might spread the alarm; *Cortez*, therefore, ordered the troops to hasten their pace, that he might arrive before *Narvaez* should have time to make a proper disposition. Every thing happened just as he had foreseen: the sentinel discharged his duty, gave the necessary information, and was disbelieved. A few, however, armed themselves; but *Cortez* seasonably entered the town, and confirmed the soldier's account, before *Narvaez* could prevail upon himself to disturb his rest, or order the troops to their several posts. He had the good fortune to escape the body of cavalry, sent out to secure the country, and reached the temple, without being challenged by any of the out-guards. *Sandoval* instantly began his attack with his van, mounted the stairs, and threw the enemy into the utmost disorder, as there now remained no doubt of what the centinel asserted. Two pieces of artillery

tillery were fired upon him, but they did no execution, and only served to augment the general confusion, and the noise made by the drums and other warlike instruments of Cortez. The enemy, however, were so numerous, that *Saxdaval* would have found it impossible to succeed in the execution of his orders, had he not been opportunely supported by the second division, under *Christopher de Olid*, and by Cortez in person; who quitting the rear, plunged, sword-in-hand, into the midst of the enemy, and the hottest part of the engagement. Such was the impetuosity of his troops, that the enemy were driven back, step by step, and in the end totally defeated, leaving their artillery behind, and taking shelter in the other temple, where *Narvaez* had his quarters, and commanded in person. He had just then put on his armour, and was animating his people by his voice and example, when a thrust in the eye with a pike brought him to the ground, and into the hands of the enemy; which so dispirited his troops, that they immediately threw down their arms, and asked quarter.

ANOTHER tower was still possessed by captain *Sebatierra*, and young *Diego de Velaquez*, who seemed determined to defend themselves to the last extremities. Cortez, upon this, ordered two pieces of cannon to bear upon the tower, and so terrified the soldiers, that they refused to obey their officers longer, and obliged them to submit at discretion. Immediately a general pardon was published to all who would surrender themselves; and the general passed his word, that they should have liberty, if they chose it, to return to *Cuba*, or to enlist in his army, and share his fortune. All to a man accepted the terms; and thus Cortez not only broke all the designs of his enemies, but acquired such an accession of strength, as enabled him to return to the conquest of *Mexico* with more assurance of success than before. This important victory was obtained with only the loss of four soldiers killed, and two wounded; and on the part of the enemy, two officers and fifteen private men killed, with near double that number of wounded. Cortez visited *Narvaez*, who told him with an air of insult, "That he had reason to value himself upon having such a prisoner in his hands." To which Cortez replied contemptuously, "That without vanity he might rank this victory, and his imprisonment, among the least considerable actions performed since his arrival in that country." Notwithstanding this severity, he gave orders that *Narvaez*, and all the prisoners, should be humanely treated, and diligently guarded, lest the small appearance of their conquerors, in day light,

might animate them to fresh attempts. At break of day he was joined by two thousand auxiliaries, sent by the *Chinantecas*, which rendered him more secure against the consequence of a revolt; as it not only augmented his force, but shewed *Narvaez* that he was beloved, befriended, and respected in the country. It was then that the enemy beheld their disgrace in full view. Night had concealed the numbers with *Cortez*; and indeed *Narvaez* reasonably supposed, that he was supported by a great body of auxiliary *Mexicans*; the day-light discovered this error, and his unequal forces; the soldiers cursed the confidence of *Narvaez*, and redoubled their esteem for the vigilance, prudence, and undaunted courage of the conqueror. All were charmed with his generosity, the clemency shewn to the prisoners, and the humanity to the wounded. His friends among the troops of *Narvaez* laid aside dissimulation, entered into his service, and were followed by the rest who were less affected to his interest. Every man gave in his name, disputing for a preference in the roll; nor was there a soldier who so much as intimated his inclination to return to *Cuba*. When *Cortez* had sufficiently examined their dispositions, he returned their arms to the new troops, and by this mark of confidence entirely won their affections, and confirmed their fidelity. The officers were sent prisoners on board the fleet, and thus the defeat of *Narvaez* not only put *Cortez* in possession of a fleet of eleven ships, and seven brigantines, but placed him at the head of an army composed of a thousand *Spanish* infantry, and near an hundred cavalry, exclusive of the garrison left at *Vera Cruz*, for the defence of the settlement, and security of the prisoners.

THIS series of success did not so elevate *Cortez* as to render him unmindful of *Alvarado*, and the forces left behind in *Mexico*. He was sensible of the danger to which such a handful of men were exposed, in the midst of a vast empire filled with discontent and sedition. Their chief security depended on *Moteczuma's* keeping the promise he had made, of not removing his quarters, or attempting any change in his absence; an obligation of no great force, where interest, inclination, and policy, united to oppose it. Besides that, *Moteczuma*, however well affected to the *Spaniards*, and regardless of his promise, might not have it in his power to repress the zeal of his subjects, and prevent their embracing this opportunity of showering down vengeance on the heads of those who held their monarch in a kind of disgraceful voluntary bondage. Full of these thoughts, he determined to direct his march back to *Mexico*; and that no danger might arise

Cortez
prepares
to return
to Mexico.

arise to the fleet at *Vera Cruz*, he ordered the ships to be unrigged, and all their sails and cordage to be lodged in the settlement. It was his intention to divide his force, to avoid giving umbrage to *Moteczuma*, by entering his capital with so large an army; but a letter received from *Alvarado* altered his resolution, and determined him to march with all his troops, with the utmost dispatch, to the relief of that brave officer. The advices brought by this letter were, that the *Mexicans* had taken arms, and in despite of *Moteczuma*, who had sacredly observed his word, made such frequent attacks, and in such multitudes, that all the *Spaniards* must necessarily sink under the weight of such prodigious numbers, unless they were speedily succoured. *Diaz del Castillo* and *Hertera* are of opinion, that *Moteczuma* fomented this disturbance privately; but *De Solis* gives irrefragable proofs of the monarch's integrity and honour; although we are of opinion, his conduct would require no apology, had he endeavoured to rid himself of strangers who were so great a restraint on his liberty, so disagreeable to his subjects, so dangerous to his empire, and such a clog upon his authority. The letter was brought by a *Spanish* soldier, accompanied by an embassy from *Moteczuma*, representing to *Cortez*, that it was entirely out of his power to repress the fury of his people; that he would never abandon *Alvarado*, the *Spaniards*, and his word; but that if relief did not soon arrive, he could not promise for the consequences. After this information there was no room for deliberation; officers and soldiers declared, that their immediate march was indispensable, and their union necessary: and, indeed, *Moteczuma's* embassy furnished *Cortez* with a handsome pretext for leading to the capital what might be deemed a potent and numerous army. To prevent oppressing the *Indians* in their way, and for the greater convenience of provisions, *Cortez* divided his troops into small corps, who had orders to take different routs, and meet at *Tlascala*, the general rendezvous; nevertheless, the soldiers still suffered extreme hardships from hunger and thirst, as well as fatigue. All, however, bore their misfortunes with courage, knowing they would be of short duration; and the soldiers who came with *Narvaez*, emulous of equaling the veterans, endured their sufferings without murmuring, as they regarded *Mexico* as the land of promise, where their toils would be sufficiently rewarded. His entry into *Tlascala* was splendid, *Magiscatzin* entertained him in his own house, and the senate gave orders to the whole army of the republic to be in readiness to attend him to *Mexico*, but *Cortez* would only accept of two thousand men, that his troops

Motezu-
ma re-
ceives him
joyfully.

troops might not appear formidably numerous. As he approached *Mexico*, he passed the lake without opposition, though there were some suspicious appearances, which rendered circumspection necessary. The two *Spanish* brigantines were found flayed and half burnt, the suburbs and forts at the entrance abandoned, the bridges serving for a communication between the streets were broke down, and all was wrapped in profound and dangerous silence. This suspicion continued, until the *Spaniards*, in *Mexico*, discovering the army at a distance, raised a loud shout, and dispelled the gloom of apprehension. *Alvarado*, with his people, came to the gate to receive *Cortez*, the soldiers caressed each other with the sincerest joy, and *Motezuma*, with all his attendants, came to the outermost court, to congratulate the general on his arrival. Some writers report, that *Cortez* received the emperor's demonstrations of joy with coldness and reserve. *Castillo* relates, that he turned his back upon him, without deigning to return an answer; and *Herrera* speaks as if the general, grown insolent with prosperity, had charged *Motezuma* with the fault of his subjects: but neither *Gomara*, nor *Cortez* in his own account, touch upon this circumstance, which is, indeed, extremely improbable. There was not the least room for suspicion that *Motezuma* entertained any ill-will to the *Spaniards*, or design to break his promise; on the contrary, it is certain, that he adhered to his word beyond what sound policy dictated, was extremely diligent in suppressing the tumults, exposed his person in defence of his guests; and had, merely by the awful shadow of his royal authority, prevented the *Spaniards* from being sacrificed to the rage of his subjects.

It may appear extraordinary, that, in this state of affairs, the *Mexicans* should suffer *Cortez* to enter the city without opposition, and bring such powerful reinforcements to *Alvarado*; but *Antonio de Solis* explains this point in the following manner: They relied upon their excessive numbers, were elated with their success in having killed three or four *Spaniards* in the late attacks, and now allowed *Cortez* a free entrance only that they might with the less trouble crush the whole at one blow, after they were united. This was the occasion of their retreat into the other part of the city, and the cause of the entire suspension of hostilities, in which *Cortez* imagined they had treacherous designs. With respect to the motives for the insurrection, authors are greatly divided, some ascribing it to the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and founding this opinion on the authority of one of their own writers of the greatest credit; we mean *Bartolomeo de la Casas*, afterwards bishop of *Chiapa*.

Chiapa. His words are very full and explicit: "The *Mexicans*, says he, having appointed a public dance, which they called *Mitotes*, to entertain the *Spaniards* and *Moteczuma*, the general, *Pedro de Alvarado*, observing the jewels with which the *Indians* were adorned, assembled his soldiers, and fell upon them, cutting them in pieces, to gain possession of those valuable ornaments; in the acquisition of which infamous spoil, above two thousand of the *Mexican* nobility were put to the sword." *De Solis* vindicates his country from this reproach, gives a quite different account of the conspiracy, for such he terms it; but, in our opinion, does not clearly enough refute the allegation of the prelate. He rather endeavours to invalidate his evidence, by observing, that *la Casas* was at that time soliciting the relief of the *Indians*; and in order to obtain his purposes, which, by this confession, were certainly pious and humane, was exaggerating every circumstance of their oppression. According to *De Solis*, it was obvious to *Alvarado*, that the nobility of the court had fallen off from their respect since the departure of the *Spaniards*, which obliged him to behave with great caution and circumspection. He employed spies to watch their motions, and soon received information, that something extraordinary was in agitation. On closer examination it appeared, that a dangerous conspiracy was hatching against the *Spaniards*; nor was it long before some of the conspirators themselves betrayed to him the whole secret. A few days after, several of the principal nobility came for leave to *Alvarado*, to celebrate their annual festival, called *Mitotes*; a compliment with which they intended to deceive him, and prevent his taking umbrage at their assembling in such numbers: and *Alvarado*, as his suspicions were not yet fully confirmed, granted the request, on condition the *Mexicans* would come unarmed, and decline offering human sacrifices. That very night he received intelligence, that arms were secretly distributing in all the houses adjoining to the temple; his doubts vanished, and he determined upon signal revenge. His plan was to attack them in the beginning of the festival, without furnishing them with time to take arms, or assemble the populace; and he found it no difficult matter to carry it into execution. The *Mexicans* were so intoxicated with liquor and joy that their plot remained undiscovered: that *Alvarado* attacked, and easily defeated them, wounding and killing great numbers, who could not escape in the tumult, or leap over the galleries or windows. "His intention, says *de Solis*, was only to terrify and disperse them; which he indeed compassed not without

“out confusion and disorder ; for the *Spaniards* instantly
 “fell to stripping the dead and wounded of their jewels and
 “valuable ornaments.” Thus *de Solis*, in fact, admits the
 whole charge brought against *Alvarado* by the bishop of *Chiapa* : he acknowledges that he began a terrible massacre, during
 a public festival, and that he killed and wounded were stripped
 and plundered by the soldiers ; but this he calls the punish-
 ment of a dangerous conspiracy, though he acknowledges
 that it was rash, inconsiderate, and ill-conducted, as *Alvara-*
do retired to his quarters with the air of a conqueror, without
 giving the populace the slightest information of the causes that
 prompted him to an action, base, insidious, and barbarous to
 all outward appearance. We leave it to the reader to pass
 judgment upon those different relations ; for our own parts,
 we cannot help being strongly prejudiced in favour of *La*
Cajas, who is confessed to be a writer of candour, and who
 could have no reasonable motive for casting an indelible stain
 on the character of his nation. The same allegations, in-
 deed, from a foreigner, might seem suspicious ; but from a
Spanish dignified prelate, of irreproachable manners and vera-
 city, they will outweigh all the assertions of a writer, whose
 business it is to magnify and extol every circumstance of this
 glorious conquest.

Mexicans
 revolt.

CORTÉZ was extremely shocked at this rash procedure,
 and blamed *Alvarado* that he had not only neglected to en-
 form the people of the conspiracy, but to consult upon it with
Moteczuma, as both must now behold the slaughter of the *Mexican*
 nobility as an act of wanton cruelty and avarice ; but it was
 now impossible to redress the evil, except by prosecuting the
 system of *Alvarado*, and destroying greater numbers of those
 innocent people, who were taking arms only in their own
 defence. In fact *Cortez* relied upon his own strength,
 and was probably not sorry that *Alvarado* had furnished him
 with so good a pretext for beginning the conquest, and
 plundering so rich a city. Observing that the same sus-
 picious tranquillity and silence reigned as the day before,
 he dispatched *Diego de Ordaz*, with a party of four hundred
Spaniards and *Tlascalans*, to scour the streets, and endeavour
 to penetrate into this mysterious stillness. *Ordaz* had not
 advanced a great way, when he discovered an armed party, sent
 out probably as a decoy to draw him into danger, which had
 the effect. The party retreated, and *Ordaz* pursued, in hopes
 of taking some prisoner, from whom he might obtain intel-
 ligence ; but he soon found himself inclosed between two
 vast armies, one behind, and the other before, so that it
 was necessary to break through, sword-in-hand, before he
 could

could either advance or retreat. Besides, the tops of the houses and windows were crowded with enemies, who poured down such showers of stones, arrows, and darts, as quite obscured the sky, and covered the *Spaniards*. All his valour and experience were now wanted to extricate himself from this dangerous situation. He drew up in a double front, employed his swords and pikes against the enemies below, and plied those above with his fire arms; but his chief advantage arose from the ardour of the *Indians*, who hastened on so tumultuously, as to confound each other with numbers, and leave nothing else to the *Spaniards* than to slay and kill without resistance. It was this circumstance alone that saved *Ordaz*; for had the enemy fought with tolerable order, he must have sunk under their weight. As matters fell out, the carnage was so dreadful, that, losing courage, they retired to a distance, and used revilings and menaces instead of weapons. The fire-arms cleared the terraces, and *Diego de Ordaz*, who was sent to make discoveries, did not think it advisable to engage farther; he therefore retreated to his quarters, in the same disposition as when he was charged closely by the enemy; and after some difficulty joined *Cortez*, with the loss of eight men killed in the action, himself, with almost all his people, being wounded.

THIS was the first proof which *Cortez* had of the resentment of the *Mexicans*, and it served to confirm his resolution to bring them to obedience by force of arms. All endeavours to accommodate matters would only diminish his reputation, and convince the enemy that he stood in awe of their numbers. He determined to oblige them to make the first proposals, for which reason he prepared a sally from his quarters, in expectation that the vigour and effects of the blow would strike terror. It is astonishing, however, that *Moteczuma* was never consulted upon any of these occasions. Formerly *Cortez* made him acquainted with every motion, and it looks as if he now suspected that he had encouraged the insurrection, because he is treated with no confidence. All that *De Solis* relates is, that *Moteczuma* was too diffident of his own authority, and apprehensive of the disobedience of his vassals, to propose setting on foot a treaty. Probable it is, that the conduct of *Alvarado* greatly injured the *Spaniards* in his good opinion, though regard to his word, and indeed his own safety, obliged him to act in a neutral capacity while he was detained a prisoner in the *Spanish* quarters. The enemy anticipated the design of *Cortez*. After the affair of *Ordaz* they halted at some distance from the palace, and formed the vigorous resolution of attacking the quarters,

They at-
tack the
Spaniards.

quarters on all sides. All the adjacent streets were filled with armed men; and when every thing was formed for the assault, the drums and flutes gave the dreadful signal. The van-guard was composed of companies of archers, who were to clear the walls to facilitate the approach of the center and rear. All advanced with precipitation and fury. The discharges of the archers were incredibly quick and alert, they were pressed on with extreme impetuosity, and the *Spaniards* found the utmost difficulty in maintaining their ground, and repulsing so violent and well-conducted an attack. The ground was so thickly strewed with arrows, that the *Spaniards* were forced to employ people to remove them, as they choaked up the way to the ramparts; and although the artillery and small-arms made terrible destruction, yet such was the obstinate valour of the *Mexicans*, that they advanced undaunted to fill up the chasms left by the slain, trampling, without fear or dread, upon the bodies of the dead and wounded, until they met the same fate, and were succeeded by others. Nothing was left untried to gain possession of the ramparts. Several attempted to scale the fortifications at the very mouths of the cannon; others endeavoured to force open the gates, or break down the walls, with ill-contrived instruments; many mounted upon the shoulders of their companions, that their weapons might do more execution, and great numbers formed their lances and pikes into ladders, by which they attempted to gain the windows and terraces. All, in general, exposed themselves, without reserve, to danger, and performed actions of the most impetuous courage, and savage ferocity. At last, night seasonably interposed, and obliged them to retreat before they were conquered, out of a superstitious custom that prevailed among the *Mexicans*, of never fighting in the absence of the sun's influence; a custom, probably founded upon the generous sentiment, that it was cowardly to attack an enemy in the dark. Even their superstition could not entirely subdue their ardour, for they continued to shoot at a distance with fired arrows, which setting the buildings of the palace in flame, obliged the *Spaniards* to break down some walls, to cut off the communication between the houses, and afterwards toil with indefatigable industry to repair those breaches, which would serve as an inlet to the torrent of enemies they expected to rush upon them as soon as day appeared. In this the *Spaniards* were disappointed. The enemy kept at a distance, endeavouring to provoke *Cortez* to battle, and to quit his walls, by the most injurious expressions. As he had before intended a sally, the general embraced this opportunity

tunity of animating his people, and whetting their courage by a short speech, representing the necessity they were under of giving the enemy some very signal proof of their gallantry. Agreeable to this resolution, the troops were divided into three bodies, each formed into a double front, in the manner so successfully observed by *Cortez* on a late occasion. They engaged at the same time, and the enemy sustained the charge with firmness, venturing to come to push of pikes with the *Spaniards*. The fire-arms levelled at the galleries and windows could not put a stop to the showers of stones incessantly poured down, and it was necessary to set divers houses on fire, to check an evil to which there was no other remedy. After an obstinate engagement, in which multitudes were slain, the *Mexicans* at last gave way before the superior valour of the *Spaniards*, and were pursued from street to street into a great square, where they made a last effort, and were totally defeated. Their flight was confused and disorderly; the wounded were trampled to death by the flying, and the slaughter might have been still more dreadful, had not *Cortez* stopped the pursuit, in hopes of reducing them to terms by this act of moderation. Already the carnage was so great, that the canals were tinged with blood, and the streets filled with vast heaps of dead bodies; but the amount of the loss is not estimated on the side of the *Mexicans*. Of *Cortez's* army, twelve were killed, *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, and a much greater number wounded; a cheap price for victory, had it been decisive, or the conqueror in a better condition to support the loss of his soldiers. The engagement lasted for the whole forenoon; the *Spaniards* were frequently hard pressed; in pursuing they were obliged to fill up ditches, and sustain the charge of the enemy, who returned in swarms upon every new obstruction. The *Tlascalans* behaved with great gallantry, and fought with order and regularity; in a word, every individual fully discharged his duty; and *Cortez*, in particular, displayed all the qualities of a general and a soldier.

A SUSPENSION of hostilities ensued, as if by mutual *Suspension* agreement, both sides taking breath, in order to resume their of *hostili-* attacks with the greater vigour. Mean time *Cortez* did not *ties*. neglect the opportunity of making fresh overtures of peace, by means of some of *Moteczuma's* attendants. He observed that the *Mexicans*, like the hydra's head, multiplied by their losses, and regenerated under the stroke levelled for their destruction; but the proposals met with no success. Some of the persons appointed to conduct the negotiation returned severely handled, and others remained with the enemy, to the great

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great discontent of *Moteczuma*, who sincerely wished the reduction of his tumultuous subjects, lest they should entirely throw off their obedience, and lose all dread of his authority. All hope of accommodation being vanished, *Cortez* made preparations for resisting the prodigious numbers of his enemies, and defending his people from the showers of stones, darts, and arrows, discharged from the windows and galleries of the houses. With this view he ordered four wooden towers to be erected, which moved upon wheels, each capable of containing thirty men, covered with strong plack, and furnished in the front and sides with *flues*, to discharge under cover. Even the novelty of those machines would, he believed, strike terror. When they were in readiness, a second sally was made by *Cortez* in person, at the head of the bulk of his *Spaniards*, and all the *Tlascalans*, taking with him some pieces of cannon, the wooden towers, and a few horse, to be used wherever the ground would suffer them to act. All was in profound silence when the *Spaniards* quitted their quarters; but scarce had they passed through one street, when they were assaulted upon every side, by an innumerable multitude, who began the engagement with loud shouts, and the hoarse noise of drums, shells, and other barbarous warlike instruments. Trenches had been cut in all the streets, and these the *Mexicans* defended with such valour and obstinacy, that they could only be dislodged by the artillery. They fought with more regularity than before, directed their courage to better purpose, and seemed to improve in the art of war by experience. Their conduct favoured nothing of the rashness of a popular tumult; they appeared to be under the command of judicious officers, every discharge was deliberate, and well aimed, and all the posts were defended with intrepidity, and abandoned without confusion. Huge stones, and pieces of rocks, were tumbled down upon the wooden machines from the galleries, which broke them in pieces. When they became sensible of the damage sustained from the artillery and musquetry, they retired gradually, continuing a kind of running fight, until they came to the next entrenchment, where they again made an obstinate stand. For the greater part of the day the battle raged, the *Indians* disputing every inch of ground, with such well-directed valour, as convinced *Cortez* of the impossibility of reducing the *Mexicans* by force. The city received incredible damage, many houses were burnt down, and the enemy lost more blood than in any preceding action; but though repulsed, they were not defeated. On the contrary, they maintained a retreating fight, till night separated

and furnished the *Spaniards* with an opportunity of returning to their quarters, without resigning the victory, after they had lost fifty men, chiefly *Tlascalans*. Fifty *Spaniards* were grievously wounded, and among these the general, who received an arrow in the left hand, in the very heat of the battle (A). When *Cortez* arrived at his quarters, he resigned himself to reflection, and, upon mature deliberation, was sensible how impracticable it was to keep possession of *Mexico*. Every day produced fresh losses; and though he was constantly victorious, yet his advantages served only to accelerate his ruin. A sense of shame, pride, and the fire of his own genius, impelled him to further efforts to subdue the enemy; but when he considered that after the multitudes slain, their numbers appeared undiminished, that their resentment grew with their losses, that they fought with more skill and courage, and that they were daily improving in the art of war, he turned his thoughts towards the means of retreating with the greatest safety. Nor was *Moteczuma* less distracted and embarrassed with contending passions and reflections. He now began to apprehend that his people had entirely thrown off their allegiance on account of his attachment to the *Spaniards*, and yet he observed a reserve on the side of *Cortez*, as if he suspected him of sinister practices, and of tampering with the *Mexicans*. From the highest tower of the palace he beheld

(A) *Antonio de Herrera* is altogether hyperbolic in his relation of this, and all the preceding and future engagements. According to him, not a day passed without a battle, each more bloody and obstinate than the former. Here the *Spaniards* performed prodigies of valour, and the *Mexicans* poured their arrows so thick, that forty cart-loads were gathered and burnt in a day, by *Cortez's* people. They took a *Spanish* horseman alive, and sacrificed him in sight of all his companions. The *Tlascalans* feasted luxuriously on the bodies of the slaughtered *Mexicans*. *Cortez* almost singly drove three hundred noblemen, who had taken possession of a

tower, over the galleries and windows into the street, after they had foiled all the attempts of a body of *Spaniards* to dislodge them. Two of them laid hold of the general, with intention to dash themselves and him in pieces, by a fall from the top of the temple; but he extricated himself by strength and agility; and to conclude the wonder, a saint, mounted on a white horse, fought for the *Spaniards*, and, by the image of the *Virgin Mary*, threw dust in the eyes of the *Mexicans*. But we must observe that most of these circumstances are said to have happened in an action subsequent to the death of *Moteczuma*. Dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. 2.

the last engagement, and could discover the princes of *Texaco* and *Ixtapalapa*, with several others of the first lords of the empire, animating the *Mexicans*, and ordering the battle: Hitherto he regarded the affair as a popular tumult, but now he foresaw the ruin of his own authority, and perhaps a total revolution in the government. In the first transports of his anger, he condemned all the nobility to condign punishment, and breathed nothing but slaughter and bloody revenge, until reflecting on his own inability, he sunk into despondency. After reflecting upon various remedies to be applied to this dangerous malady, what appeared to him the least exceptionable, was to distress the *Spaniards*, return to his palace, and endeavour to regain the affections of his subjects, by acts of clemency and generosity. Full of this notion he sent for *Cortez*, and told him, that now the distressed state of his kingdom required some very effectual remedy; that his imagination could devise none more likely to be attended with happy consequences, than that the *Spaniards* should evacuate *Mexico*, and thereby deprive the seditious of all pretences. The clamours of his vassals sounded well, he said, in the ears of the vulgar, since all they demanded was the liberty of their prince; and things were now come to such a height, that no other prospect of appeasing the public commotions remained, than taking away the cause. He bitterly exclaimed against the insolence of the nobility, and repeated how much he had suffered by preserving his promise to *Cortez*, and continuing his affections to the *Spaniards*; and he concluded with touching upon the groundless jealousies entertained of his conduct by those persons upon whose account he had forfeited the esteem and affection of his subjects. *Cortez*, whose own sentiments coincided with the emperor's, but with different views, readily agreed to the proposition of quitting *Mexico*, and willing to put an act of necessity on the footing of respect and obedience to the royal mandate, replied, that it was both his inclination and duty to pay an entire resignation to the will of his imperial majesty; without entering into the motives of his resolution, or losing time in representing the inconveniences that might ensue; that it would give him great uneasiness to part from his royal person, until he was fully assured of the obedience of his subjects, especially as the declaration of the nobility, in favour of the populace, required the utmost circumspection; but that since his departure was regarded as a necessary step towards a happy reconciliation, he had fixed his resolution immediately to march with his army

Motezuma's proposal to Cortez.

Cortez promises to evacuate Mexico.

army to *Zempoala*, only requesting of his majesty that he would, before his departure, oblige his vassals to lay down their arms. This he required, he said, more out of concern for his majesty's person, than from any concern their obstinacy gave to himself, as he carried upon the point of his sword, and in the valour of his troops, all that was necessary to his own security. This concession highly delighted *Moteczuma*, because it was unexpected. He returned his acknowledgments, and sufficiently testified his satisfaction by his emotion, and the joy which spread itself upon his countenance. He resolved to oblige the general in the article of ordering his people to lay down their arms, at the same time that he entertained doubts whether they would obey his commands, and dreaded the thoughts of so mortifying a stroke to his royal dignity.

In the midst of this conference, advice was brought to *Cortez* that the enemy were preparing to renew the assault, and that the garrison was under arms. He broke off immediately; but before he could join the troops, the *Mexicans* had pushed with such impetuosity, that they gained the foot of the ramparts, in despite of the utmost endeavours of the *Spaniards*, and the briskest fire from the artillery and musquetry. Their bows and slings were plied by the troops in the rear, to beat off the *Spaniards* from the ramparts, and make way for the vanguard to scale the works, and push the assault. In some places they got footing within the walls; but were driven back by *Cortez*, who came up with a reserve body of soldiers. *Moteczuma* thought this a seasonable opportunity of acquitting himself of the promise made to *Cortez*. He called for his royal robes and crown, and with a numerous attendance ascended the terrace fronting the great avenue, after a herald had notified with a loud voice to the *Mexican* army, that the great *Moteczuma* had condescended to shew himself to his people, to inquire into their grievances, and to redress them if they were reasonable. On repeating his name the tumult immediately subsided, every arm fell, and every tongue was silent: all were motionless and still, as if they were afraid to breathe in the presence of their sovereign; and no sooner did *Moteczuma* appear, than many bent the knee, and great numbers prostrated themselves on the ground, from the habit of paying him the adoration due to the Divinity. He cast his eyes over the whole multitude, and then fixing them upon some of the nobility, he called them by their names to draw nearer, and honoured them with the title of friends and kinsmen. His speech began with acknowledgment for the affection they expressed by this endeavour to procure

procure his liberty. He was far, he declared, from considering their zeal as a crime, although it was injudiciously conducted. They were wrong in believing that any violence or constraint was offered to his will; his residence among the *Spaniards* was altogether voluntary; but on any event their proceedings ought to have been directed by his orders. He told them, however, that he would not recriminate, because he was sensible of their good intentions; but as the cause was now removed, and he had given orders for the *Spaniards* to depart from his court immediately, and entirely evacuate his country, he hoped they would set the example of obedience to the strangers, lay down their arms, cease all tumults come to his court, and receive ample testimony of his gratitude, clemency, and pardon. When he finished his harangue, no one had the courage to reply. All were astonished to find the emperor overflowing with kindness, where they expected the chastisement of his indignation; others wept to see the same prince, who used to command like a God, suing with the servility of the most abject of his slaves. But this suspension was in a few minutes succeeded by violent commotions, and the storm seemed to redouble by the short remission. Fear was suddenly converted into fury, and profound respect into the most insolent contempt. Some of them called aloud that he ought to resign the sceptre and diadem for the distaff and spindle; and their injurious language, and opprobrious expressions, were succeeded by loud shouts, and then by a general discharge of arrows. Two *Spanish* soldiers, who stood near the emperor, endeavoured to protect him with their shields, but all their care could not prevent his being hit by a stone in the temple, which fractured his skull, and laid him speechless on the ground; upon which event the whole army fled in the utmost confusion, as if they imagined the vengeance of heaven must pursue them for the terrible sacrilege of laying violent hands on their sovereign. Cortez, greatly chagrined at the unfortunate accident, ordered the emperor to be immediately carried to his apartment, and his wounds to be dressed; but *Moteczuma* no sooner recovered his speech and senses, than he refused all assistance, and grew so impatient with resentment, that it was found necessary to confine his arms, for he tore away with fury every application made to his wounds, and died of grief and indignation, rather than the consequences of his wound, about three days after.

Moteczuma's character. It is affirmed that Cortez used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon *Moteczuma* to embrace christianity, as he lay on his death bed; he joined intreaties to persuasion, but without

but effect; the emperor would hearken only to the dictates of revenge, and he yielded up his last breath with impious imprecations upon his own subjects. Thus ended *Moteczuma*, a prince of great penetration, subtilty, and valour, who wanted nothing but favourable circumstances and opportunity to display all the qualities of a monarch. His genius was martial, his understanding solid, his parts quick, and his intellects clear, refined, and manly, for an untutored barbarian. In person he had won nine glorious battles in the open plain, and by dint of cunning and valour he raised himself to the first dignity in the empire. He was naturally liberal, just, and temperate; but intoxicated with his elevation, and poisoned with the luxury of despotism, he became haughty, cruel, severe, lascivious, and oppressive. Every beauty in his dominions was sacrificed to his lust, his justice degenerated into rigour, his liberality to oppression, and his magnificence into profusion. His gifts of generosity were supported by tyranny, his favourites were regarded as the scourges of the people; in a word, his virtues were chiefly exerted in a private, his vices in a public capacity. Had he never ascended the throne, he might have died beloved, respected, and judged worthy of the royal diadem.

THE Spaniards in general lamented the unfortunate death of this prince, whose liberality and munificence they had so frequently experienced; but *Cortez* was chiefly affected, both on account of his personal regard, and because he foresaw all the consequences, with respect to his present situation. The greater part of his designs were founded on the voluntary subjection of *Moteczuma*; this prospect now vanished, and he found it necessary to form an entire new plan, the issue of which appeared extremely precarious, as it was wholly built on the supposition that he should be able to subdue the *Mexicans*, on the arrival of succours from *Spain*; and yet the success of his application to the court was yet doubtful. Immediately he ordered the royal corpse to be carried into the city by several persons of the greatest distinction, among whom were included the priests who had been taken prisoners, all of them witnesses that *Moteczuma* fell by the hands of his own people. They had orders to acquaint the princes at the head of the faction, in his name, that he had sent the body of their late sovereign, murdered by their rebellious practices, which enormous crime gave fresh right to the justice of his vengeance; that, before his death, *Moteczuma* had requested him, with the most pressing instances, to revenge his death, and to chastise their wicked rebellion; but that as he regarded their insurrection as the effect of

popular fury and ignorance, uncountenanced by the nobility, he once more offered peace, that the innocent might not be involved in the punishment of the guilty: that he was ready to come to any reasonable agreement; but if they rejected his proposal, and hesitated about the repentance of their enormous crime, they must expect to be treated with the utmost rigour of his arms. He would lay waste and destroy their city, and teach them the difference between hostilities merely defensive, and a declaration of war in defence of justice, and for the chastisement of cruelty, and the sacrilegious murder of their lawful monarch.

THE body of *Moteczuma* was no sooner observed by the *Mexicans*, than they approached it with all the appearance of horror, mingled with reverence, as was observed from the walls. They threw down their arms, quitted their posts, and began a lamentable yell, which soon diffused over the whole city, and made it one scene of weeping and lamentation. For the whole night these expressions of grief continued; but they yielded in the morning to the tumultuous joy of seeing the throne occupied by a new emperor, whom they had elected; yet still they paid the due respect to the remains of their late sovereign. *De Solis* takes pains to vindicate the humanity of the *Indians* from the aspersions of some *Spanish* writers, who alledge, that after the first transports of grief and surprize were subsided, they dragged the body round the streets, mangled it in the most barbarous manner, and even extended their fury to his wives and children. On the contrary, one author affirms, that they bewailed the death of their prince as an unfortunate accident, in which their intention had no share; that they conveyed the corpse with great solemnity, and funeral pomp, to the mountain of *Chapultapague*, where it was usual to pay the last duties, and preserve the ashes of their kings; and that they renewed their lamentations with such appearance of sincerity, as left no doubts of their veneration for the memory of their sovereign.

It was a strong presumption of the deep impression which *Moteczuma's* accident made on the minds of his people, that, for the three days of his illness, they had suspended all hostilities, in which inactive state they continued till his last obsequies were performed. *Herrera*, indeed, speaks as if they never ceased their attacks upon the *Spanish* quarters, until *Cortez* began his retreat; but we prefer the authority of *De Solis*, who is much more accurate, distinct, and probable, in his relation. According to this writer, all that space of time was employed in lamentations, the election of a new sovereign

The *Mexicans* elect
a new so-
vereign.

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sovereign (who proved to be *Quilavaca*, prince of *Ixtapalapa*) the funeral of the deceased prince, and in making preparations for renewing their assaults upon the *Spanish* quarters. Early in the morning succeeding the burial of *Moteczuma*, the streets round the *Spanish* quarters were filled with soldiers, and the towers of a great temple adjacent strongly garrisoned, as from this situation they could annoy the *Spaniards* in the palace. The stair leading to this temple consisted of a hundred steps, by the sides of which some large towers were erected. Here five hundred *Mexican* noblemen placed themselves, with a resolution to maintain their ground against all the power of *Cortez*; for which purpose they had laid in provisions for a siege, knowing it was of the utmost importance to the *Spaniards* to dislodge them. In this they discovered their penetration and military knowledge. It was the first attempt of *Cortez*, who committed the attack upon the temple to *Escobar*, at the head of near two hundred *Spaniards*. This officer began the assault with great fury, and maintained it with obstinacy; but he was repeatedly repulsed by the *Mexicans*, who tumbled down large stones, and large beams, from the top of the temple, upon the heads of the *Spaniards*, at the same time that they covered them with showers of darts and arrows. *Escobar* was retreating in confusion, when he was reinforced by some *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, sent from the reserve corps by *Cortez*, who consulting only the impulses of an ardent courage, ordered a shield to be tied to his wounded arm, and advanced, sword-in-hand, among the thickest of the enemy, upon the stairs of the temple, was followed and well supported by his soldiers, animated by his example, and so fortunate that he gained the last stair, the rails of the upper court, and at last the temple, after having cut the bulk of the garrison in pieces. Upon this occasion it was that the attempt was made by two *Mexicans* to throw themselves, with *Cortez*, from the highest part of the temple upon the pavement; an act of gallantry, and patriot spirit, not to be surpassed in history. The most important consequence flowing from the reduction of this body of obstinate troops, was the seasonable acquisition of provision it brought to the *Spaniards*. The garrison had provided for a long siege, and *Cortez* now ordered all necessaries of life to be transported to the palace, as he could not divide his little army by garrisoning the temple. This business he committed to the *Tlascalans*, and with his *Spanish* soldiers hastened to the street of *Tacuba*, where he perceived the rest of the army was hotly engaged. The cavalry broke through the multitude, crippling, wounding, slaying, trampling

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pling down every thing, never losing a stroke, or forgetting their own defence; and *Escobar's* infantry found it no difficult matter to compleat the defeat: but *Cortez*, in the heat of action, engaged himself so far, that it being impossible to retreat, he directed his way to another street, where he hoped he should meet with less resistance, and seasonably fell in with a confused body of *Indians*, who were dragging along his friend the secretary *Diero*. *Cortez* immediately charged this troop with such impetuosity, that he gave his friend an opportunity of disengaging himself, and making use of a poignard, which the *Indians* had overlooked in disarming him, with which he made way with terrible slaughter, to his horse and lance, and then joining *Cortez*, the two friends passed the street on a full gallop, through multitudes of the enemy, until they joined their own forces; an action which *Cortez* always mentioned, as one of the most fortunate and desperate of his life. By this time the enemy were flying before the *Spaniards* in every street, but it was impossible to pursue the victory without deserting their quarters. *Cortez* ordered a retreat to be sounded, and hoped he had by this instance of superior ability and courage, at least intimidated the *Mexicans* from renewing the attack suddenly, especially as the slaughter was prodigious; their houses, temples, and other edifices were burnt to the ground, and the loss on the side of the *Spaniards* wholly consisting of a few bruised and wounded, in a manner no way dangerous. It is affirmed, that so much were the *Mexicans* themselves astonished at the gallant assault in the temple, that all the particulars of the action were recorded in a painting, that afterwards came into the hands of the *Spaniards*.

*They make
offers of
peace.*

NEXT day, after this engagement, the *Mexicans* made overtures of peace in the name of the new emperor, upon condition that the *Spaniards* would immediately repair to their great canoes on the coast of *Zempoala*, and quit the imperial dominions, threatening, in case of refusal, the utmost vengeance of an incensed people; and saying, that as they had now fully discovered that the *Spaniards* were not immortal, they were obstinately determined to effect their destruction, though the death of every *Spaniard* should cost them the lives of thousands, after which there would still remain a sufficient number to celebrate the victory. These proposals gave satisfaction; but *Cortez* resolving to shew that he was not to be intimidated into concession, replied, that he was so well acquainted with the superior valour of his troops, as to make no doubts about his being able to destroy not only the city of *Mexico*, but the whole empire, with his present

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present force; yet moved with the calamities the *Mexicans* had already suffered, through their obstinacy, he was determined to depart, his business there being ended with the death of *Moteczuma*, where friendship and liberality had detained him beyond either expectation or inclination; and that he would execute this design, as soon as the necessary preliminary articles were settled, and the proper disposition made for his march, and accommodation on the road. However, as the *Mexicans* made their proposals with an insidious view, they soon came to nothing. *Cortez* discovered, that their intention was to block him up in his quarters, and starve him into submission; a new method of carrying on war in *Mexico*, but the best contrived to answer the purpose, as the *Spaniards* were, at this time, but ill supplied with provision, and no way prepared to stand a siege or blockade. The out-guards discovered, that the enemy kept at a greater distance than ordinary, were ever diligent and circumspect, and eagerly employed in digging trenches, and erecting works for the defence of the passes over the canals. It was likewise observed, they were cutting down the bridges on the great causeway, and all communication with the road leading to *Tlascala*; a proceeding which soon discovered their designs, the necessity, and, at the same time, the danger of a retreat.

CORTEZ now assembled a council of war, in which it *Cortez* was maturely deliberated, whether an immediate departure from *Mexico* was not expedient in the present situation of affairs, and what were the most probable means of accomplishing this measure with success? The first point debated was, whether they should march out of *Mexico* by night, or at mid-day, and in the face of the enemy. They were divided in opinion, and probable arguments were offered in defence of both sides of the question; but a majority of votes appeared in favour of the first of these measures: it was accordingly resolved the retreat should begin that very same night, before the enemy should have finished all the works intended to obstruct their passage. *Cortez*, whose mind was provident as his heart was intrepid, had ordered a bridge of beams and planks to be made, which was now finished, and might be carried on the shoulders of forty men. This was intended to be laid over the pass of the causeway, and was constructed in a manner capable of supporting the weight of all the horse and artillery. He would have made two more bridges for the other openings; but, as the men insisted upon their immediate departure, influenced by the prediction of one *Botello*, a supposed astrologer

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longer among the troops, there was no leisure to execute the business; it was, therefore, proposed, that the same bridge should be removed from one opening to another, without reflecting on the opposition which might be made by the enemy, and the difficulty which must necessarily attend the attempt. To cover his design, Cortez thought it convenient to keep up the appearance of renewing the negotiation; for which purpose he sent another messenger to the city, to demand an answer to his last proposals, with power of making certain alterations, if required; and the intermediate time he employed in disposing every thing for his journey. Their instructions were given to the officers, and the circum-
 spection used to provide against all contingencies. The van was composed of two hundred Spaniards, supported by a choice body of Tlascallans, and twenty horse, under the conduct of Sandoval, and some of the best officers. The rear-guard, consisting also of a just mixture of horse and foot, was entrusted to Alvarado, and Juan Velazquez. In the centre were placed the three sons of Motezuma, the Mexican nobility taken prisoners, the artillery, baggage, and the rest of the army, except a choice corps reserved under Cortez, in person, to relieve those who were pressed, and act agreeable to circumstances. He then caused all the gold and jewels to be brought into his apartment, and after separating a fifth for the king out of the most portable and convenient, he determined to leave the remainder, amounting to seven hundred thousand pieces of eight, a prey to the enemy, saying, that it would be shameful to employ those hands in the gratification of avarice, which ought to be left free for the defence of life and reputation. Finding the soldiers were discouraged with the thought of abandoning so much treasure, he said, that they were not to look upon it as lost, since his intention was speedily to renew the enterprise, in such a manner, as would infallibly secure success, and redeem their treasures with double interest; giving them, at the same time, to understand, that he would not be offended if they carried off as much gold as they could, without inconvenience; a permission of the most fatal consequence, many loading themselves with booty, in such a manner, that they were unfit for service.

He is at-
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At midnight the Spaniards marched silently out of their quarters, laid the bridge over the first canal, and passed on without molestation; but the intention of removing the bridge to the other canals was frustrated. The weight of the artillery and the horses forced it so deeply in the sand and stones, that it was found impossible to move it. Nor, indeed.

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deed, was there leisure to execute the design. The alarm came, that the enemy were in their rear, and all immediately took to arms, and stood on their defence. The *Mexicans* had, with the utmost address, disposed every thing for the destruction of the *Spaniards*. With dissimbled security they narrowly watched every motion, distributed their troops in the most convenient posts, and now began the attack, contrary to the prevailing superstition of the country, in the middle of the night, when they were least expected. Every side of the causeway was covered with canoes; and *Cortez*, with all his men, must, in despite of their valour, have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of those barbarians, had they continued the engagement with the same regularity and order observed in the first attack; but discipline soon yielding to fury and impetuosity, they pressed in tumultuously. The canoes crowded upon each other, and were dashed in pieces against the causeway; and little else remained for the *Spaniards*, than to kill and slay this naked, disorderly multitude. Even this exhausted their strength and spirits, when a fresh attack, in front, required a farther exertion of their valour. Great numbers of *Indians*, impatient of delay, had flung themselves in the water, and scrambled up the causeway at some distance, where the *Spaniards* were to pass, formed themselves into tolerable order, and obliged *Cortez* to present a double front, and renew the engagement. Actuated by despair, the *Spaniards* now fought with such irresistible impetuosity, that, unable to sustain the shock of the swords and fire-arms, the *Indians* gave way, were pursued with incredible slaughter, and forced to plunge in crowds into the water, by which several thousands perished. *Herrera* says, the carnage was so great, that the canal was choaked up with dead bodies, where they served for a bridge, on which the army passed over; but, besides the improbability of this circumstance, it is observable that the *Spaniards* had already passed over the first chasm in the causeway; it was, therefore, the second pass which they were now disputing; and here *de Solis* observes, they found a beam of sufficient breadth, which the enemy had neglected cutting away, and upon this the soldiers passed over in files, guiding their horses through the water by the bridles.

In this manner the vanguard got over the second breach, while the rear was hard pressed by the enemy; to relieve which, *Cortez* returned with several officers. Immediately he ordered the artillery to be thrown in the water, and employed all his people in repulsing the assault. It was dreadful to hear the piteous lamentations of the *Spaniards*, breathing

breathing their last, mingled with the shouts of the *Indians*, and especially as the excessive darkness of the night prevented all possibility of giving succour. Many were slain, others fell into the hands of the *Mexicans*, and all was confusion, death, and anguish. However, the valour of *Cortez* saved many lives; he pierced, with five horse, into the midst of the enemy, and opened a path for his own men, who were in the greatest distress. *Alvarado*, who was on the opposite side of the breach, in the causeway, owed his life to his own agility, having, with an astonishing leap, assisted by his lance, cleared the pass, which, to this day, is distinguished by the name of *Alvarado's Leap*; others, who endeavoured to follow his example, plunged into the water and perished, while some of less resolution suffered themselves to be made prisoners. Extremely fortunate it was, that the remaining *Spaniards*, fatigued, exhausted, and dispirited with the misfortunes of their companions, met with no opposition at the last breach, over which the soldiers waded on account of the shallowness of the waters. Upon this, *Cortez* halted in the neighbourhood of *Tacuba*, to give time for those who could escape from the battle to join the army, and likewise to refresh his people; nor was the precaution unnecessary, as several *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* were by that means saved. Yet still the loss was very considerable. Upon mustering the troops, it appeared, that above two hundred *Spaniards*, a thousand *Tlascalans*, and forty six horses, had either been killed or taken by the enemy; and it was afterwards known that all the prisoners were sacrificed, besides, all the artillery, baggage, and treasure, was either lost or fallen into the hands of the *Mexicans*. *Cortez* wept with anguish, especially at the unfortunate end of some of his bravest officers, among whom was *Diego Velaquez*, his faithful friend, who had deserted the interest of his relation the governor, to follow the fortune of a man, whose valour he esteemed and imitated. Never did he stand so much in need of his magnanimity and resolution to temper his grief, which he no sooner vented by a flood of tears, than, summoning up all his constancy, he animated his men, and disposed them to prosecute their march to *Tacuba*, where the troops were well entertained, greatly contrary to expectation.

As it may appear extraordinary, that the *Mexicans* should now have dropped the pursuit, and suffered the *Spaniards* to cross the last breach in the causeway unmolested, it may be proper to account for their conduct; although *Herrera* relates, that they kept up a perpetual attack quite to *Tacuba*.

rubá. We find in *De Solis*, that among the slain were the Motezums of *Motezuma*, detained by the *Spaniards*, whose bodies *ma's sons* the *Indians* discovered in the morning, as they were stripping killed. the killed and wounded. They stood amazed, and confounded at the shocking spectacle of three princes of the blood, murdered by the same hands that brought on the death of their sovereign. They beheld them with the same reverence shewn them in the life-time of their royal father. Those who first saw the mangled bodies drew back, that others might approach, and all were silent with surprize. When the sad news spread among the troops, they were seized with terror, not doubting but the vengeance of the gods would succeed this repetition of their sacrilege. A panic diffused through the whole, and action immediately ceased. Their resentment for the *Spaniards* was absorbed in grief for their own guilt, and pity for the unhappy fate of the innocent princes. An account of this melancholy event was sent by the chiefs to the new emperor; and he, forced to affect a share in the general despondency, ordered the army to halt, that the last duties might be paid to the deceased. Instead, therefore, of pursuing the *Spaniards*, a funeral procession was begun, by which means *Cortez* was allowed time to draw off in the manner we have described; and to reach *Tacuba*. In this respect the circumstance proved fortunate to him, though he greatly lamented the loss of the princes out of personal regard, and because he founded part of his future hopes on their claim to the imperial diadem, and the strong faction their influence might form among the *Mexicans*.

WHEN *Cortez* had refreshed his men by a short halt, he proceeded on his march before the *Indians* should renew their attacks. He had not marched far when several small corps of *Indians* were seen at a distance, as harbingers to the main army. Their numbers continually increased in proportion as they gained ground on the *Spaniards*; and in a little time they amounted to a considerable army, that began a sharp engagement, which obliged *Cortez* to order the fire-arms and cross-bows to form a front in the rear, and keep a continual discharge to cover the rest of the forces. The horse too, sallied out, and made great slaughter; but as the enemy were continually multiplying, and there was no place of retreat, the danger appeared as great as ever, and the *Spaniards* grew tired of repulsing without conquering. Their strength was almost exhausted, and their spirits quite sunk, when *Cortez* observed a tower upon an eminence, at some

distance, of which he resolved to gain possession as a convenient place of rest; but there were almost insurmountable difficulties in the execution of this scheme. He was obliged to keep a front to the enemy, and continue fighting while he ascended a steep hill. At length he overcame all obstruction, gained the tower, and here found the advantages which he expected of a defensible retreat: a few provisions left behind by the fugitive priests, proved a high regale to the hungry *Spaniards*, and *Tlascalans*, though a very small portion fell to the share of each. The *Mexicans* did not venture to ascend the eminence; but they surrounded it, as if with intention to blockade the tower, of which *Cortez* was greatly afraid, until he saw them take the road of *Mexico*, at the approach of night. Immediately he placed centinels to guard against surprize, ordered fires to be lighted, sent the soldiers to rest, dressed the wounded, and frequently relieved the watches, that all might enjoy an equal share of refreshment, while himself deliberated with his principal officers concerning their future proceedings. A variety of propositions were made; but, what in the end gained universal approbation, was the general's own opinion, that they should march the same night, the space of two or three leagues, in order to gain ground upon the enemy. This resolution was put in practice after the troops were somewhat refreshed by a short sleep of two hours. The march was continued for the whole night, amidst perpetual alarms from the surrounding peasants, who had assembled in small parties, but gave little interruption; and, by the morning, the *Spaniards* reached a village advantageously situated, where they met with refreshments of provision sufficient to stay the craving of appetite for that day. Here they fixed their quarters for the night, and next day pursued their journey through a barren, rough, and rocky country, keeping at a distance from the great road, and persevering in their march under the united calamities of fatigue, thirst, and hunger, feeding upon herbs, roots, and the flesh of one of the horses that perished. The soldiers animated each other, necessity whetted their valour, and the hope of ending all their miseries at *Tlascala* cheered their spirits under the severest trials. The second day's victorious march ended at a village, where the *Spaniards* were received with a suspicious civility, the inhabitants not only freely giving them all the provision of which they were possessed, but also borrowing large quantities from the adjacent villages, insomuch that the half-famished soldiers began to forget all their past sufferings in the present enjoyment,

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ments, without the least reflection upon the consequences of their security. In fact, this was a stratagem of the *Mexicans* to blind the vigilance of *Cortez*, which, however, they disclosed by their own eagerness and simplicity. Donna *Marina* heard them frequently repeat, "Go on, tyrants, to that place where you will quickly perish;" words which were applied to the *Tlascalans*, imagining that some change might have happened in the affections of the republic, while *Cortez* inferred that an ambushade was laid on the way by which they must pass.

HAVING sufficiently recreated themselves, and recruited *The whole* their exhausted strength by rest and sustenance, the *Spaniards* *Mexican* proceeded on their journey, climbing up the high mountain by which they were to descend to the valley of *Otumba*. *Scarcely* had the van reached the summit, when some soldiers *seated in the valley* were dispatched to the rear, with advice to *Cortez*, that the enemy occupied the whole valley, and blocked up all the passes with an incredible multitude of people. This was the same army that had pursued them to the temple, reinforced by fresh troops, and other commanders, and composed, as appeared, of the strength of the whole *Mexican* empire. It was the last effort to destroy the *Spaniards*, and it was determined to make sure of victory, as far as depended upon numbers. The front took up the whole breadth of the valley, and the depth reached beyond the horizon, although beheld from an eminence. The ensigns of a great variety of nations waved in the air, and in the centre of the multitude was distinguished the captain-general supported upon the shoulders of *Indians* in a rich chair, in which was erected the royal standard of *Mexico*, which could only be entrusted into the hands of the commander in chief. Nothing could exceed in magnificence this standard, composed of a net-work of massy gold, fixed upon a solid staff of the same precious metal, and adorned with beautiful plumes of various colours. It was always surrounded by a choice body of the nobility, as upon the fortune of the standard depended victory or defeat; the loss of it essentially proving decisive, and the *Mexicans* never believing themselves thoroughly defeated, while they retained in their hands this emblem of their honour and valour. Such a spectacle could not fail of appearing formidable to a handful of men already upon the brink of sinking under misfortune; but, instead of intimidating, it served only to inflame the courage of the *Spaniards*, who were fully persuaded that now the enemy made their last push, and that upon the issue of this affair depended their fate. *Cortez* examined the countenance of his

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his soldiers, and finding them eager to engage, cried aloud, "Our case is now come to that pass, that we must conquer or die: the cause of our God fights for us." After which he extended his front, and united the cavalry on the wings to the centre of the army, giving charge to the former to be careful of the rear and flanks. In this order he rushed upon the enemy, after a general and fortunate discharge of the firearms and cross-bows, which made the *Mexican* battalions in front retreat back on the second line. The consequent disorder was happily improved by the cavalry, who penetrated into the midst of the enemy, and bore down all before them, clearing a path for the infantry to follow. The *Tlascalans* imitated the *Spaniards*, fought with desperate fury, and with insatiable thirst after *Mexican* blood. The slaughter was dreadful; but, as fresh crowds supplied the place of the slain and wounded, the *Spaniards* must have sunk under the fatigue of unremitting fighting, had not the valour and presence of mind of the general decided the victory, and put an end to all resistance. At the head of the cavalry, he pushed his way on a gallop, towards the royal standard, upon which he knew the issue of the battle depended, trampling under foot whole battalions; and arriving, at length, at the corps of nobility, round the person of the captain-general, who made a furious resistance, Cortez left his companions to keep them in employment, while he made a desperate effort, and broke quite through to the standard, closed with the *Mexican* general, and at one stroke of his lance, tumbled him mortally wounded out of his saddle. *Juan de Salazar*, a private soldier, but a gentleman by birth, had bravely followed Cortez to the side of the litter, knocked down the royal standard, which he gave into the general's hands, and put the finishing stroke to the life of the *Mexican* commander. The consequences were just what they expected. The enemy seeing the imperial standard taken, and, not doubting but their general was either slain or made prisoner, lost all courage, threw away their arms, fled for protection to the neighbouring mountains, and were pursued with all the rigour of war by the conquerors, who made terrible destruction. It is affirmed by almost all the *Spanish* writers, that not less than a twenty thousand *Mexicans* perished in the field of battle; a circumstance not more extraordinary than that an army of two hundred thousand men, inflamed by resentment and revenge, and fighting for their liberty, property, and religion, should be defeated by a body of *Spaniards*, not exceeding six hundred and fifty, assisted by about a thousand *Tlascalans*. Both would, indeed, exceed

exceed belief, were not writers unanimous in their relations, with respect to these particulars (B). Most certainly the victory obtained in the valley of *Otumba*, was the most celebrated recorded in the conquest of *Mexico*, and equal to any we meet with in the annals of mankind. The booty was very great, as the *Mexicans* had come dressed in their richest ornaments and apparel; as to a certain victory, *Cortez* gave it all to the soldiers, in reward of their valour, as a recompence for their sufferings, and compensation for the gold they lost in the retreat, and left at *Mexico*.

HAVING now gained complete possession of the field of battle, and driven the enemy to the mountains, *Cortez* assembled his men, who were busy in pillaging; and pursued his march, lest the enemy might have time to recover their confusion, and give him farther annoyance. He knew they would not venture again upon a pitched battle, but even their skirmishing might prove very troublesome to them, who were almost spent with fatigue. He made all possible dispatch; yet it was impossible, that day, to gain the *Mexican* frontier, before he passed which he could not expect perfect security. It was necessary to make allowance for the wounded, and to give them time for rest, after being exhausted with loss of blood, and continual motion and agitation for the space of six hours. The general, therefore, possessed himself of nine houses, at some distance from the field of battle, where he passed the night, not without apprehensions, and next day found the roads quite abandoned by the enemy. This day he reached the frontier of *Tlascala*, and finished a retreat no less memorable than that of *Xenophon*, with his ten thousand *Greeks*, had it been recorded by an eye-witness, equal in abilities to that elegant historian, and renowned general. The whole army expressed their joy and triumph by loud acclamations, and the *Tlascalans* threw themselves upon their faces, kissing the ground, to express the pleasure they felt in returning victorious to their native country. Here they found the first opportunity of quenching their thirst, after the toils of the battle and succeeding march; whence

(B) To render these facts more credible, the Spanish writers *Herrera* and *de Solis* have recourse to miracles, which easily remove the difficulty that *Cortez* should defeat such a numerous army, and make such dreadful carnage. They insi-

nuate, as if *St. James* the apostle had, likewise, on this occasion fought on horseback for the *Spaniards*; but *de Solis* seems ashamed to lay much stress upon a vulgar notion, raised by superstition; and received by credulity.

they proceeded to *Gualipa*, a considerable town belonging to the republic. They were met on the road by the inhabitants, who received them with open arms, accommodated them in their houses, and furnished them with abundance of the best provision which the country afforded. *Cortez* accepted the invitation; but as he could not be certain that the republic still entertained the same friendly sentiments, he quartered the soldiers with great caution, and kept strict watch, as if it the country of an enemy.

Cortez is FROM *Gualipa* the general dispatched an account to the *honourably* senate of *Tlascala* of his retreat and success; but fame had *received by* already carried the news of his victory, without diminution *the Tlascala* of his glory. The messengers were met in the road by *Magiscatzin*, the blind *Xicotencal*, his son, and other nobility, dispatched by the senate, to compliment *Cortez* on his return to their dominions, and extraordinary conquests. All embraced him with the most cordial *friendship*, except the young *Xicotencal*, who appeared cold and reserved in his salutation; a circumstance, which at that time made no impression, though it came afterwards to be recollected. They acquainted *Cortez*, that the republic had assembled an army of thirty thousand men for his defence; and they offered, should this prove insufficient, to collect the whole strength of *Tlascala*, and her allies, to punish the traiterous *Mexicans*. It was extremely pleasing to *Cortez* to find that the republic had retained the same friendly disposition, and he expressed his acknowledgments in the warmest terms that *reason* could dictate. He perceived, that although the *Tlascalans* were now sensible the *Spaniards* were not immortal; yet their victory at *Oiumba* had raised them in their esteem, as the most gallant and valiant people in the universe. They invited him to take up his quarters in their city; but they willingly admitted his apology for not immediately accepting the offer, as they had determined to make vast preparations for his reception, and to celebrate his entry with the same solemnities used in the triumphal processions of their own general. When the day arrived, which was appointed by the senate, the caziques and principal members of the republic, in their senatorial robes, accompanied by a numerous attendance, went out to meet the *Spanish* army. The road was covered with a multitude of people, who expressed their congratulations by loud shouts and acclamations, mingled with reproaches of the *Mexicans*, and the highest encomiums on the valour of the strangers. *Herrera* affirms, that the number of spectators amounted to two hundred thousand people; certainly is, that the

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the concourse was very great, the whole city of *Tlascala*, as well as the adjacent towns and country, having poured forth their inhabitants to behold the conquerors of the whole power of *Mexico*. *Magiscatzin* insisted upon having *Cortez* for his guest; while the old blind *Xicotencal* paid the same compliment to *Alvarado*, whose valour, strength, and activity had been reported to him by the auxiliary *Tlascalans*. The whole evening was spent in festivity and mirth, concluding in a dance, the diversion of the multitude, whose disorderly tumultuous joy finished the demonstrations of their applause. It greatly increased the esteem conceived for the *Spaniards*, that *Cortez* and his soldiers generously divided the spoils taken at the battle of *Otumba* among the *Tlascalans*; which proved the more acceptable, that they were the trophies taken from their inveterate enemies. In the midst of this intercourse of civilities, both the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* were plunged into despondency. *Cortez* was seized with an ardent fever, in consequence of a contusion on the forehead, received in the late engagement, the perpetual fatigue he had undergone, and the unremitting vigilance, with which he watched over the security of his people. The *Spaniards* dreaded the issue of his malady, as upon him they rested their future fortune; and the *Indians* bewailed him as a hero worthy of immortality, and inferior to the gods only in that circumstance. The senate assembled all the physicians most celebrated for their knowledge in medicinal plants in *Tlascala*, and promised them the highest rewards if they succeeded in restoring the general's health: which they undertook with a confidence that appeared well founded; for by means of their cooling applications, and the strength of his natural constitution, a favourable crisis was produced, and *Cortez* was again able to appear in public, to the inexpressible joy of his own people and the republic.

NOR was this the only accident which happened to disturb the peaceable repose of the *Spaniards* in *Tlascala*. Advice about this time arrived from *Vera Cruz*, that a corporal and eight *Spanish* soldiers sent some time since to *Tlascala* from the settlement, were not yet returned; and that it was reported among the *Indians*, they were massacred in the province of *Tepeacac*. It was likewise supposed, that the same misfortune had befallen two wounded soldiers of *Narvaez's* army, who on their recovery set out in small parties to join *Cortez* in *Mexico*, which they considered as the centre of all their wishes. The general had relied upon this reinforcement, and such a piece of intelligence was of the utmost consequence, when the life of every *Spaniard* was invaluable. It

was afterwards proved, that the eight foldiers had left *Tlascala* with the treasure, and were actually murdered in *Tepeaca*, which province had thrown off the allegiance promised to *Cortez*, about the time of their departure, either for the sake of the gold, or at the instigation of the *Mexicans*. There appeared a necessity for punishing this act of infidelity, and reducing the province, because it obstructed all intercourse between *Vera Cruz* and *Mexico*; and it fortunately happened, that the republic had equal cause of complaint against the *Tepeacans* as *Cortez* himself, for they had lately made an irruption into the frontiers of *Tlascala*. The senate, therefore, came to a resolution to chastise them, in which they desired the assistance of the *Spaniards* at the instant when *Cortez* was deliberating how he should engage the republic in his revenge. Accordingly preparations were making on both sides for an expedition against this province, when ambassadors from the

The Mexicans endeavour to gain the Tlascalans from the interest of Cortez.

new emperor of *Mexico* to the republic arrived on the frontiers, where they waited for permission to advance. This was matter of astonishment at *Tlascala*, which had never before been honoured with so formal an embassy. The senate was not ignorant that the purport of it was to engage the republic against the *Spaniards*; it was therefore debated whether the *Mexicans* should be received, and carried in the affirmative, with the approbation, as is reported, of the *Spanish* general. They entered the city with great solemnity, and were introduced into the senate with the usual formalities, where, in the name of the emperor, they made an offer of perpetual peace and friendship between the two nations, a perfect freedom of commerce and community of interests, on condition the republic would join the *Mexicans* against the *Spaniards*; a proposition no sooner made, than a confused murmur of disapprobation was heard over the whole assembly. Many of the members were on the point of breaking out into indecent expressions of resentment against the ambassadors, when one of the old senators stood up, and told them, that their request was contrary to justice, reason, and the constant practice of the republic. No interest could seduce the *Tlascalans* to violate the laws of hospitality, or perfidiously betray the voluntary friendship conceived for the *Spaniards*, confirmed by an exchange of obligations, and sealed by the most sacred engagements. This answer was sufficient to convince the *Mexicans*, that the success of their embassy would not answer, and, as they feared of the popular commotion, they withdrew privately, and posed with an expedition to the frontiers.

THIS disappointment of the *Mexicans* was subject of Xicotencatl's triumph to the *Spaniards*, as it shewed the good disposition of the republic. Nevertheless it was soon discovered, that *scarcely* all the members of the senate were not equally sincere in their professions of friendship. The young *Xicotencatl* could never forget that he had been seduced by *Cortez* in the military art, upon his skill in which he founded his highest reputation. He considered the superiority of the *Spanish* general as a real injury to himself, and watched an opportunity to gratify his revenge, which he thought offered at this juncture. In the senate he concealed his sentiments; but he represented privately to the people, that the peace offered by the *Mexicans* was mutually advantageous, as the emperor required no other condition than what the senate, for their own interest, ought to grant. "Should we forgive the *Spaniards*, said he, their evil inclinations against our religion, yet we have reason to resent their attempts to subvert our constitution and government, by converting into a despotic monarchy this venerable republic, and reducing us under the odious dominion of an emperor; a yoke which we have broke at the expence of our blood, and which it grieves us to see even on the necks of our bitterest enemies." These sentiments he enforced with abundance of eloquence, insomuch that he gained so strong a party, as encouraged him to become more public in his declarations. The senate no sooner had intelligence of his designs, than they ordered him to be taken into custody, and immediately deliberated on his punishment. Many gave it as their opinion he deserved death, of which number was the blind *Xicotencatl*, his venerable parent, who treated his crime as perfidious to his friends, ungenerous to strangers, and highly dangerous to his country. All agreed that he was seditious, envious, and guilty of practices which disgraced the resolutions of the senate, and stained with dishonour the national character; however, out of respect for the father, they mitigated the punishment, by decreeing that the criminal should be brought prisoner to the senate, reprimanded for his treachery and insolence, and deprived of his truncheon, and other employments, by the ceremony of throwing him down the stair of the tribunal. Immediately he fell into disgrace with all degrees of people, especially those who either entertained an unfeigned friendship for the *Spaniards*, or were attached only to the good fortune of *Xicotencatl*. He found himself desolate and abandoned in the midst of society, and without hopes of recovering the esteem of his country, except through the intercession of the person against whom all his practices were levelled.

led. To *Cortez*, however, he ventured to apply, and, by means of his influence, was again restored to his employments; which he soon after forfeited, with his life, for a repetition of his perfidy.

WE must not omit another circumstance that occurred as a farther trial of the perseverance and courage of *Cortez*, just as he had surmounted the dangers planned by *Xicotencal*. The republic was making preparations to punish the hostilities committed by the *Tepeacans*, and assist *Cortez* in his meditated revenge; but the *Spanish* soldiers, especially the troops of *Narvaez*, very strenuously opposed a fresh expedition. Neither the arguments used to move their compassion, nor rouse their indignation against the barbarous *Tepeacans*, produced any effect: the remembrance of past fatigues rendered them averse to new exploits. They sighed after repose, and their possessions in *Cuba*, and strenuously insisted they should immediately be sent to *Vera Cruz*, in order to equip the fleet for their voyage. *Cortez* assembled them, and perceiving they were to be influenced only by considerations of interest or of fame, he told them, that the enemy had secured the passes in such a manner, as rendered the march to *Vera Cruz* impossible, except by wading through blood, and encountering the greatest difficulties and dangers; that they must rely entirely upon their own strength, as it was improbable the *Tlascalans* would lend any assistance to a retreat undertaken against their inclinations, and indeed equally contrary to the honour and interest of the *Spaniards* and the republic. In this situation, therefore, he advised, that they would preserve the friendship of the *Tlascalans*, by entering cheerfully upon the expedition, as the only secure means by which their design of re-entering *Vera Cruz* could be accomplished; and promised, in the strongest terms, that as soon as they had reduced the *Tepeacans*, all who were not willing to follow his fortune should have liberty to depart: but it was his duty, as their general, to keep them from running into such imminent danger, as was unavoidable, if they begun their march in the present circumstances of affairs. By this means he engaged them in his designs, after remonstrating to them, that it was not possible to pursue their own intentions with any degree of security; and indeed *Cortez*, upon this, and divers other occasions, afforded strong instances of his perfect skill in the operations of the human mind, and the motives which generally impelled to action.

WHEN the *Spanish* soldiers gave their assent to his proposal, *Cortez* drew out eight thousand select *Tlascalans*, commanded

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manded by officers whose valour and fidelity he had experienced in divers engagements in *Mexico*; leaving the care of assembling the main body of the republican army to *Xicotenzal*, whose friendship he imagined he had secured by his late conduct. With this force, and four hundred and twenty *Spaniards*, he began his march, and halted that day at a village within the enemies frontiers, at the distance of five leagues from *Tepeaca*, the capital of their province. Here he took some of the peasant prisoners, and by kindness and presents prevailed upon them to carry a message to the *caziques*, and the principal men at *Tepeaca*, acquainting them, that he was now at the head of an army to revenge the death of the *Spaniards*, whom they had so barbarously and treacherously murdered; but that if they would take up arms against the *Mexicans*, and join in alliance with the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalmecs*, he would pardon their heinous transgression, and receive them into his friendship; otherwise they must expect the utmost rigours of war. The answer returned by the *Tepeacans* was an insolent defiance, and a menace, that they would carry all the *Spaniards* in chains to be sacrificed at the altars of their gods. He repeated his propositions, and Cortez received answers still more bold; upon which he led his army ^{reduces the} into the capital, fully resolved to destroy it with fire and sword. The *Tepeacans*, reinforced by a body of *Mexicans*, lay in ambush in the way; but their impatience discovering them, they were attacked with such fury as soon put them to flight, in the greatest disorder, and with great slaughter: but recovering themselves, and rallying in a manner very unusual among barbarians, they made a stand, renewed the battle with great obstinacy, and were a second time completely defeated, that both *Mexicans* and *Tepeacans* abandoned the country, and left the whole province at the mercy of the conquerors. The inhabitants of *Tepeaca* were so terrified with the misfortune and retreat of the army, that they sent deputies with their submission to Cortez, requesting, that he would not reek his vengeance upon an innocent people, misguided and forced, contrary to their own inclinations, into hostilities against the *Spaniards* by their leaders, who were entirely in the interest, and at the disposal of the emperor of *Mexico*. Upon this Cortez marched to the capital, received the homage of the people in the name of his catholic majesty, whom he ordered to be proclaimed, pardoned their transgression, took the people under his protection, and, by his well-timed lenity, gained their affection and esteem. As his principal design, in this expedition, was to preserve a free communication between *Vera Cruz* and

Segura de la Frontera and *México*, he ordered a trench to be drawn round the city, fortified with palisadoes; and not only raised works for the defence of the several passes, but erected a kind of citadel, which would be sufficient security against any sudden assault from the *Mexicans*. Here *Cortez* left a garrison of *Spaniards*, calling the place *Segura de la Frontera*, which was the second establishment in the *Mexican* empire. It reflects but little honour upon his humanity, that, after pardoning the townsmen, he ordered all the prisoners to be sent to *Tlascala*, and sold for slaves; a practice that continued until the catholic king interposed his authority some years afterwards, and put an entire stop to a custom favouring strongly of barbarity.

A few days after the victory came up *Xicotencal* with the main body of the *Tlascalan* army. The appearance of such a croud of enemies, amounting to fifty thousand men, greatly alarmed the *Tepeacans*, which determined *Cortez* to employ the troops in useful expeditions. Accordingly he divided the *Tlascalans* in several bodies, which he detached against certain strong towns in the province, that were held by the *Mexicans*. Each corps was attended with about thirty *Spaniards*; who had directions to use force, if persuasion would not answer the purpose, of bringing the enemy to submission. The orders were punctually executed; and though the enemy made a shew of resistance, all the towns were subdued, with very inconsiderable loss, several thousand prisoners were brought back, and the captains enriched by the sale of the captives, and other booty.

Guatimozin It was about this time that the new emperor *Quatlavaca* **in elected** ~~reigned~~ ~~his last breath~~; upon which the people conferred the imperial diadem on the young prince *Guatimozin*, nephew and son-in-law to *Moteczuma*, as knowing him to be of an active warlike genius, and in all respects capable of supporting the regal dignity with honour. This change was, by no means, favourable to the *Spaniards*; as the young emperor had a capacity far beyond any of his predecessors, and great virtues, untinctured with any of the vices frequent in despotic monarchs, if not inseparable from their absolute power. *Guatimozin*, aware of the danger arising from too unlimited an authority, and determined to guard against pride, and whatever could alienate the minds of his subjects, began with resigning into their hands a variety of privileges, of which they had been deprived in the two preceding reigns. He employed his whole time in the service of the public, encouraged the soldiers with rewards and honours, exempted the excess of veneration paid to the throne, exempted the

the nobility from all servile attendance, admitted them into his intimacy, and eased the people from excessive taxes and tributes. To the caziques on the frontiers he made large presents, to indemnify their extraordinary losses and expences in the war; and then detached an army of thirty thousand men to support them against the Spaniards. Cortez had notice of these changes in Mexico; but instead of discouraging him from his enterprize of again attempting the conquest of this vast empire, it only animated him to a double exertion of his abilities. A messenger had been sent to him by the cazique of Guacachula, a populous city, considered by the emperor as one of the bulwarks of his dominions, that an army of Mexicans was arrived there, committing such violences, as obliged the people to have recourse to the protection of the Spaniards. The cazique mentioned, as a kind of claim to the assistance of Cortez, that he was one of the nobility who promised obedience to the king of Spain in the assembly held by Moteczuma; and that he had ever since favoured the cause of the Spaniards, for which he was now punished with the utmost rigour. The messenger said, that in the city were twenty thousand Mexican troops, and about ten thousand more quartered in the surrounding district; but he gave such demonstrations of the facility with which they might be attacked and defeated, and such proofs of the cazique's sincerity, that Cortez determined upon the enterprize. That very day he drew together three hundred Spanish foot, Expedition thirteen horse, and about thirty thousand Tlascalans, whom to Guaca- he dispatched under Christopher d'Olid to Guacachula. D'Olid marched with great expedition to within six leagues of the city, where the mutinous spirit of some of the Spanish soldiers obliged him to halt. It had been reported, that the emperor of Mexico was in full march, at the head of his whole army, to Guacachula; and this produced such an effect upon the minds of the soldiers, who were tired with fruitless victories, that they refused to proceed. This, with some other concurring circumstances, obliged Cortez to join the army, and take upon himself the command. Every thing put on a new face at his appearance, all discontents and jealousies were banished, and the soldiers, to a man, declared they would die by the side of their general; but that they could not pay the same regard to Christopher d'Olid, who abused his authority, and treated them with rigour. Immediately he began his march, and gave notice to the cazique of Guacachula of his approach with a numerous army. The Mexicans were posted on the further side of the city; but on the first advice

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of the *Spaniards*, they drew out in order of battle, and advanced beyond the city, to dispute a pass. The battle began and raged with great obstinacy, and doubtful success, when the cazique of *Guacachula* seized this opportunity of proving the sincerity of his professions, fell upon the rear of the *Mexican* army, and at the same time shot his darts and arrows from the walls with such alacrity, as soon determined the victory in favour of *Cortez*. In less than half an hour the *Mexican* army was entirely defeated, upwards of half the number being slain on the field of battle, or taken prisoners; while the loss on the side of the confederates was trifling.

THIS, and his preceding victories, gave such reputation to *Cortez*, that a multitude of *Indians* submitted, and several caziques joined him with forces; insomuch, that his whole army now exceeded a hundred thousand men, besides the *Tamemes*, or persons appointed to carry the provisions and baggage. With this force he laid siege to the strong city of *Guacachula*, the cazique, and chief inhabitants of which, served in his army, while the place was held by ten thousand desperate *Mexicans*, who drove forth all the suspected citizens, with intention to defend the place to the last drop of their blood. The situation was strong by nature, and fortified with all that the limited knowledge of the *Indians*, in the art of war, could bestow. Before it flowed a deep river which *Cortez* had to pass, and here the *Mexicans* made a stand; but those obstructions appeared nothing to troops who were accustomed to conquer difficulties. *Christopher d'Olid*, with a *van*, threw himself into the river, gained the opposite shore under showers of darts and arrows, and soon drove the enemy from their posts to the city, after he had received a wound in the thigh, and had his horse killed under him. It was expected the enemy would have vigorously defended the city, and the height of the walls made *d'Olid* apprehensive that the assault would be bloody; but such was the panic infused in the *Mexican* garrison, upon the flight of the party appointed to dispute the passage of the river, that they immediately gave all up for lost, and left *Guacachula* as the reward of the conquerors, without striking a blow. By this time *Cortez* came up with the main body, and suspecting a stratagem, detached a body of *Tlascalans* to examine the town, and pursue the enemy; when finding that the place was entirely forsaken, he took possession, and published a general pardon to all who had taken arms for the *Mexicans*, if they would return to their habitations. The same conduct he observed in a variety of other expeditions, by which means

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means he reduced a great number of towns and provinces under the obedience of his catholic majesty (A).

It was about this time that the small-pox committed ^{The small} dreadful ravages among the Indians, and raged with extraor-^{pox ap-} dinary fury in *Tlascala*, where it carried off the good *Magis-* pears in *catzin*, the firm and faithful ally of the Spaniards. The *In-* Mexico.

dians regarding it as a scrophulous disorder, thought to cure it by bathing; they opened the pustules, plunged into the water, and generally perished a few hours after, until the Spaniards taught them the European practice, from which time the disease became less fatal. All their care could not, however, save the valuable life of *Magiscatzin*, who is reported to have died a sincere convert to christianity, the first proselyte of distinction made since the arrival of *Cortez* in *Mexico*. The death of a nobleman, who had contributed so powerfully to establish him in the friendship of the republic, was a severe blow to *Cortez*; but it was in some measure compensated by a fortunate accident which occurred extremely seasonably to moderate his affliction. At this juncture *Pedro* ^{Cortez is}

de Barba arrived at *St. Juan de Ulva*, with a small ship, ^{reinforced} thirteen soldiers, two horses, with provision and ammuni-^{by various} tion to reinforce the army under *Narvaez*; who was sup-^{accidents,} posed, by this time, to be in possession of the bulk of the

conquests made by *Cortez*. This was the same person who had been of service to *Cortez* at the *Havanah*, in enabling him to escape the snares laid by *Velaquez*. The ship was no sooner discovered by *Cavallero*, who commanded on the coast, than he sent out a boat to welcome the strangers, and found their intentions, drawing them on shore by an artifice, excusable enough in the circumstances of *Cortez's* affairs. Perceiving that *Barba's* design was to reinforce *Narvaez*, he told him, that this general was not only in health, but in high prosperity, *Cortez* having taken refuge in the mountains. By this means he got *Barba* and all his men in his power, and sent them to *Segura de la Frontera*; where they were so kindly treated by *Cortez*, that, after being undeceived, the commander and soldiers entered cheerfully into his service. A few days after *Cavallero* made another acquisition of eight Spanish soldiers, sent to reinforce *Narvaez*, by a singular

(A) *Anteato de Solis* demonstrates from the journal of *Cortez*, and from other authorities and circumstances, that *Cortez* led this expedition in person; although *Diaz del Castillo*, who

served in his army, affirms the contrary; but it is to be observed, that *Castillo* was at this time at *Segura de la Frontera*. Lib. v. cap. iv.

stratagem,

Spaniards, all of whom followed the example of the former party. These succours, of men and ammunition, were of the utmost importance at this juncture; but still there were great difficulties attending the prosecution of the design formed of invading *Mexico* a second time. The almost total want of powder rendered the fire-arms useless, and there appeared no remedy, until it was recollected, that *Diego d'Ordaz* had discovered abundance of fine sulphur in the volcano, which he had the curiosity to examine in the burning mountain of *Popocatepec*. What was then deemed a rash and foolish inquisitiveness, turned out now highly to the advantage of the expedition. A party was dispatched for a sufficient quantity of sulphur; of which, and other ingredients, a powder was composed, which well enough answered the purpose, without the assistance, as we are told, of nitre or saltpetre. To this fortunate discovery was added another circumstance of peculiar advantage, especially to the soldiers of *Narvaez*, insisted upon the general's promise of leave to return to *Cuba*, as soon as the expedition against *Tepeaca* should be finished; a promise which he now executed punctiliously, providing shipping for the malcontents, among whom was the secretary *Andres de Duero*, who had always professed the strongest friendship for *Cortez*. As his little army of Spaniards was now diminished by the loss of more than sixty able-bodied soldiers, it was a peculiar providence that captain *Camargo* should arrive so opportunely upon the coast to repair the loss deemed irreparable. The reader may remember, that *Francisco de Guray*, governor of *Jamaica*, had, soon after the arrival of *Cortez* on the coast of *Zempoala*, fitted out a small armament, to establish a colony in the province of *Panuca*; a design that was frustrated by the diligence of the Spanish general. The same enterprise was resumed with a stronger force; but it proved equally unfortunate. *Camargo* had scarce debarked his forces in the river *Panuca*, when he was vigorously attacked by the natives, defeated, and forced to embark with all expedition, being pushed down the river by a multitude of canoes, filled with armed Indians. At sea the ships were separated, and after encountering many difficulties, they all arrived, much about the same time, without knowing each others intentions, at *Vera Cruz*; they resolved to insist with *Cortez*, as the surest prospect of making their fortunes. The vessel commanded by *Camargo* in person, had on board sixty soldiers; another, under the conduct of *Miguel Diaz de Auz*, carried fifty men and seven horses; and the third had forty soldiers and ten horses on board, with large store of arms and provisions. All immediately

diately repaired to *Tlascala*, and thus brought *Cortez* a reasonable and unexpected reinforcement; just as he was greatly embarrassed with the loss sustained by the departure of *Duero* and the soldiers of *Narvaez*. Such were the extraordinary and peculiar events that supported *Cortez* in the prosecution of his arduous undertaking.

S E C T. VII.

In which Cortez invades Mexico a second Time, is defeated by the Mexicans, lays Siege to Mexico, and reduces that Capital, and the rest of the Empire.

THE reinforcements mentioned in the preceding Section *Cortez* now enabled *Cortez* to resume his enterprize of conquering *Mexico* with some prospect of success. Besides a considerable body of *Spaniards*, he was at the head of a numerous army of *Tlascalans*, and other nations, all declared enemies to the monarchical government of the *Mexicans*, and strenuous in procuring or defending their liberty. The passage of the lake, indeed, presented a formidable obstruction; which, however, yielded to the good fortune inseparable from *Cortez*. There was no depending upon portable bridges after the late fatal experiment; the general, therefore, proposed building a number of small vessels, which should not only be able to resist all the efforts of the *Mexican* canoes, but also to transport his troops over the lake, without trusting to the causeway. These he proposed building at *Tlascala*, and transporting in pieces, on the shoulders of *Indians*, for fourteen leagues over the mountains of *Tlascala*, to a river that discharged itself into the lake of *Mexico*. The task was arduous; he communicated the design to his ship-builder *Martin Lopez*; and that ingenious mechanic agreed to the possibility of the enterprize, and undertook to carry it into execution. Immediately a body of *Indians* was set to work to cut down wood, while another party was dispatched to *Vera Cruz*, for the work, rigging, and materials belonging to *Narvaez's* squadron.

IN the mean time he thought it necessary to transmit to court an account of his actions, and to enforce the solicitations made the preceding year by the captains *Portocarrero* and *Montejo*, of whose success he had yet received no information. Here he gave, in a letter to the emperor *Charles V.* He transmits an account of all his transactions to the king's court.

king of *Spain*, a faithful recital of all his adventures, prosperous and adverse, from the time he first quitted *Zempala*, until he was forced to evacuate the capital of the empire. He informed his imperial majesty of his present condition and designs, and craved succours for the expedition, as well as speedy justice against the unfair proceedings of *Velaquez*, governor of *Cuba*. He told his majesty, that several *Indians* of consideration had submitted to be baptized, represented the necessity of sending some ecclesiastic to assist father *Almedo* in the pious task of converting the *Indians*, as the surest method of attaching them to the interest of *Spain*, and enforcing their obedience. *Alonso Mendoza*, and according to *de Solis*, *Diego de Ordaz*, were dispatched with this letter, with strict injunctions, that before they revealed their commission, or made any declarations that they came from him, to find out his father, and the agents sent the year before; and jointly to push their applications, as circumstances should require. With this letter was also remitted a present of gold and jewels, to which the soldiers voluntarily contributed their share of the treasure left at *Tlascala*, when they first marched to *Mexico*, and of the booty acquired at *Tepeaca* and *Gua-cachula*. A ship was equipped with all dispatch at *Vera Cruz*, to carry the commissioners to *Europe*; and *Cortez*, that he might omit nothing which could promote his business, applied to the royal audience of *St. Domingo* for succours, being that this tribunal had always favoured his expedition, and used his utmost endeavours to defeat the practices of *Velaquez*. Here, however, he was disappointed; the audience expressed all possible respect for his person, promised to support his applications to the emperor, but excused themselves with respect to the succours required, under pretence of inability.

Fruit of
his negoti-
ation in
Spain.

To prevent interrupting the chain of our narrative, it may be proper to take a view of the issue of the solicitations made to the court of *Spain*, although the relation be somewhat premature. *Portocarrero* and *Montejo*, seconded by *Martin Cortez*, father to the general, had paid long and fruitless attendance upon the *Spanish* ministry. The intricate and unsettled state of the kingdom at that period employed the whole attention of the court upon matters more immediately interesting; and, indeed, the strong faction formed by the friends of *Velaquez*, at the head of which was the bishop of *Burgos*, threw almost insurmountable obstructions in their way. At length, by dint of perseverance, the commissioners obtained the honour of an audience of the emperor, who informed himself exactly of the transactions in *New Spain*, and from thence conceived a high opinion of the merit of

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of *Cortez*, and the utility of his project. However, the variety of business in which his imperial majesty was engaged, prevented his entering deeply into the dispute between *Cortez* and *Velaquez*; so that on his departure for the *Netherlands*, he was obliged to recommend the affair to the cardinal *Adriano*, governor of *Spain*, in his absence. The cardinal entertained the same favourable sentiments with the king his master, of the merit of *Cortez*; but as all the informations relative to the affair must pass through the council of the *Indies*, of which the bishop of *Burgos* was president, he found himself embarrassed how to proceed. He could easily perceive that the strongest prejudice against *Cortez* reigned in the council; but to come to a decisive resolution, it was necessary to be acquainted with the naked facts, divested of disguise and partiality. Other affairs, in the mean while, occurred, to divert the attention of the minister; so that *Martin Cortez* and the commissioners, tired out with attendance, withdrew, disappointed, from court, with a resolution to wait the emperor's return. In this situation were the affairs of *Cortez* when the new commissioners, *Ordaz* and *Mendoza*, arrived at *Seville*. The instructions given them by the general appeared now to be necessary; for they no sooner touched land, than they were informed of an order, issued out by the bishop of *Burgos* and the council of the *Indies*, to imprison all persons coming from *New Spain*, and to seize all the gold and presents they should bring, whether on the account of *Cortez*, or by way of commission. Immediately they retired privately to *Medellin*, where they learnt that *Martin Cortez* and the other commissioners resided, leaving only their letters and dispatches, and leaving their treasure in the hands of the officers under the direction of the council of the *Indies*. Here it was resolved among them to continue in the most private retirement, until the affairs of the kingdom should assume a more favourable aspect, and the emperor either return, or the cardinal minister be more able to examine their dispatches. The first of these wished-for events soon happened. The emperor returned, and his presence instantly restored the public tranquillity. *Martin Cortez*, therefore, judging that now was the season for application, set out for court with the four commissioners; where, after some delay, they had a long audience of the cardinal regent. They gave the minister a succinct relation of the progress made in the conquest of *Mexico*, referring to the letters of *Cortez* for particulars; they acquainted him with the orders for seizing them issued by the bishop of *Burgos*, and the fate of the presents they had brought for the emperor.

They

They set forth the reasons they had to distrust the president and council of the *Indies*; desiring liberty to except against the bishop of *Burgos* as a judge in an affair in which he had made himself a party, and offered to support their exception with sufficient arguments, or to suffer the penalty of their irreverence for so high a personage. The cardinal's answer was favourable. He told *Martin Cortez*, and the commissioners, that they might take their remedy against the bishop at law, and that he would protect them against all violence in the course of the process. With this encouragement they entered their exception against the president of the council in his own court; and supported it with such irrefragable arguments, that the council did not presume to alter the course of justice. After a full hearing, the bishop was absolutely prohibited from interfering in the dispute between *Hernan Cortez* and *Velazquez*, his orders were revoked, the embargo at *Seville* were taken off, and the importance of the expedition to *Mexico* was set in its true light; that of being honourable and beneficial to the nation. This decree received the approbation of the cardinal regent and council of state; and so zealous was the former in the cause of *Cortez*, that, upon his exaltation to the papal dignity, he laboured to remove all impediments to a conquest, which was to open a free passage for the lights of christianity to shine in countries hitherto involved in the obscurity and darkness of superstition and the grossest idolatry.

THE accusation of the bishop of *Burgos* was finally confirmed by the emperor in person, after he had given audience to the agents of *Cortez* and *Velazquez*; and commissaries were also appointed to decide the point in controversy. Their judgment was, after closely examining the facts alledged on both sides, "That *Velazquez* had no right to claim to himself the honour or advantages resulting from the conquest of *New Spain*, without a better title than that of having expended some money in the preparations for that enterprise, and nominating *Cortez* for commander. That he could only have an action at law for the money expended out of his own estate to equip the armament sent upon this expedition, and not for any of the effects belonging to the king in his government. That the nomination of *Cortez* afforded him no pretence, either to the glory or profit of the expedition, as he not only granted that commission without the authority of the ministers of the royal audience, whose orders he should have received, but likewise revoked it, and thereby left *Cortez* at liberty to act as he should think most advantageous to the public interest,

“rest, with the troops, which, for the most part, he had raised at his own expence.” The commissaries very prudently winked at the irregularities in the beginning of this enterprise; from a just consideration of its importance, and regard for the extraordinary merit of the general, who had prosecuted it with unparalleled vigour and alacrity. They even censured *Velaquez* as a person who had shewn an ungovernable ambition, and expressed a rancour and malignity extremely prejudicial to the public service. This sentence was laid before the emperor, and confirmed. *Cortez* was, besides, declared to be a faithful minister and good subject; his officers and soldiers were honoured with similar applauses; perpetual silence on the subject of any pretensions to the conquest of *Mexico* was imposed on *Velaquez*; and thus the affair terminated, and dispatches to that purpose were immediately sent away to the *Indies*, with orders to the royal audience at *St. Domingo* to assist *Cortez* with all their power. A letter from the emperor was sent to *Cortez*, not only approving his past conduct, but likewise his present design and dispositions for the reduction of *Mexico*; and the letter concluded with the strongest assurances, not only of the imperial favour, but of the most substantial proofs of acknowledgment for such important and eminent services.

WHILE this affair was terminating in *Spain*, *Cortez* was preparing to march, with his whole army, into the heart of *Mexico*. Just as he was on the point of setting out, he had the good fortune to receive a supply of arms and ammunition from *Vera Cruz*; a merchant vessel from the *Canaries* having arrived there, freighted with implements of war, which were designed to be sold to the troops engaged in this conquest. He could not wait for the finishing of the brigantines, as the troops of the country flocked in to him in such clouds, that he feared some bad consequences from their inaction. In a council of war it was resolved to march directly to *Texcoco*, and at all events to gain possession of that city, which, from its situation, would afford a good retreat, and likewise facilitate the means of procuring reinforcements. Next day He succeeding this resolution, *Cortez* mustered his *Spanish* troops, and found they amounted to five hundred foot and forty horse, with nine pieces of artillery, brought on shore from the vessels last arrived on the coast. *Xicotencal*, general of the *Tlascalans*, followed his example, and passed his troops in review before the *Spaniards*. It is reported they amounted to sixty thousand men. Besides these, *Cortez* had a great number of other auxiliary troops, brought in by the neighbouring caziques; insomuch, that, at the siege of *Mexico*, his

army amounted to two hundred thousand fighting men. He began with publishing certain regulations to be observed, under pain of death, by all the soldiers. Among these were the following: That no man should ~~draw~~ draw his sword against another, either upon his march, or in quarters. That no *Spaniard* should abuse or confederate *Indian*, either in word or action. That no inecencies or violence should be offered to a woman, even though she should happen to be a captive. That no soldier should straggle from the army, or go without leave, and a sufficient party, in quest of plunder: and, lastly, it was enjoined, under pain of death, that the soldiers should not game away their arms and horses, in which particular their discipline had hitherto been too remiss. The interpreters, *Donna Marina* and *Aguilar*, repeated the same orders to the *Indian* chiefs, in the presence of *Cortez*, and desired they might be frequently published at the head of the *Indian* army. To these regulations the general added a short exhortation, which was received with the acclamations of the soldiers, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*; the latter echoing the shouts of the former. In course of his march, *Cortez* encountered some difficulties, arising from the nature of the country, the prodigious number of his troops, and the wiles and stratagems of the *Mexicans*; but he happily surmounted them, without any considerable loss. He ascended a steep mountain, all the passes of which the enemy blocked up by trees cut down, and laid across, and sharp stakes fixed in the ground, to wound and incommode the cavalry. *Cortez* ordered two thousand *Tlascalans* to the van, to clear away all impediments; and they executed their orders with so much alacrity, that the army soon gained the summit of the mountain, from whence they could discover the lake of *Mexico*. Having advanced a few leagues, the *Mexican* army was seen drawn up in order of battle, in a large plain, where they seemed determined to make a stand, although they had taken the necessary precautions for a retreat. All rejoiced at the opportunity of coming so early to action; but the transport of the *Tlascalans* rose to a kind of fury, which *Cortez*, and his captains, could hardly restrain within the bounds of order and discipline; but the enemy seeing the *Spaniards* attended by so numerous an army, dropt their intentions of disputing the passage of the valley, and began a precipitate retreat. *Cortez* regarded this as a fortunate incident; for on his approach to the place, where the enemy had taken post, he found a deep trench, made by a brook running from the mountain, which it was difficult to pass, even without resistance from the *Mexicans*. Pursuing his way

way to Tezeuco, he was met about three leagues from the city, by messengers from the cazique, or king of that city, with proposals of peace and alliance, that appeared very suspicious; the ambassadors were, however, dismissed with a civil answer, the confederates marched quite up to the walls, and took up their quarters for that night in the fields, keeping strict watch for fear of being surprized. Next morning it appeared that the city was deserted by the cazique and principal nobility; but the latter soon returned to their habitations, entered into an alliance with Cortez, complained of their cazique as a monster of treachery, tyranny, and cruelty, and desired the protection of the Spaniards. Cortez was now informed that the proposals made to him were treacherous, as he suspected, and with design to lull him into security; but that the cazique finding his troops numerous, beyond expectation, yielded to his fears, and relinquished his project. He was also informed that the same Caminatzin, who had before conspired against him, and was for that reason deposed by Motezuma, had now recovered the throne, and was countenanced by the reigning emperor, as an inveterate enemy to the Spaniards. The nobles also informed him that Caminatzin had no original right to the throne of Tezeuco, to which he had made his way, before Motezuma arrived at the imperial dignity, by killing, with his own hands, his eldest brother, *Jabal*, and seizing the crown, in prejudice to the right of his own nephew, son of the deceased prince. To this they added, that the lawful prince was now at their head, and requested the general's countenance. It immediately struck Cortez that this circumstance might be turned to his advantage. He went up to the prince, and after paying him the compliments due to his quality, he assembled the nobles, and recommended the lawful heir to the crown, in such strong terms, and with such assurances of protection, that they immediately deposed Caminatzin, and raised his nephew to the throne of Tezeuco. Next day was appointed for the coronation of the prince; Cortez assisted at the solemnity; he placed the regal sceptre in the hands of the young monarch, and by this means acquired not only a firm ally, but the reputation of paying the strictest regard to equity. The people in a manner adored Cortez, and the king himself appeared in his presence as if he were his subject, and held his crown of his bounty; carrying his gratitude and respect for his benefactor so far, that he embraced the christian religion, and received baptism.

EVERY thing being adjusted at Tezeuco to the general's entire satisfaction, he left a body of troops in the city, and began his march for *Iztapalapa*, that he might deprive the

Mexicans of a place which afforded shelter for their canoes, and disturbed his workmen employed in widening the canals so as to allow a passage for the vessels building at *Tlascala*. This city, as already observed, was situated in such a manner, that the greater part of the building was on the lake. *Cortez* charged himself with this expedition, taking with him three hundred *Spaniards*, and ten thousand *Tlascalans*. The young monarch of *Texcoco* offered to accompany him; but this *Cortez* refused, saying, that his presence would be useful in the city, where his authority was not yet sufficiently established. On his approach to *Iztapalapa*, a body of citizens, amounting to eight thousand men, advanced with great resolution beyond their walls, and began an engagement, which they supported with equal courage, though inferior in number; retreating gradually towards the city, and at last flying with a feigned appearance of confusion and disorder. *Cortez* suspected a stratagem, by seeing the gates left open; he therefore pursued with all imaginable caution, entered the town, found it deserted, drew up his troops in the principal square, and made dispositions, as if he expected to be attacked. It appeared, however, that the enemy had formed a different design. It was scarce dark, when the *Spaniards* perceived that the canals began suddenly to overflow their banks, the water rushing impetuously into the low grounds, whence they immediately conjectured that the enemy had opened their sluices, with intention to drown that part of the city. The danger was imminent, and *Cortez* gave orders for retreating with all expedition, not without censuring himself for having been outwitted by a people whom he considered as barbarous. He pursued his march all night to *Texcoco*, and next morning perceived that he was in a manner hemmed in by a numerous army of *Mexicans*. Finding his people eager to engage, he led them on, and soon obliged the enemy to retire in some confusion; however, they rallied, and made three several attacks, in all which they were repulsed, with the loss of six thousand men, which determined them to drop the pursuit. By this means, *Cortez* arrived safe at *Texcoco*, reserving any farther attempts on *Iztapalapa* to a more seasonable opportunity.

THIS retreat was deemed inglorious by the *Spaniards*, who had now been accustomed to carry before them all obstructions; it did not, however, diminish their reputation among the *Indians*, who were daily offering their submissions. The provinces of *Gualco* and *Otumba* dispatched messengers at this time to *Cortez*, offering him obedience, and requesting his assistance against the *Mexicans*, who had just

He is in
great
danger.

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just invaded the frontiers of their provinces with a numerous army, for having refused to take up arms against the *Spaniards*. They expressed their resolution to stand in their defence, if they were sure of protection; and *Cortez* thinking it advisable to raise as many enemies as possible to the imperial power, and to secure provinces which must contribute to keep open communication with *Tlascala*, instantly dispatched *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and *Francisco de Liego*, with two hundred *Spanish* foot, fifteen horse, and a sufficient body of *Tlascalans*, to the assistance of his new allies. The *Mexicans* lay in ambush for this reinforcement, but they were defeated by the vigour and resolution of *Sandoval* and the *Spaniards*. As *Sandoval* approached the frontiers of the allied provinces, he found that a numerous *Mexican* army had occupied all the posts on the road, which it was necessary he should take: he thereupon advanced in order of battle, sustained the attack of the enemy with calm intrepidity, and then made a furious discharge of fire-arms, cross-bows, and arrows, closing immediately with the *Mexicans*, and breaking their ranks, obtained a complete victory with inconsiderable loss on his side, and dreadful slaughter of the enemy. It augmented the carnage, that the people of *Otumba* and *Chalco* were no sooner alarmed with the noise of fire-arms, than conjecturing that the *Spaniards* were engaged, they sallied out upon the rear of the *Mexicans*, continued the pursuit with great obstinacy, slew several thousands, and took a great number of prisoners, eight of the principal of whom were brought to *Sandoval*, to be examined about the farther designs of the enemy. From their account it appeared, that the *Mexicans*, discouraged by their defeat, had entirely abandoned their project of revenge, and returned to the capital; after which *Sandoval* left the defence of the provinces to the inhabitants, and returned with his army to *Tezcuco*, after reconciling the *Tlascalans* and *Otumbans*, who had always been declared enemies. As to the *Mexican* nobles taken prisoners in the late action, they were presented to *Cortez*, who ordered them to be unbound, and embraced this opportunity to justify to his allies the war he had undertaken, by making farther advances to an accommodation. He told the prisoners, that although by the laws of war, and the example of their country, he might treat them with the utmost rigour, he nevertheless gave them life and liberty, on no other condition than that they would acquaint the emperor with his intention to demand satisfaction for the death of *Moteczuma*, and the unjust war made upon the *Spaniards* when last in *Mexico*. "Tell him," said *Cortez*, that I have

Message to
Guatimo-
zin.

"an army reinforced not only by a number of invincible Spaniards, but by a variety of nations who abhor the Mexican tyranny. Tell him, that in a little time I intend to seize him in the midst of his palace, surrounded by his court, bringing in my train all the horrors of war, and resolved never to lay aside my just indignation, until I have reduced all the cities in his dominions to ashes, and washed away the memory of his name by the blood of his subjects: nevertheless, if, to avoid the impending ruin, he is desirous of listening to reasonable terms of pacification, I am ready to grant them; for the arms of my king, like the lightning of heaven, fall only where they find resistance, and are always more ready to obey the dictates of humanity, than the impulses of revenge." With this message he dismissed the prisoners, under an escort they promised to bring back an answer, but they never returned: possibly the message was of such a nature as they durst not deliver to a prince full of vigour and courage.

Vessels
built at
Tlascala,
and trans-
ported to
Mexico.

NOTHING was now wanting to begin the siege of Mexico, besides the brigantines building at Tlascala, of which Cortez received advice from Martin Lopez, that gave great satisfaction to the whole army. The vessels were now ready to be transported over the mountains, and the republic had provided ten thousand men for that business, under an escort of an equal number of soldiers commanded by Chichemecal, a young nobleman of spirit and courage, who had already, in his twenty-fourth year, acquired the reputation of one of the best generals in Tlascala. Lopez acquainted the general of the day he intended beginning his march, and desired he might be met by a Spanish convoy at Gualipar, not thinking it advisable to attempt a passage through the Mexican territories with Tlascalans only. On his arrival at this place he halted for the reinforcement of Spaniards, a delay which extremely displeased Chichemecal, who thought himself a match for the whole power of the Mexican empire. However, he resolved to obey the orders of Cortez, and imagined he had performed no inconsiderable exploit by this proof of his obedience. Much about the same time Cortez detached Gonzalo de Sandoval with a strong body of Spaniards and Tlascalans, this officer stopping a day at the little town of Zalspoque, to revenge the murder of some Spaniards who were going from Vera Cruz to Mexico, which he effectually performed, by obliging the inhabitants to the most abject submission. He then joined Chichemecal at Gualipar, and both arrived with the materials for the shipping, without any memorable accident at Texcuco; only that

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that the *Tlascalan* general had almost bred a mutiny in his troops, by resenting, in such high terms, his not having the van and post of honour. Immediately *Lopez* and his workmen set about constructing the brigantines from the materials which they had already prepared; but *Cortez* understanding that they could not be finished in less than twenty days, resolved not to lie inactive. It was his intention to examine all the posts which might prove useful to the projected siege of *Mexico*, and he entered upon this design with an expedition to *Yaliscoan*, in which he was accompanied by *Chichimecal*.

THE reasons which induced *Cortez* to chastize the inhabitants of this place were, that they had lately returned an insolent answer to the proposals which were made to them of peace, and wounded the messenger, without regard to the privileges shewn to ambassadors, even among barbarous nations. He took with him the captains *Alvarado* and *De Olid*, two hundred *Spanish* infantry, twenty horse, a numerous body of *Tezeucan* nobility, and *Chichimecal* with fifteen thousand *Tlascalans*, to whom were joined five thousand of the republican forces, commanded by *Xicotencal*, who was left at *Tezeuco*, with the remainder of the *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* army. After marching five leagues, *Cortez* discovered a numerous army of the enemy, drawn up in order of battle in the open field, at some distance from the city. Orders were given to attack them; and this was executed with such alacrity, that the enemy retreated precipitately, leaving a great number of dead and wounded on the field of battle. The confederates advanced full of confidence to carry the place at the first assault, on account of the panic which the defeat of the army must infuse into the garrison; but they soon found that the *Mexicans* had broke the causeways, and rendered it impossible to pass the breach without either bridge or boats. *Cortez* was contriving how to fill up the chasm with earth and fascines, when an *Indian* of *Tezeuco* offered to guide the army to a ford at a little distance; a proposal that was readily embraced. *Cortez*, attended by the *Indian* guide, marched directly to the place, and ordered a party of sixty *Spaniards*, and a body of *Tlascalans*, to make the experiment, which succeeded, after an obstinate conflict with the enemy, who defended the passage with more courage than they had shewn upon the late occasion. The confederate party entered the town with the flying *Mexicans*, took possession, pillaged the place, set fire to several houses, and then rejoined the main army, the whole advancing to *Calbatitlan*, a large town, which was found deserted by the inhabitants.

A variety
of mea-
sures pre-
vious to
the siege of
Mexico.

inhabitants. The large towns of *Tenayuco* and *Ixcapuzotl*, both upon the lake, were also forsaken by the natives; *Cortez* lodged a night in each, and took an exact view of their respective distances and situations. From the last of these towns the city of *Tacuba*, the rival of *Texcoco*, was distant about half a league. It was situated upon the extremity of the causeway, was considered as the key to *Mexico*, and was therefore of the utmost importance informing the siege of that capital. It was for this reason that *Cortez* resolved to view it accurately, without any design of possessing a city that could not be held conveniently, on account of its distance from the head-quarters of *Texcoco*. With this purpose he marched in good order towards the city, and was encountered on the way by a numerous army of the *Tacubans*, who were desirous of trying their fortune in the open field with the *Spaniards*, the city being incapable of containing all the troops. They advanced and charged with great fury, but were driven back by the fire-arms and cross-bows in the van. Afterwards they rallied, the rest of the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* came up, *Cortez* penetrated into the very center of the multitude; notwithstanding which, the *Tacubans* yielded the field reluctantly, after several thousand of their forces had been slain and wounded. That night the confederates remained on the field of battle, endeavouring to secure several advantageous posts in the night. Early next morning, the enemy were seen advancing, as if with intention to redeem the honour of the preceding day; but they were defeated with a facility which gave room for suspicion that some stratagem was intended. For five days *Cortez* remained without the walls of *Tacuba*, skirmishing every day with the enemy, with intention to waste the garrison by sallies, in which they were constantly repulsed. The ardour of his troops determined him to attack the town contrary to his first design; and he was accordingly taking his measures, when a party was observed advancing upon the causeway. Their intention was to draw *Cortez* gradually upon the causeway, where it was impossible he could form his men, and then to charge him on every side from their canoes. The project succeeded beyond expectation; and all the *Spaniards* must have been cut off, had they not exerted an extraordinary portion of valour. *Cortez* no sooner pursued the enemy upon the causeway, than he saw himself attacked, in front, by a numerous army, and on both sides by a multitude of canoes. Courage alone could now extricate him; he fought desperately, effected a retreat with no great loss, and repaired the consequences of his oversight, by such a degree of personal bravery, as equally astonished the *Spaniards* and *Indians*. It

was

was in this action, that *Juan Volante* fell, with the colours in his hand, over the causeway, was taken prisoner by the enemy, and put into a canoe, with design of being presented with his trophy to the emperor. *Volante* suffered himself to be carried away, pretending the utmost submission, until he found himself at a sufficient distance from the rest of the canoes, when he plunged with his colours into the water, swam ashore, and joined the rest of the *Spaniards*.

WHEN *Cortez* returned to *Texcoco*, he found himself reinforced by several *Spanish* soldiers, sent to his assistance by the royal audience of *St. Domingo*. None of the *Spanish* writers ascertain the number, but from the rejoicings in the confederate army it was probably considerable. About the same time messengers arrived from *Chalco* and *Themanalco*, that the *Mexicans* had resumed their operations against the frontier provinces. The new emperor *Guatimozin* was perpetually contriving means to cut off the communication of the *Spaniards* with *Tlascala*, and prevent succours from joining them from *Vera Cruz*. This was a point of such consequence to *Cortez*, that he found himself, at all events, under the necessity of supporting these allies, to whose fidelity he owed the preservation of this essential opening. Accordingly *Sandoval* was dispatched with a sufficient number of *Spaniards*, and *Tlascalans*, to the succour of the *Chalqueses*, whom, on his arrival, he found assembled in a considerable army, to oppose the *Mexicans*. The enemy, who were still superior in number of forces to the confederates, possessed themselves of some hollow-ways, in order to bring on an engagement, in a place where the *Spanish* cavalry could not act. It was necessary to drive them from this situation; and *Sandoval* entered upon the attack with such resolution, that he accomplished his design, though not without bloodshed, several *Spaniards* having been dangerously wounded, a few killed, and a great number of the confederate *Indians* slaughtered, but with still greater loss on the side of the *Mexicans*, though they had sufficient courage to rally and renew the engagement. *Sandoval* having overcome the difficulty of the valley, and fighting now upon equal terms, obtained a complete victory, after a conflict in which the enemy behaved with great gallantry, and a fury bordering upon desperation. The same night he advanced to *Guastraque*, where he hoped his fatigued troops might be able to rest securely; but scarce had they laid aside their arms, when the scouts brought advice, that a fresh army of *Mexicans*, amounting to fifteen thousand men, was advancing to attack the confederates before they should be able to draw breath.

breath. Resolution was the only remedy. *Sandoval* animated his people, and then led them against the enemy, whose front was soon put in disorder by the fire-arms and cross-bows. By this means an opening was made for the cavalry to charge without danger. Their onset was irresistible; the *Tlascalans*, at the same time, fell upon the flanks, and the *Mexicans* finding themselves assaulted on both sides, fled precipitately to *Guaſtapeque*, where they hoped to meet with protection; but the confederates returning to the town with them, divided themselves into several bodies, scoured all the streets, and again drove the enemy into the open fields, pursuing them with great slaughter.

THIS victory was followed by the reduction of *Capistlan*, a strong town, situated on the summit of a rocky eminence, and secured on the back-side by a deep, rapid, river. It was distant about two leagues from *Guaſtapeque*, and thither the routed *Mexicans* crowded as to an impregnable fortress; nothing, however, could withstand the confederate army flushed with conquest. *Sandoval* resolved to drive the enemy from this post, that he might deprive the *Mexicans* of so convenient a rendezvous for troops destined for the invasion of the frontier provinces. Perceiving there were only three ways by which he could make the attack, all of them difficult, he ordered the *Tlascalans*, and *Chalchicomula* to advance in the front, as more accustomed to those steep and rugged passes. They obeyed, but so reluctantly, that *Sandoval*, impatient of delay, rushed with his *Spaniards* into the thickest of the danger, which so animated the *Indians*, that they forgot the difficulty of the attempt, and seemed emulous who should first gain the summit of the eminence. In many places the path was so steep, that they were altogether employed in conquering the ascent, it being impossible to use their hands, either in defence, or attack, without fear of tumbling down to the bottom; while the *Mexicans* were all the while rolling down great stones, and showering darts and arrows upon them. At last, they gained the top by the assistance of the fire-arms, which drove the enemy from the brow of the hill, and left a clear passage for the confederates. Now they attacked with incredible valour, as if determined to revenge the difficulties and dangers they had just escaped; they forced their way through all opposition, beat the *Mexicans* back to the town, pursued them so closely, that, entering with them, they gained possession, and forced the enemy to the brink of the precipice, where all those were put to the sword who did not throw themselves over. On this occasion, the slaughter is reported to have been so prodigious,

prodigious, that the *Spaniards*, who had run to the river to quench their thirst, were obliged to refrain from drinking, on perceiving its streams tinged with blood. In a word, the victory was decisive, but it was obtained with very considerable loss on the side of the confederates. *Sandoval* had his armour broke in different places; several *Spaniards* were dangerously wounded, and above six hundred *Indians* slain in climbing up the ascent. Imagining he had now sufficiently deterred the *Mexicans* from any farther attempts, *Sandoval* returned to *Tezeuco*, where he was scarce arrived, before advice arrived from *Chalco*, that the province had been again invaded, but that the enemy were defeated by the natives: a piece of intelligence that gave great satisfaction, as from hence it appeared the frontier provinces were in a condition to undertake their own defence.

As the shipping destined for the siege of *Mexico* was not yet completed, *Cortez* resolved to examine the situation of *Sachimillo*, a place situated on the *Mexican* lake, and communicating with *Mexico* by a broad causeway, of which he hoped to make his advantage in his enterprises against the capital. On the fifth day of *April* he set out from *Tezeuco*, with three hundred *Spaniards*, several thousand confederate *Indians*, and the captains *de Olid*, *Alvarado*, and others, the command of the rest of the army in *Tezeuco* being left with *Sandoval*. He marched with such diligence that he arrived the same night at *Chalco*, just as the inhabitants were arming to oppose a new army of *Mexicans*, sent to invade their province. This seasonable assistance was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the *Chalquefe*, who entertained no doubt about victory, when they were commanded by the *Spanish* general. They desired to be led immediately against the enemy, ambitious of signalizing their valour before so perfect a judge of military merit; but the *Mexicans*, upon advice of the arrival of the *Spaniards*, had separated into small parties, and thrown themselves into certain fortresses, situated on different mountains round the frontier, whence *Cortez* resolved to dislodge them, that no time might be lost in marching to *Sachimillo*. Having assembled all his forces, he began his march by break of day towards the mountains, and ascended a steep eminence; at the top of which was a fort, defended by so numerous an army as must have appeared formidable in a less advantageous situation. The *Mexicans* sent forth parties to provoke the confederates to an engagement in the midst of those precipices, where the difficulty of the way was alone sufficient obstruction; and these succeeded so well in their reproaches, that

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Cortez, giving way to his passion, ordered two companies of musqueteers and cross-bows to advance to the attack. This detachment was headed by *Pedro de Barba*, accompanied by several volunteers of distinction. As the *Spaniards* ascended the hill the *Mexicans* retired, feigning confusion, in order to draw *Barba* on with the more security; and when they found him embarrassed in the most difficult precipices, they returned to the charge with loud shouts, tumbling down from the top such a torrent of great stones as swept all before it, and wounded several *Spaniards*, among whom was the commanding officer. Sensible of his error, *Cortez* immediately ordered the party to retreat, which was effected with great difficulty, and with some of his captains he reconnoitred the ground, and sought a less dangerous path by which he might wreck his revenge. His enquiries proved fruitless, and he was equally unfortunate in all his endeavours to draw the enemy from their retreat. Three days had now been consumed in the midst of barren mountains, and the troops began to sink under the pressure of thirst, famine, and fatigue, insomuch, that without accomplishing his design, he was forced to proceed to *Guastapeque* to refresh his army. Here he was sumptuously lodged, together with his whole army, in the cazique's palace, which yielded but little in extent and magnificence to the imperial residence.

CORTÉZ staid but one night at *Guastapeque*, when advice came, that the enemy had abandoned the fortresses on the mountains, and assembled at *Quatlavaca*, where their army was numerous, and determined to make an obstinate resistance to all the power of the confederates. He set out immediately for that town, and advanced to the moat which was eight foot deep, extremely wide, and filled with water that tumbled rapidly down from the adjacent mountains. The *Mexicans* had cut down the bridges, and covered the opposite bank with such a multitude of soldiers, that the passage seemed altogether impracticable to the bulk of the confederates, although *Cortez* did not despair. He drew up his army at a little distance, ordered the musqueteers to keep up a perpetual fire to cover his approach, and went in person to view the ditch. Having discovered a part much narrower than the rest, he ordered two or three bridges to be constructed, which he threw over; and by this means enabled the infantry to pass over with difficulty, while the fire-arms, and cross-bows, kept the enemy at distance. The vanguard, composed chiefly of *Spaniards*, no sooner reached the opposite side, than they formed into a battalion; and the *Mexicans*, sensible that they ought to have

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have disputed the passage more vigorously, now pouted down in such multitudes, that the confederates could hardly maintain their ground; though they were constantly receiving supplies by the troops who were filing over the bridges with all possible expedition. The event would have been very doubtful, had not *Cortez* fortunately found a passage for the cavalry, with whom he charged the enemy in the rear, assisted with a body of infantry, seasonably brought up by the historian of this expedition, *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*. The *Mexicans*, now distracted by this double attack, gave themselves up for lost, fled with great precipitation, and made their escape to the mountains, leaving *Quatlavaca* to be pillaged by the conquerors. The submission, however, of the cazique, and principal inhabitants, saved the place from the fury of the soldiers. They desired leave to return to their habitations, to prepare quarters for the confederate army, which was granted, after *Cortez* had fully assured himself of their sincerity.

CORTEZ staid but one night at *Quatlavaca*, setting out next morning for *Sachimillo*, a place of the greatest importance, on account of its vicinity to *Mexico*. The march was difficult and fatiguing, the soldiers having almost perished with thirst, in a long, barren, sandy desile, where they were exposed to the reflected beams of the sun at mid-day. The night brought relief, and great abundance of good provision, in a village, which the enemy had just abandoned. As the general expected a vigorous resistance, he drew up his army, at break of day, in order of battle, imagining the enemy would have taken every possible precaution to fortify a post of so much consequence as *Sachimillo*, a conjecture that was verified by the view which he had of an incredibly numerous army drawn up in battalia, on a plain at some distance from the city, having a rapid river in front that discharged itself in the *Mexican* lake. They had doubled their lines on the banks of this river, and disposed their main body for the defence of a wooden bridge which they left standing, after barricadoing it with planks and fascines; believing, that if this fortification should be forced, they would be able to cut off the confederates in the narrowness of the pass, with little difficulty. *Cortez* extended his front along the opposite bank of the river, and ordered the *Spaniards* to advance and attack the bridge, which they performed with great gallantry, though they were vigorously opposed. Three times they renewed the charge, and at last gained the pass; with which the *Mexicans* were so much disheartened, that they began every where to give way, their commanders

commanders ordering a retreat, that they might have an opportunity of rallying. They drew up a second time under the walls of the town, and were again attacked so impetuously by the confederates, whose van consisted of *Spaniards*, that they were driven for shelter into the city, losing great numbers of men as they crowded in at the gates. *Cortez* pursued, and ordered the works they had erected for the defence of the streets to be forced. Here the general, transported by his courage, engaged himself so deeply with the enemy, that, after he was tired fighting, his horse killed under him, and all his endeavours to regain his troops were foiled, he was made prisoner by the enemy, and rescued by the extraordinary valour of a *Spanish* soldier, *Christoval de Olla*, who at a distance beheld the accident. *Herrera*, without any proofs, ascribes the general's delivery to a *Tlascalan*, who was neither known before nor after, and works it up into a kind of miracle; but we had rather credit *de Solis*, who transcribes from *Diaz del Castillo*, an eye-witness of the engagement. All agree that the danger was imminent, that *Cortez* lost his horse, and received two slight wounds, and that *Olla*, his deliverer, came off with three cuts of a sword, of which he wore the scars all his life after. When he rejoined his forces, he pushed the enemy with so much vigour, that they fled to that part of the city which stood in the water, leaving the *Spaniards* masters of all the streets upon the firm land.

MEAN-WHILE, that part of the army left without the walls, under the conduct of *de Olid*, *Alvarado*, and *Tapia*, was deeply engaged with a body of *Mexican* nobility, who endeavoured to force themselves into the city. They were supported by two thousand select men sent from *Mexico* in canoes, who landed at some distance, and intended to fall upon the rear of the confederates. Astonished to find an army without the walls, where they expected no resistance, they determined, however, to cut their way through: they fought with great fury, but were in the end obliged to retreat to their canoes, leaving a great number of dead on the field. The three *Spanish* captains, and a great number of *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* soldiers, were wounded, but few were slain on the side of the confederates. *Cortez* being now master of the principal streets, took possession of a temple, which, from its height, commanded a view of the whole city and lake. Here he placed a garrison, with orders to keep continual watch, and observe the motions of the enemy; a precaution that soon appeared necessary. At the close of the evening two thousand canoes were seen advancing with all the speed they

they could make. The guards were immediately doubled, and every measure was taken to give the *Mexicans* a warm reception. They landed in the morning at a considerable distance. *Cortez* advanced against them with the bulk of the confederate army; and the enemy, who were fifteen thousand men strong, did not decline the combat; but the resistance they made was so faint, and their flight so sudden, that the advantage gained by *Cortez* scarce merited the name of a victory. Four days after this the confederates continued in *Sachimillo* for the recovery of their wounded; half the forces always continuing under arms, upon account of the facility with which they might be attacked on the side of *Mexico*. Having now made sufficient observations, and the wounded being in a condition to travel, he began his retreat for *Tezeuco*, and completed it without much difficulty, though the enemy did not fail to throw obstructions in his way.

By the time the expedition to *Sachimillo* was finished, the *Aconspirant* brigantines were in readiness, and the canals to the lake sufficiently widened to receive vessels of much greater bulk. *discovers*.

Every preparation for the siege went on with alacrity; and the caziques, in the confederacy, were required to attend, with all their forces, on a day appointed, at the head-quarters. While his whole thoughts were occupied with this important enterprise, an accident happened that gave much trouble, and required the exertion of all his conduct and valour. A soldier, who had been long in his service, came to him, full of concern, and desiring to speak with him in private, revealed the whole secret of a conspiracy formed to take away the general's life, and also to murder, or confine, the principal *Spanish* captains. In this plot the *Indians* had no share; it was first projected by *Antonio de Villafra*, a *Spanish* soldier, whose intention was originally no more than to escape from an enterprise, the difficulties of which appeared to him insuperable. He soon communicated his sentiments to his companions, who readily embraced them, formed themselves into a faction, and immediately proceeded to dangerous resolutions. They blamed the general for his obstinate pursuit of a conquest that must terminate in his destruction; declaring, they would not sacrifice their lives in complaisance to a man who was intoxicated with ambition. Hitherto their design was only to withdraw themselves from the war; but the impossibility of procuring ships at *Vera Cruz*, to transport them to *Cuba*, without a passport from the general, occurring, they resolved to conquer this difficulty by shedding his blood. Afterwards they extended their plan, and

and thought it necessary to kill the chief captives, and then to elect a general, who would be less sanguine upon the ideal conquest of *Mexico*. An instrument was drawn up, whereby they obliged themselves to stand by each other, and follow *Villafarra* in this execrable undertaking. They drew great numbers of the soldiers to sign the writing; and had not the discovery been seasonably made, the contagion would have spread beyond the power of any remedy. The persons marked out for destruction were the general, *De Olid*, *Sandoval*, *Alvarado*, *Tapia*, the historian *Castillo*, and a few others. They were to forge a packet from *Vera Cruz*, which was to be given to the general while he was at dinner with his officers, all the conspirators going in together, under pretence of hearing the news; they were then to stab the destined victims with their poignards, and to proclaim liberty in the streets, which they imagined would be sufficient to engage the rest of the army in their cause. *Francisco Verdugo* was thought to be the person pitched upon to succeed *Cortez* in the command; but as they knew him to be strongly attached to the general, and punctilious in points of honour, they would not acquaint him with their design, before it was fully executed. This was the relation of the soldier, who was drawn in to sign the instrument, had been present at some of the meetings of the conspirators, and now demanded his life and pardon as the reward of his fidelity. *Cortez*, attended by the two alcaldes, went immediately to seize *Villafarra*, whom he found in his quarters, in deep consultation with three or four of his accomplices. His fears sufficiently proved his guilt. *Cortez* ordered him to be put in irons, and his accomplices to be confined in another apartment. Then he examined him in private, and extorted the instrument from him, together with a full discovery of the ultimate intention of the conspiracy. The seizing of the paper left no room for doubt. *Villafarra* was condemned the same night, and next morning he was seen hanging over the window of his own quarters. It was matter of grief and astonishment to the general, to see so long a list of soldiers who were engaged in this plot; but this was not a time to satisfy justice, at the expence of so many lives, which were invaluable in the present conjuncture. He could not punish such a number of *Spaniards* without relinquishing his designs upon *Mexico*; a stratagem therefore was contrived to satisfy justice, and to avoid punishing the guilty, without seeming to connive at the crime, or to be afraid of executing his authority. It was reported that *Villafarra* had swallowed the paper containing the engagement and names of the conspirators; *Cortez*

Cortez assembled his army, related the horrid design and execution of *Villafarra*, and declared that he thought himself extremely happy in not knowing whether he had any accomplices; adding, that he only desired to be informed of any complaints which his soldiers might have against his proceedings, since he was as ready to satisfy them, and correct his faults, as he was able to execute the dictates of rigorous justice, where the lenity of his punishments made them lose their influence. This declaration, filled with several kind expressions and soothing professions, gave universal satisfaction; the conspirators rejoicing that they had not been discovered, and endeavouring to efface all suspicion of their crime, by their future conduct. The soldiers, who had been taken into custody with *Villafarra*, were released, under pretence that no evidence appeared against them; and thus *Cortez*, by his spirited and sensible measures, suppressed a dangerous faction, and reconciled the minds of his soldiers, only by sacrificing the first projector and chief instrument of the conspiracy. He likewise made use of this opportunity to strengthen his authority, by appointing a body-guard of twelve faithful soldiers, commanded by an officer; a step which might, at any other time, have given umbrage, though it was now regarded as necessary.

SCARCELY was this dangerous faction suppressed, when another accident fell out, that reduced *Cortez* to great perplexity. *Xicotencal*, general of the *Tlascalan* forces, either upon some fresh disgust, or that he had not yet laid aside his ancient animosity, withdrew privately from the army, with a body of men, whom he had engaged in his interest. The general was informed of his retreat by the *Tlascalans* themselves, few of whom approved of his conduct. This behaviour of a commander, so considerable among the *Indians*, was of the most dangerous consequence, at a juncture when *Cortez* was entering upon an enterprise that required the utmost unanimity. He was in great difficulties how to proceed, and first resolved to send some of the principal *Tlascalan* nobility to endeavour to persuade him to return. This expedient proved fruitless. *Xicotencal* not only refused listening to their admonition, but he dismissed them with a contemptuous answer; which so enraged *Cortez*, that he immediately sent a party to take him prisoner, and to kill him if he resisted. The latter was put in execution. *Xicotencal* fought obstinately, and was slain, his companions making but a feeble resistance. *Herrera* alleges, that he was brought back prisoner to *Texcoco*, and publicly hanged, by virtue of a power from the republic of *Tlascala*, to try, condemn, and execute

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execute him, if found guilty. We have followed the relation of *de Solis*, as the most probable; it being unlikely that *Cortez* would venture to execute an *Indian* of a high quality among such a number of his countrymen, who could not but resent the indignity of so shameful a punishment.

THESE impediments being happily removed, *Cortez* ordered the brigantines to be launched, and then reviewed his Spanish army, which consisted of eight hundred and seventy-six foot, of whom near two hundred were musketeers and cross-bows, eighty-six horse, together with eighteen pieces of cannon, the three largest of iron, and the rest small field-pieces of brass. He had now likewise sufficient store of powder and ammunition, and every thing else which he judged necessary to the success of the enterprize. He laboured diligently to get all things in readiness. On board each of the thirteen vessels he put twenty-five Spaniards, and twelve *Indian* rowers, with one piece of cannon. Then he resolved to possess himself of the *havseways* of *Tacuba*, *Iztapalapa*, and *Cayacan*; for which purpose he divided his army into three bodies, each under the conduct of *Alvarado*, *de Olid*, and *Sandoval*, assisted by proper officers. It is reported, that the *Indians*, who assisted the Spaniards in those three attacks, amounted to 200 hundred thousand men, although *Castillo* reduces the number to twenty-four thousand, without at all accounting for the great number who rendezvoused at the head-quarters when the brigantines were launched. The attack on *Tacuba* was intrusted to *Alvarado*, with the title of commander in chief in that district. *Sandoval* had charge of the expedition against *Iztapalapa*, with a similar title; and the attack against *Cayacan* was headed by *de Olid*, who had honours conferred on him equal to those of the two other commanders. As for *Cortez* himself, he took charge of the fleet, determined to make himself master of the lake, and to assist at that quarter which should appear to be the hardest pressed.

ALVARADO and *de Olid* marched in company to *Tacuba*, which city they found deserted by the inhabitants; the greater number of whom were gone to defend *Mexico*, and the rest retired to the mountains, where they were forming a considerable army, to protect the aqueducts which came from the mountains of *Chapulteque*. As the city was entirely supplied with fresh water by these and other conveyances, the emperor had destined an army for the defence of each aqueduct, as soon as he was informed that *Cortez* was resolved upon the siege. The two Spanish captains led their troops against the enemy, defeated them after a warm engagement,

agement, and then destroyed all the pipes, suffering the fresh water to take its free course, and discharge itself in the lake. This was the first step to the siege of the capital, and it was important; because the conveyances of water being cut off, the *Mexicans* were forced to seek it at a distance in the brooks that ran from the mountains, which put them to great inconvenience, and employed a number of hands, that might otherwise assist in the defence of the city. When this business was finished, *Olid* marched with his detachment, and took post at *Coyoacan*, as he had been directed by the general. His attempt on the causeway would have been attended with difficulty, had he not been assisted by *Cortez*, who had, by this time, measured his strength with a vast fleet of *Mexican* canoes. The general was preparing to assist at the several attacks, when a fleet of five hundred canoes, filled with the principal nobility, was discovered, advancing towards him, from *Mexico*, followed by another fleet, so numerous, that the whole might amount to above four thousand vessels of different sizes. *Cortez* did not think it advisable to leave this formidable power behind, nor to decline a combat that was expected by the whole city of *Mexico*, as appeared by the crowds of people which filled the windows and balconies. His officers concurring with his opinion, he drew up his squadron in form of a crescent, that he might extend his front, and engage with freedom, and then advanced slowly towards the enemy, that his rowers might break in with greater force upon the canoe fleet, when they were within a proper distance. It was perfectly calm at this time, so that his whole dependence in sinking the enemy was upon the vigour of his rowers; but a breeze springing up astern, *Cortez* hoisted sail, and bore down with such irresistible force, that the ships overturned every thing in their course; while the artillery, fire arms, and cross-bows, played with great fury, and extraordinary success. The nobles of *Mexico*, who led the van, made some resistance; but the rest was all disorder and confusion, the canoes running foul, and shattering each other, to avoid being run down by the brigantines, or sunk by the artillery. In a word, the *Mexicans* suffered a complete defeat, some hundreds of canoes were destroyed, and several thousand of their people slain by the arms, or drowned by the vessels of the *Spaniards*, who now gained the reputation of being invincible on the watery element, and rode triumphant on the lake, insulting the city of *Mexico* with impunity.

AFTER this victory, *Cortez* resolved to proceed to *Ixtapalapa*, to assist *Sandoval*; but a fleet of canoes having been

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discovered, making all possible dispatch to *Mayan*, he thought *de Olid* might stand in more immediate need of succour. In vain he exerted his utmost endeavours to come up with the canoes, as a calm obliged him to trust wholly to his oars; however, he arrived very seasonably to give *de Olid* relief. That officer was engaged on the causeway, and was obliged to make a front to the enemy that defended it, and to the canoes, who attacked him on each side. He was on the point of retreating, and yielding up the ground he had gained, when the *Spanish* squadron arrived. The *Mexicans* had drawn up the bridges, towards the city, over those chasms by which the waters of the higher lake discharged themselves into the lower. Behind the bridges they had fixed planks, in such a manner, that they could annoy the *Spaniards* over the tops; and, in case they should be forced to retreat, they had raised farther obstructions, by trenches filled with water, which they dug behind, over which were laid loose planks, that could easily be removed after they had retired. In this manner were the three causeways fortified, and such were the difficulties *Olid* was endeavouring to surmount. He had already made himself master of the first trench, from which he drove the enemy by his fire-arms; then filled it up with fascines, over which the troops marched to attack the second trench. The *Mexican* canoes now obliged him to act defensively; but they were soon put in confusion by the brigantines, who likewise played their artillery so briskly upon those who defended the trenches, that they fled in disorder to the last rampart between them and the city. Night now came on, and prevented the confederates from pursuing their advantage, by falling upon the *Mexicans*, who defended the last bridge, before they had time to recover from their panic. However, they maintained the ground which they had purchased so dearly, and next morning advanced to the attack. They found the bridge fortified with such variety of strong works, and defended by such a multitude, that the enterprise seemed hazardous, if not impracticable. Yet the greatest difficulties appeared after they were engaged, and where a retreat would be disgraceful. The artillery from the ships made dreadful slaughter of the enemy; while *de Olid* was employed in filling up the ditch, and destroying the fortifications on the causeway. When he had completed this business, he began his attack, and was seconded by *Cortez*, who landed with thirty *Spaniards*, and infused such valor into the troops, that they drove the enemy before them, into the city, gained the principal street, and forced a strong temple filled with troops, without a single repulse.

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pushed. Immediately that whole quarter of the city was deserted by the enemy, and Cortez had thoughts of maintaining the ground he gained, and removing his head-quarters thither. But Tezcuco, when he dropt his project by the advice of his officers, who represented the danger to which his troops would be exposed, from the perpetual attacks of the *Mexicans*, and the difficulty of bringing provision. It was the general sense of the council of war, that they ought to make their advances equally at each of the attacks, in order to divide the enemies forces, until all had carried their approaches into the city, and drawn so near, that they could be mutually assisting to each other. Cortez felt the conviction of the arguments used by the officers, and immediately relinquished his own design.

AFTER the troops were refreshed, by resting a whole evening in the post they had gained in the principal street of *Mexico*, Cortez proceeded in the morning to *Iztapalapa*, where he found Sandoval reduced to great extremity. He was pinched within narrow quarters, and in a manner besieged by the *Mexican* canoes, although he had defeated repeated reinforcements sent from the city. In this situation he was when Cortez arrived, and played the artillery of his brigantines so successfully upon the canoes which beset Sandoval, that they retired in the utmost confusion, into the canals leading through the city into the lake, and were overturned by the pressing in of people from the banks. There was scarce any attempt made to resist the *Spanish* squadron; yet the numbers that were drowned greatly diminished the *Mexican* forces.

CORTEZ now perceived, that it would be impossible to use the causeway to advantage, until he had destroyed that part of the city *Iztapalapa*, which afforded a retreat for the *Mexican* canoes. This would occasion such delay, as might prove fatal to the other attacks; he therefore determined to evacuate this post entirely, and send the body of forces, under Sandoval, to seize upon *Tapacuilla*, where there was a causeway, less commodious for attacking, but more advantageous to the design he now had of starving the *Mexicans* into submission. Sandoval marched, as he was ordered; and, on his arrival at *Tapacuilla*, found the place evacuated. Cortez, who had escorted him with the brigantines, set sail for *Tacuba*, where he found Alvarado in possession of the city, but continuing continually with the enemy, that his loss of men more than overbalanced the advantage of the post. It was this which made Cortez issue orders, that all attacks should cease, and apply himself to assembling a fleet of canoes sufficient

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of the
Mexicans.

intent to obstruct all convoys to the city. When he had collected the number he thought necessary, he reinforced them with *Indians*, and distributed this reinforcement among the brigantines, which he now divided into three divisions. From this time an entire stop was put to the supplies of the *Mexicans*; and the besieged found themselves greatly straitened for water and provision. To remove these obstructions, the *Mexicans* employed all their address and ingenuity; and, indeed, the variety of contrivances upon which they fell, sufficiently evince, that the *Spaniards* had to do with a subtle enemy, fruitful in stratagem and invention. Perceiving that all their endeavours to fortify the *city* were abortive, they sent by secret and different passages several canoes of pioneers, to clear the ditches which the *Spaniards* had filled up, that they might fall upon them with their whole force, when they should be obliged to retire. This stratagem not succeeding to their expectation, they made perpetual sallies in the night, and kept the confederates in continual alarm, with intention to attack them with all their strength when they were spent with fatigue. But the scheme which most discovered their ingenuity, was that formed against the brigantines, whose superior force they aimed to destroy by separating them, and engaging them single. They built thirty of their large canoes, which the natives called piraguas, of a larger size, and strengthened them with great planks, to receive the shot, and engage under shelter. With this fleet they sallied out in the night, and took their station behind the reeds in the lake, which grew so high and thick, that they formed several groves impenetrable to the sight. To draw the brigantines into the ambuscade, they had provided some canoes, laden with provision as a bait, and had also fixed stakes in the water, so that the points were covered, in hopes either to founder the brigantines, or entangle them in such a manner, that they might be engaged to advantage. Two of the brigantines being soon after observed cruising near this station, the *Mexicans* put out their canoe, in order that the *Spaniards* might give chase. The stratagem succeeded. The *Spaniards*, who had no suspicion, pursued the flying canoes with all the force of their oars, fell in among the hidden stakes, and were so embarrassed, that they could neither retreat nor advance, when they saw the piraguas coming with desperate fury to fall upon them. A sharp engagement now began; the *Spaniards* fired their muskets and artillery with all possible diligence; while the chief endeavour of the *Mexicans* was to board them, in which they were always foiled. However, all the valour of the *Spanish* mariners

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marksmen have sunk under the weight of numbers, had not the shot of the cannon somewhat disengaged their vessels, which were afterwards quite cleared off by the endeavours of the expert swimmers; who, by dint of strength, and the assistance of hatchets, removed the stakes. Being now at full liberty, they made dreadful destruction among the enemy, sunk and destroyed most of the piraguas, and pursued the rest as far as their own security would admit. The victory was complete, but it was dearly purchased, at the expence of the lives of *Barba* and *Pertillo*, whose valour contributed chiefly to the success.

It was not long before *Cortez* had an opportunity of revenging the death of those brave officers. Having received notice that the enemy had repaired their vessels, and stationed them behind the reeds, in order to draw the *Spaniards* to an engagement, under the same disadvantages as before, he resolved to countermine their plot. Six brigantines were concealed among some reeds, not far from where the piraguas lay. One of those was ordered to cruize about, as if in search of canoes with provision, and afterwards to draw as near the concealed piraguas as was necessary to let them see they were discovered; and when they gave chase, she was to make all the dispatch possible to the place of the counter-ambuscade. Every thing succeeded to their most sanguine expectations. The *Mexicans* gave chase to the brigantine as to a sure prize, and were suddenly saluted with the artillery of the rest of the squadron. Their attempt to retreat was now in vain; the *Spaniards* poured in their shot with so much fury, that not a single piragua escaped being sunk or taken.

THOSE successes, though no ways decisive, served to animate *Cortez* mate the confederates, and dishearten the enemy; who, according to the advices received from the city, were now reduced to great want of provision. It was also reported, that the necessities of the common people had rendered them clamorous, which *Cortez* thought a fit opportunity for renewing his pacific overtures; for though he had the utmost reason to believe he should succeed in the reduction of *Mexico*, yet, he was sensible, it must cost blood, and it besides grieved him to destroy so beautiful a city; without which, he found, he should hardly be able to gain possession. Some noble *Mexican* prisoners were sent with the proposals, which were received, with more temper than was expected, by the emperor. It was afterwards affirmed by the prisoners, that he called a council of his principal officers and ministers, and laid before them the wretched condition of the city, the prodigious

digious diminution of the number of inhabitants, the murders of the people on their being reduced to scanty allowance of provision, the destruction of so many houses and temples; in a word, all the consequences of the war were recited; after which, he asked their opinion touching the proposals made by the *Spaniards*, and expressed his own inclination for peace, as far as was consistent with the character of a prince of martial genius and invincible courage. It was the universal sense of the members of this council, that the overtures for peace ought to be admitted; but when the proposition was referred to the priests, they opposed it with the utmost violence, foreseeing the overthrow of their temples, and of consequence the ruin of their influence over the minds of the people. They pretended to have received certain answers from their idols, which gave them fresh assurances of victory; which so animated the council, that, except the emperor, changed their sentiments, and declared for the continuance of the war. *Guatimozin*, or *Quautimoc*, as *Herrera* calls this emperor, then declared, that although his own sentiments were pacific, he would nevertheless give up his opinion to the clergy and council; withal prohibiting any one from ever again presuming to mention peace, from whatever consideration, on pain of capital punishment. By this declaration he thought to animate the *Mexicans* to desperate efforts, and by that means bring the war to a happy conclusion, since he could not effect this by the way of negotiation.

WHEN the emperor's resolution was brought to *Cortez*, he determined to resume his attacks by the three causeways, and to carry fire and sword into the very heart of the city; sending orders to his officers to begin their operations at *Tacuba* and *Tepicacua*, while he charged himself with the necessary approaches by the way of *Coyoacan*, assisted by *Christopher de Olid*. During the cessation of operations by land ordered by *Cortez*, the *Mexicans* had cleared the breaches in the causeways, and erected some works, which were now soon destroyed by the artillery of the shipping. They had, however, dug one ditch of such depth and breadth, that it cost the confederates a great deal of trouble. The *Mexicans* had broke down about sixty feet of the causeway, to enlarge the ditch, which they filled with the waters of several canals. The opposite bank was covered with fortifications. There a strong work was raised of timbers, covered with planks, with several rows of loop-holes, thro' a trap, to ply their darts and arrows under cover. This work was garrisoned with a multitude of select troops; but it soon

soon gave way to the artillery. The only difficulty was, to bring the cannon to bear; for whenever that was effected, every shot broke the fortification to pieces. No sooner had the *Spaniards* gained this breach and strong post, than more obstructions appeared; but with such fury did they ply the artillery, that the *Mexicans* were driven from all their trenches, and a sudden faintness, seemingly the effect of some new order, appeared in their operations. It was then supposed that the *Mexicans* were commanded by the emperor to prepare their whole strength to attack the enemy in their retreat. Cortez suspected his intentions; but he had then scarce time to return to his quarters before night, and yet found it impossible to maintain the posts he had gained without the most imminent danger. After setting fire to several houses, to prevent their obstructing his next assault, he began to retire, and was soon alarmed with the shouts of an infinite multitude, and the sound of the *sacred trumpet*, which being permitted only to the priests, intimated that something extraordinary was transacting. The noise was dismal and unharmonious; but adapted to inspire those barbarians with a kind of savage rage, that made them despise life, through motives of religion. Their van was composed of select warriors, who fell upon the rear of the confederates with inexpressible fury, and were rewarded with proportionable courage by the fire-arms and cross-bows, with Cortez at the head of the cavalry. The great ditch now stopped the retreat, and Cortez exerted his utmost endeavours to give a check to the enemy, until bridges could be laid over, on which the troops might pass in safety; but he found it impossible to preserve order among the confederate *Indians*, who precipitated themselves into the canal, in the greatest confusion, leaving the general and the *Spaniards* to maintain the engagement against the whole force of *Mexico*. The slaughter he made was terrible; but the enemy pressed on *undaunted*, took forty *Spaniards* alive, wounded the greater number, and must have inevitably destroyed the whole, had not the brigantines come seasonably to their relief, and carried off Cortez wounded, disappointed, defeated, and chagrined. It is affirmed, that some thousands of *Tlascalans* perished in this retreat, that a piece of cannon fell into the enemies hands, and that the *Mexicans* celebrated the victory the same night, with great rejoicings, and the sacrifice of the *Spanish* prisoners, the blood of whose leaping hearts was sprinkled upon the altars of their horrible idols.

WHILE

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While the attack on the side of *Cayacan* terminated in this unfortunate manner, the operations of a similar nature, carried on by *Sandoval* and *Alvarado*, by the canals of *Tacuba* and *Tapeaquilla*, were not more prosperous, although the loss was not so considerable. They gained bridges, filled up ditches, drove the enemy from their posts, but were so vigorously attacked in their retreat, that twenty *Spaniards* were killed or taken, some thousands of *Indians* slain or drowned, and the two corps absolutely defeated. This circumstance extremely dispirited the troops, especially as the *Mexicans* in this instance appeared to be victorious, without the concurrence of any accident in their favour; whereas *Cortez* sustained his defeat in consequence of *Julian de Aldarate* the treasurer's neglect of orders. As soon as the great ditch was carried, the general had given him directions immediately to fill it up to secure a retreat; but *Aldarate's* ardour and sanguine expectations, that *Mexico* would certainly be carried at this assault, looked upon the employment destined him as neither necessary nor honourable, at a time when the rest of the army was engaged. He, therefore, advanced to the battle, and his neglect was not discovered before the retreat, when it was too late to repair his error. Sensible of his fault, he now hastened to the general, and offered his head as an atonement for his crime; but *Cortez* satisfied himself with a severe reprimand, not chusing to dishearten the troops, or deprive himself of a good officer, upon account of an oversight arising from excess of courage.

Artifice of THE *Mexicans* were highly elated with their advantage, *Guatimozin* and *Guatimozin* used every artifice to improve it, by weakening the enemy, and inspiring his own people with confidence. He spread a report that *Cortez* was killed in the late action, he sent the heads of the sacrificed *Spaniards* to all the neighbouring towns, that these proofs of his victory might bring back those who had deserted him; and he asserted with the assurance of self-conviction, that the gods being now appeased with the blood of their enemies, had informed him they would put a speedy issue to the war, and in the space of eight days destroy all who neglected these warnings. At the same time he employed a number of emissaries in the *Indian* camp, who spread these menaces of the gods among the confederates, by which contrivance he succeeded so happily in his designs, that in the space of three nights *Cortez* found himself almost entirely deserted, scarce any remaining besides the officers of mobility. Even the *Cor-Tlascalans* were terrified with the dreadful denunciation of the gods,

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gods, and disbanded, in order to avoid the consequences of their wrath. At first Cortez was alarmed by so extraordinary an accident, and despaired of the success of his enterprise, but when he was made acquainted with the occasion, he sent the commanders after them to temporise with their fears until the time of the prediction should be expired, and the Indians thoroughly convinced of the fallibility of the oracle, a contrivance which produced the effect. When the eight days were expired, this ignorant people yielded to persuasion, laid aside their fears, and returned with fresh vigour and resolution to their quarters; by which means the army was greatly augmented, the spirits of the people took a sudden turn, and they flocked in such crowds to the camp, that Cortez, in a few days, found himself at the head of two hundred thousand fighting men.

HOWEVER, the *Mexicans* reaped some advantage from their stratagem. They reduced the *Spaniards* to the necessity of suspending all hostilities, during which time they made frequent sallies, which extremely harassed the enemy, but without being able to regain the posts of which Cortez had taken possession. Hence the famine was daily gaining ground, and Cortez was informed by the prisoners he had lately taken, that the army was dissatisfied, and the people reduced to extreme necessity for want of bread, and water. They were forced to drink the brackish water drawn from pits, which produced a variety of diseases, of which great numbers died. The inconsiderable supplies of provisions brought by the canoes were equally distributed among the nobles, which became an additional subject of discontent. In a word, they reported that the vulgar, in general, became so clamorous, as to give suspicion of their fidelity. Such intelligence was of the utmost importance, and that it might not be lost, Cortez assembled his officers to deliberate upon the measures necessary to be pursued in the present situation of affairs. In this council it was unanimously resolved to continue their attacks, and push both the siege and blockade. For this purpose strong garrisons were to be left at the head-quarters and posts, while the rest of the forces made an assault by the three causeways, endeavouring to unite in the great square of *Mexico*, where it was proposed to establish a footing, and thereby prevent the necessity of always retreating to quarters. Water, provision, and whatever was necessary for the subsistence of his troops, where a scarcity prevailed, being in readiness, the army marched out of quarters in three divisions, under the same officers who led the former attacks, repaired to their respective posts on the

again
pushes the
attack on
Mexico.

the causeways as before, and were each supported by a number of canoes and brigantines. They now had to dispute all the breaches again, as the enemy had drawn up the bridges, and erected new fortifications. The brigantines plied their cannon, and the soldiers kept up so furious a discharge of fire-arms and cross-bows, that all these impediments were soon removed, the three divisions arriving about the same time in the city. Here they easily gained several ruined streets, as they were but faintly defended by the enemy, who relied chiefly upon those streets where the tops of the houses were strongly garrisoned, or rather crowded with soldiers. It was wonderful to observe how the three several corps of the confederate force observed the same regulations, as if they had been animated by one soul. Although they had as yet no communication, all contented themselves for that day, with having got a footing in the city, and used their endeavours to fortify quarters, in which they might rest with tolerable security for that night, fully determined next morning to proceed in their attempt to reach the great square of *Platzcuco*, which was the center of their several expectations to which they tended by different lines.

*Establishes
a footing
in the city,*

It was matter of surprise and disappointment to the *Mexicans*, that the confederates had made good their quarters in the city. They had directed all their measures to harass them in their retreat, and those were now entirely broken and defeated. The rumour immediately spread through the city, and every mind was employed in contriving some new resource. The nobles flocked in consternation to the imperial palace, in order to prevail on *Guatimozin* to retire to a place of more security; but he positively declared that he would share in the fate of his people. Several expedients were proposed, and among others, that the confederates should be attacked early in the morning with all the power of *Mexico*, and, if possible, dislodged; a proposal that met with the emperor's approbation. Accordingly preparations were made, and, as soon as dawn appeared, the whole forces of *Mexico*, in three bodies, began their attacks upon the three different lodgments. This was a definitive effort, and every *Mexican* determined to succeed or to perish in the attempt; but they no sooner came within reach of the artillery planted in all the passes before the *Spanish* quarters, than their resolution vanished. The cannon made such dreadful slaughter in the van, that it fell back upon the center, and threw the whole army into confusion. Divers efforts were made to rally the troops; but the confederates kept

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Up to incessant a fire of artillery and mulquetry, that it was impossible for the *Mexicans* to advance near enough to employ their weapons. Thus were they completely defeated, without the loss of a single man on the side of the besiegers. Nevertheless, the confederates had still manifold difficulties to encounter. For the space of four days they were in continual action, disputing every inch of ground; and beating the *Mexicans* from the trenches dug, and the works erected in every street; at the same time they were under the necessity of fortifying fresh quarters for their defence in the evening. At last, after encountering a multiplicity of dangers, and conquering an infinity of difficulties, *Pedro Alvarado* arrived in the spacious square of *Tlatelencu*, where he found the *Mexicans* drawn up in battalia; but he charged them with such vigour that they fell in confusion, abandoned the square, and retired to the adjoining streets. He had possessed himself of a large temple in the neighbourhood, on the top of which he had made a signal to his friends of his success, when *Cortez* and *de Olid* arrived with the division under their command, driving before them a multitude of *Mexicans*, who now were enclosed between the two corps of confederates, and so warmly attacked in front and rear, that few of them escaped. Not long after *Sandoval* brought up his division, and gave up the crowds of *Mexicans* he was driving before him to the rage of their countrymen, that of perishing by the swords of the enemy, by whom they were enclosed. The carnage was so great, that several companies of *Indians* were employed the whole evening in clearing the square of dead bodies; and the *Spaniards* were forced to keep the strictest watch to prevent their allies from running away with their wretched burdens, in order to feast deliciously on the human flesh, according to the detestable rites with which those savages celebrated their victories. Here *Cortez* took up his quarters for the night, after having used every precaution to defend himself against the sudden attacks of an enemy now driven to despair.

In the morning the troops were drawn out to renew the attack, intended against the quarter of the city, into which the emperor and court had retired. All the streets in that district were seen full of armed men, behind whom were a great number of workmen diligently employed in erecting fortifications, against the last misfortune that hung over this almost ruined city. *Cortez* did not doubt but the *Mexicans* would dispute this last stake with obstinacy; it was therefore advisable, he thought, to spare the effusion of blood, by renewing his overtures for peace, at a juncture when he imagined

*Progress
of the
siege.*

lined they would hardly be rejected. Accordingly he sent out four noble prisoners to carry a message to the emperor and acquaint him, that the *Spanish* general was far from wishing the destruction of so fine a city, and would willingly avoid shedding the blood of a greater number of *Mexicans*, provided they would listen to equitable terms of accommodation. This produced a suspension of hostilities, the enemy expressing the utmost desire to forward a pacification. In the mean time *Cortez* employed himself in reconnoitring the ground, and viewing those fortifications the *Mexicans* were erecting, which, after all their labour, he found, must soon yield to his artillery. Nor did he meet with any opposition, the *Mexicans* signifying by their silence and stillness, that the negotiation was popular. The art with which they endeavoured to disguise their necessity was very remarkable. They took the utmost pains to persuade the *Spaniards*, that although they were no way attached to the peace in agitation, yet they were able and willing to prosecute the war. They sent out several soldiers of gigantic stature, to challenge any of the *Spaniards*, or *Tlascalans*, to single combat; and this practice they continued until they so far roused the indignation of *Mercado*, a youth of seventeen, who acted in the capacity of page to *Cortez*, that he flung himself into the canal, which separated him from the *Mexicans*, swam to the opposite bank, engaged the challenger, and thrusting his sword into his breast, laid him dead on the ground, to the great joy of the *Spaniards*, and astonishment of the *Mexicans*, who beheld this exploit, in a youth, as a specimen of the general valour of the enemy.

AFTER a suspense of three days, during which all action ceased, an answer arrived from *Gratimozin*, expressing his desire to terminate differences in an amicable manner; which, however, proved only an artifice to gain time to pursue certain measures which had been projected in his council. It was afterwards known, that he had frequently assembled the nobility to deliberate upon the answer he should return. A majority voted for admitting the proposed treaty: and this opinion would have prevailed, had not the priests again interposed. They gave fresh assurances of victory from pretended oracles delivered to them by their idols; they excited a kind of fanatical fury in the breasts of the council, by calling this cause, the cause of heaven, and they practised with the utmost address all those frauds by which the pious impostors of all nations are accustomed to delude the ignorant. Upon this, it was unanimously resolved to run every hazard in the prosecution of the war, and immediately

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to renew hostilities, as soon as the piraguas and canoes should be provided to favour the emperor's retreat, in case the enemy should prevail. In consequence of this determination, orders were issued to collect all the vessels in *Mexico*, to a bay of the lake that run in upon one side of the quarter of the city, in which the court at present resided. Cortez had notice of the motions made to execute this order; and judging of the design, directed *Sandoval* to have a watchful eye with the brigantines upon the bay. Then he marched forward to the enemy's works; but the *Mexicans* had already received orders to stand on their defence, and they had declared the breach of the treaty by their hostile cries, before the *Spaniards* levelled a shot, or threw an arrow. Cortez began the attack, and the courage of the enemy forsook them, on perceiving the havock made among their wooden fortifications by the first discharge of the cannon. They had imagined these works were impregnable, and when they saw them shattered in pieces, they were seized with dread, and gave immediate notice of their situation to the emperor. It was now necessary to have recourse to artifice to gain time; *Guatimozin* accordingly sent word, that they should demand a parley, which was done by signs, and granted without hesitation, the general entertaining no doubts of their sincerity on account of their defenceless situation. Cortez gave them to understand by the interpreters, that whoever had any proposals to offer from *Guatimozin*, might advance and deliver them in perfect security; upon which four nobles advanced to the brink of the trench, and acquainted the general, that the supreme majesty of *Guatimozin* had deputed them, his servants, to treat of an amicable accommodation, and to demand any proposals which the captain of the *Spaniards* had to offer, in order to report to his sublime highness the articles of capitulation. The reply made by the general was, *Negotiations of* that his only view was peace; and although he now had it in his power to give law to the refractory *Mexicans*, yet peace. he was ready to renew the treaty which they had wantonly broken. To remove all difficulties, he said it was requisite that the emperor should either appear in person, or, at least, draw nearer with his council, the sooner to terminate such disputes as might arise in adjusting their differences. He assured the ambassadors, that he would willingly agree to every thing that was not injurious to the authority of his own master, the king of *Spain*; and he promised in the most solemn manner, that he would not only cause all hostilities to cease, but take particular care that his royal person should

Guatimozin's policy.

The emperor taken prisoner, and Mexico reduced.

Should be in the utmost security, and treated with all the respect due to the exalted character of an emperor of *Mexico*. For the space of four days *Guatimozin* continued this feigned negotiation, until all the vessels were ready for his retreat; and *Cortez* was so persuaded of his sincerity, that he made some preparations for his reception. At length notice was brought of what was transacting on the lake; and *Cortez*, now sensible that he was the dupe of these barbarians, swore revenge. Orders had already been given to *Sandoval*, narrowly to watch the *Mexican* piraguas and canoes, and *Cortez* was purposing to give the assault early next morning. *Sandoval* acted in the most judicious manner. He kept out small canoes, hid among the reeds, to observe the enemy, and when he received advice, that great numbers of people were seen embarking in the canoes and piraguas, he advanced slowly with his fleet of brigantines, until he was near enough to play his artillery: on the first discharge of the cannon, all the enemy's canoes, and several brigantines, fell upon him with great fury, resolving to maintain the fight until the emperor had made his escape. The nobles had charged themselves with this business; and, indeed, they made desperate efforts in defence of their sovereign, attacking the brigantines with undaunted courage, notwithstanding the terrible havock made by the cannon. In the midst of this engagement *Sandoval* observed, that five or six piraguas were making the best of their way, with the utmost force of oars, from the bottom of the bay, and suspecting that the emperor might be on board, he dispatched captain *Garcia de Holguin*, with one of the brigantines, to take them with as little damage as possible. This officer executed his orders with punctuality, directing his attack against the foremost piragua, which seemed to command the others; and he had no sooner seized upon this vessel, than all the others lay upon their oars, calling out not to fire, for that the royal person of the emperor of *Mexico* was on board. To make themselves the better understood, the crew threw down their arms, and put on all the appearance of submission; upon which the *Spanish* captain and some soldiers, leaped into the prize and secured her. The emperor immediately discovered himself by the dignity of his manner. He got up, and advanced with an air of intrepidity, offered himself to the captain's prisoner, and only expressed his concern for the honour of his royal consort, who then accompanied him. He made a signal to the other piraguas, and they instantly lay upon their oars, ceased hostilities, and submitted. When the nobility,

bility, who were deeply engaged in their canoe with *Samual*,
 and had undertaken, at the expence of their own lives,
 to effect the liberty of their prince, were informed of the em-
 peror's fate, they not only surrendered without further re-
 sistance, but besought the *Spaniards* they might be sent on
 board the same vessel, that they might die at the feet of
 their sovereign. The same happened on the shore. *Holguin*
 had detached a canoe to acquaint the general with his good
 fortune, the news spread through the confederate army, and
 seized the *Mexicans* as if by sympathy; they deserted their
 works, began dismal lamentations, and offered submission
 at the discretion of the conqueror. Two companies of *Span-*
niards were sent to the banks of the lake to conduct the
 imperial prisoner to the army; and orders were issued that
 all hostilities should cease, and the army remain in the pre-
 sent situation until further directions. *Cortez* went out to
 meet the captive monarch, received him with the most pro-
 found reverence, and was astonished at the magnanimity
 which that prince shewed under the pressure of misfortune.
 When they arrived at the general's quarters, *Gudtimozin* and
 the empress went first into the tent, intimating thereby, that
 they had no reluctance to their confinement. Both took
 their seats; but the emperor rose up of a sudden, and desired
Cortez to take his seat, telling him at the same time by the
 interpreters, and putting his hand upon the general's sword,
 "Why do you hesitate to take away my life? Prisoners of
 "any rank are only a trouble to the conqueror. Let me
 "then, at once, have the satisfaction of dying by your
 "hand, since I have not been so fortunate as to lose my
 "life in the defence of my people."—Here his constancy
 failed him, and he dropped some involuntary tears, which
 drew the sympathetic drops from the eyes of *Cortez*; endeav-
 ouring to suppress those tender emotions, he replied to the
 emperor, "That he was not his prisoner, nor had his dig-
 "nity fallen into so inglorious a condition; but that he
 "was the prisoner of so great and powerful a monarch,
 "that the whole universe could not produce a potentate
 "equal to him in grandeur, dominion, or noble qualities.
 "From him he might not only hope to regain his liberty,
 "but likewise the throne of his ancestors, with the honour-
 "able addition of his friendship; and, until he could re-
 "ceive his sovereign's instructions, he should be respected by
 "the *Spaniards*, and treated in such a manner, that he
 "should not be able to distinguish their services from those
 "of his own subjects, his promise to which he ought to
 "have

August
 13, 1521.

have adhered more rigorously, as it was made voluntarily (A).

In this manner ended the conquest of the vast empire of Mexico, the whole depending upon the fortune of the sovereign, and the capital. Some provinces still held out, but we shall see how easily they were reduced. The siege lasted near three months; it cost Cortez the lives of near a hundred Spaniards, and an infinity of Indians. The loss of the Mexicans exceeded an hundred thousand men, at the most moderate computation; besides those who perished of disease and famine. Some thousands of nobility were among the slain; but the pestilence and famine chiefly afflicted the lower sort of people, who ate the most nauseous food in their necessity, and drank salt water. What greatly contributed to spread the contagion, was the intolerable stench produced from the heaps of corrupted carcases; all the slain having been heaped together in empty houses, that their funeral obsequies might be celebrated at more leisure. The women displayed all the noblest qualities of the mind during the whole course of the siege. They attended the sick, dressed the wounded, made slings, and other weapons, carried water from the most distant pits, and even fought occasionally with truly masculine valour. The city, according to Herrera, was given up to be plundered, and the booty was immense, although it was suspected that Moteczuma's treasures were concealed. Cortez expressed his acknowledgments to the Almighty for the signal success of his arms by a solemn thanksgiving, after which the troops were led back to Coyoacan, and the bulk of the confederates dismissed, with large presents and honourable rewards of their fidelity and important services. Many of the Mexican nobility were set at liberty, and Cortez exhorted the inhabitants to a perfect resignation and sub-

(A) Guatimozin was a young prince of extraordinary qualities, high birth, great courage and ability in the art of war, although he was prevented by the policy of his court from bearing his own armies in the attacks on the Spaniards' quarters, knowing that the fate of the city depended on his safety. He was tall, robust, well proportioned, handsome in his features, and so fair in his complexion, that he scarce resem-

bled an Indian. In his air he was noble and majestic, preserving even in his captivity such a dignity of carriage as commanded the respect of his conquerors. The empress was also young, but so graceful in her manner, and so lively in her mien, that she attracted admiration and reverence. She was niece to the great Moteczuma; and this circumstance more strongly recommended her to the Spaniards. D. Sbir, lib. v. cap. 27.

million.

million, which alone would secure them in all the privileges they enjoyed under the government of *Guatimozin*. With respect to *Motexuma's* treasures, the most diligent search proved fruitless. It was well known that when *Cortez* resided in the court of that monarch, he was possessed of immense wealth, which might have possibly been now expended in supporting the war, and preserving the fidelity of the provinces and nobility. This was a consideration that never once occurred to the minds of the *Spaniards*, who regarded the riches of *Motexuma* as altogether inexhaustible. Fully persuaded they would become their own property as soon as *Mexico* was reduced, they pushed the siege with redoubled vigour, and now were chagrined with disappointment, in proportion to their sanguine expectations. The soldiers cried out, that *Guatimozin* had concealed the treasures; and it was indeed affirmed by some of the *Mexican* nobles, that he had often declared his resolution of throwing all his wealth into the lake, whenever he found resistance would be fruitless, and *Mexico* must fall. Many, however, suspected, that this declaration was an artifice; and so impatient were the soldiers, that *Cortez* yielded to their pressing instances, to bring the monarch and his prime favourite to a strict account. The latter was put to the torture, but confessed nothing, casting his eyes, as he was expiring upon the rack, upon his sovereign, with all the expression of inviolable tenderness and fidelity, which some construed into a presumption that he was possessed of the secret, but resolved to carry it with him to the grave. It was this suspicion that produced the resolution of trying the effects of torture upon the monarch himself; imagining, possibly, that his constancy might yield to the excruciating pangs of the rack: an action which reflects eternal disgrace upon *Cortez*, who had passed his word for the emperor's good usage. It was piteous to behold the effects which this unworthy punishment of her lord produced on the empress, which even mollified the hearts of the brutal soldiers, and drew forth tears of compassion from the eyes of the general, who now ordered *Guatimozin* to be taken from the wheel, after he had endured, without shrinking, the extremity of pain. *Cortez* afterwards excused himself, for this breach of his engagements, and act of barbarity, by alleging, that he was accused of being privy to *Guatimozin's* concealment of the treasure, with intention to deprive the soldiers of their proportion; a suspicion which it was incumbent on him to remove. But the method which he took to clear himself was by no means approved. The soldiers, who had insisted upon his making strict inquiry for the treasure, now taxed him

him with perfidy and cruelty; they were moved with the heroism with which the monarch supported his sufferings, and glad to shift off from themselves the odium of so detestable an action, though at the expence of the honour of their commander. In a word, the glory of one of the noblest conquests related in the annals of mankind, was sullied by avarice and cruelty; and the reputation of *Cortez*, which would otherwise have been handed down to posterity with untainted lustre, was greatly obscured, by suffering an act equally mean, sordid, and perfidious.

*Cortez
sends an
account of
his success
to court.*

It was now the general's endeavour to restore peace and tranquillity in the new conquest, knowing that the security of the *Spaniards* depended greatly upon the degree of ease and felicity which the inhabitants enjoyed under their government. His first measure was to establish a civil policy, by appointing alcaldes, regidores, and other magistrates, agreeable to the *Spanish* constitution. Next he determined to transmit an account of his successes to court, to exhort his majesty to continue and confirm the new magistrates in their respective employments, and to make grants of lands to those who had performed the most eminent services. *Alonso d'Avila* and *Antonio de Quixanes* were the persons selected to carry these dispatches, the king's fifth of the booty, the presents from the army, and the private remittances of *Cortez* to his father and other relations. Among the other presents sent to the king, to give him a proper idea of the importance of the new conquest, was an emerald of prodigious size, of a pyramidal form, pearls of immense value set in bracelets, rings, jewels, and other ornaments, wore by the *Indians*; a number of gold and silver cups of curious workmanship, considering the low condition of the arts in that barbarous country; figures of fishes, birds, and other animals, in solid gold; vizors of mosaic work, in fine stones; pictures of feathers; historical paintings on cotton; priests vestments; with an infinity of other particulars, valuable either for their curiosity or intrinsic worth. The new magistrates wrote a letter to his catholic majesty, extolling the gallantry and prudent conduct of their general, to whose measures they ascribed all the good fortune, and *Cortez* himself sent a minute relation of every particular, requesting that some person of ability and integrity might be sent to survey the wonders of the new conquest, and make a just report to his majesty; and that a sufficient number of the clergy might be ordered to *New Spain*, to take care of the interests of religion, and assist in the propagation of the gospel.

And the fame of the reduction of *Mexico* spread itself ^{Several} among the provinces, like the motion communicated to the ^{provinces} waters of a stagnated lake, passing from the centre to the ^{submit to} extremities in circles, that multiply as they advance. Every ^{the Spaniards.} tongue spoke the praises of the *Spaniards*, and their admiration of the wonders they had wrought in the downfall of so vast an empire. The very terror of their name was sufficient to procure the submission of a great number of different caziques, of whom *Cortez* never heard before. A *Spanish* soldier had been seduced by the *Indians* into the territories of the sovereign of *Mechoacan*, where he was civilly used, and dismissed with such presents, as induced *Cortez* to send an embassy to that monarch, whose kingdom was reported to extend near three hundred leagues, in order to obtain some account of a country, which would make a valuable accession to the *Mexican* empire. *Montano*, with three other *Spaniards*, and about twenty *Indians* of the first distinction, were appointed for this service. They set out on their journey, and in four days arrived at *Tuximaroa*, a town on the frontiers of *Mechoacan*, by the cazique of which they were treated with great respect. On approaching the capital, they were met by a numerous and splendid deputation from the sovereign lord of *Mechoacan*, who assured them of his friendship and protection, out of regard for their valiant exploits, their conquests over his enemies, and the great reputation in arms which they had so justly acquired; however, when he once had them in his power, he altered his tone, questioned them with great severity about their intentions, and delivered them over to his guards to be sacrificed to his gods. Influenced by the remonstrances and persuasion of one of his counselors, he dropt this design, and sent them away to *Cortez*, with presents, attended by an embassy of some of the prime nobility of his court, a promise of subjection to the king of *Spain*, and an assurance that he would soon make his acknowledgments in person. The presents in gold were estimated at upwards of a hundred thousand pieces of eight, besides several valuable curiosities in feathers, stones, and pieces of elegantly wrought and figured cotton. These ambassadors returned with so favourable a report of their reception, the courtesy and magnanimity of *Cortez*, as well as the wonders beheld in the *Spanish* quarters, of thunder, and other extraordinary particulars, that the king was more than ever inflamed with curiosity; however, prudence restrained his eagerness, and determined him first to send his brother, to make sure of the good intentions of the *Spaniards*. At last he ventured in person upon the visit to *Cayacoan*, where

Cortez at that time resided, and began his journey. His reception was scarce inferior in splendour to that of the emperor of *Mexico*. The ceremonies of the salutation were extraordinary and formal. The king never condescended to address himself to the interpreter, but first spoke to his general, who reported the words to a person of inferior quality, and he to some other in a subordinate capacity, until after passing thro' several hands, they at length reached the interpreter, who explained them to *Cortez*. The king made a long speech, in which he acknowledged his vassalage to the king of *Spain*; but no formal instruments were made out, as was usually practised upon similar occasions. He was treated with the most profound reverence; he made presents of great value, received some trinkets in return, and then departed with the highest sentiments of the generosity, genius, and valour of the strangers.

RELYING upon the king's protestations of eternal friendship and fidelity, *Cortez* detached *Christopher de Olid*, with forty horse and a hundred foot, to take possession of the kingdom of *Mechoacan*, in the name of his catholick majesty, and settle a colony at *Kmtzitzitla*, and was very well received by the monarch, and for some time met with no opposition in founding the projected settlement, as he proceeded gradually in his endeavours to civilize the native barbarians. It was the general's intention to open a way to the *South Sea*, for which purpose *Olid* had instructions to penetrate into the provinces of *Colima*; in which divers *Spaniards*, who had been sent on the same design, were murdered, at the time when *Cortez* was driven out of the city of *Mexico*. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* was detached with two hundred foot, and thirty-five horse, to facilitate the scheme, by reducing all the nations lying towards the north-sea, in order to open an immediate communication. It was in this excursion, that *Sandoval* built the town of *Espiritu Santo*. Some disturbances in the provinces called *Misteca*, obliged *Cortez* to send *Alvarado*, with a party, to reduce the inhabitants to obey the *Spanish* government, which he effected by blockading an army of natives within a fortified inclosure of stone they had erected, near *Tziquinpec*. Their fortification was said to have been a league in compass, and it required all the ability of the *Spanish* commander, assisted by a large body of confederate *Indians*, to prevent the enemy from introducing provisions. At last he obliged them to surrender for want of water, after being reduced to such extremity, that they were forced to quench their thirst with drinking their own urine.

Espiritu
Santo
built.

write Upon the report of some *Spaniards*, who had been sent to the provinces of *Tepecoantepec*, and *Zacatecas*, on the *South Sea* coast, *Alvarado* was ordered to assist the cazique of *Tepecoantepec* against another neighbouring cazique. This succourt was purchased by presents, and promises of acknowledging the sovereignty of the *Spanish* government. *Alvarado* quartered his troops in the capital of his enemy, whom he made prisoner by a stratagem, releasing him afterwards on his paying a high ransom. The country being rich in mines, *Segura*, *Alvarado* founded a colony at *Tatutepec*, which he called *Segura*, intended for the security of the province: it was soon after abandoned, in consequence of the private disputes of the inhabitants. Upon this the natives revolted; *Alvarado* again marched into the country, reduced them to obedience, and entirely subdued the provinces of *Socomesco* and *Guistimala*.

GREAT discoveries were now made in the most remote provinces of the *Mexican* empire. Five *Spaniards* travelled through the interior countries, between the ridge of mountains and the north-sea, passing *Xaltepeque*, along the foot of *Chiapa*, until they arrived at *Socomesco*, being about four hundred leagues. By this means great part of the *South Sea* coast was discovered. *Cortez* ordered ship-builders to go to *Zacatecas*, to set about equipping a fleet, which he destined for the *Molluco* islands; all the rigging, and other materials, being brought from *Vera Cruz*. *Christopher de Olid*, at that time with a party in *Mechoacan*, was ordered to assist in this business; and he set out with his *Spanish* corps, and a body of *Indians*, had several engagements with the *Catimens*, sustained considerable loss, and was forced to abandon the enterprise, until he could be reinforced. *Sandoval* was sent to his assistance, and he was attacked by the *Catimens* before he could unite himself with the troops under *Olid*. The battle was obstinate and bloody, the *Indians* fought with uncommon fury and good order; but they were in the end completely defeated, and so weakened, that they submitted without further resistance. A colony was founded at *Colima*, and lands were divided among the *Spanish* soldiers.

OLID having erected a settlement in *Mechoacan*, proceeded towards the coast of the south, upon being reinforced by *Andrea de Zapien*. On his arrival at *Zacatecas*, he committed the charge of directing the shipping to his colleague, and returned to *Mexico*, to assist in the expedition which *Cortez* was meditating in person against *Gara*, who had now made

another attempt to fortify *Atlixco*. The general Cortez
 march with three hundred *Spanish* foot, eighty horse, four
 thousand *Mexicans*, and several field pieces. In his way he
 engaged the inhabitants of *Ayotuxtlan*, who, confident of
 victory, fell upon him with a greatly superior force, and were
 defeated. Not dispirited with this stroke of adverse fortune,
 they retired behind their lakes and morasses, rejected all of-
 fertures of peace, and even destroyed the messengers sent
 with proposals by Cortez, which obliged him to march to
Chila, where Garay's men had formerly been defeated, to
 assemble some boats in the night, cross the river with a
 hundred *Spanish* foot and forty horse, and endeavour to fall
 upon the enemy by surprise. His scheme, however, was
 frustrated. In the night he found the country totally aban-
 doned; but no sooner had day-light appeared, than he
 was attacked with great impetuosity, by such a multitude of
Indians, as reduced him to as dangerous a situation as he
 had ever experienced. He triumphed, however, in the issue,
 by dint of valour and good fortune. The confederate *In-
 dians* observing, from the opposite side, that he was engaged
 with the enemy, crossed the river, fell upon the *Panucans* in
 flank and rear, and made a dreadful carnage before they
 would yield the victory. At last, being entirely broke, the
Panucans retreated with great precipitation, suffering Cortez
 to quarter his troops that night in a neighbouring town,
 where he found the cloaths and arms of Garay's soldiers hung
 up in triumph, and the skins of their faces stuck up to adorn
 the walls. In proceeding to the capital, a body of the enemy
 lying in an ambush, was discovered by the horse, and vigo-
 rously attacked. The courage and discipline of the *Indians*
 never shone so conspicuous as upon this occasion. They
 kneeled, shot their arrows, fought resolutely, and though
 their lines were put in confusion, talked with the greatest
 exactness of the military art, and at last retreated in good or-
 der to the opposite bank of a river, where they maintained
 their ground until night put an end to the engagement. Next
 day, however, they abandoned the country, suffered the
Spaniards to range about unmolested, and at last to attack
 their capital in the night, which yielded after great slaughter
 was made of the inhabitants. In consequence, all the ad-
 jacent country submitted, and Cortez founded the colony
 named *San Estaban del Puerto*, in the neighbourhood of *Chila*.
 This great town and *Panuco* he wholly destroyed, in revenge
 for the obstinacy with which they had been defended; or,
 as Herrera alleges, because the inhabitants were *Anthropo-
 phagi*.

San Est.
 van built.

...sacrificed their prisoners, and fed deliciously upon human flesh (B).

FROM hence the general directed his course to *Tatupac*, and other towns, which had rebelled, and destroyed all the country that continued faithful to the *Spaniards*. He vanquished the enemy, hanged the cazique of *Tatupac*, and after reducing the whole territory to obedience, returned triumphant to *Mexico*, where he applied himself diligently to repair the city, greatly damaged during the late siege. We have already mentioned his having appointed magistrates, and formed a regular government and police, which he sent to be ratified by his catholic majesty. He now drew a plan of the city, divided the ground among the conquerors, allotted a particular quarter for the residence of the *Spaniards*, and marked out places for churches, markets, and other public structures. He surmounted numberless difficulties in the execution of this project, suppressed a variety of conspiracies formed to obtain the emperor's release, or to murder the general. To gratify the *Mexicans*, he committed the superintendency of building one of the wards to *Xihuaro*, who had been general of the imperial forces. To *Pedro Motezuma*, son to the emperor of that name, now baptized, he gave in charge the direction of another, allotting certain islands and streets to other persons of quality, to be disposed of at their pleasure. *Cortez* built a magnificent palace for himself, the work went on cheerfully, several thousand hands were continually employed, the idols were destroyed, arsenals were formed, and *Mexico* not only resumed its ancient lustre, but great addition of strength, beauty, and extent (C).

It

(B) This expedition put *Cortez* to great expences. Horses were now become so scarce, that two thousand pieces of eight were given for this animal. It was the same with iron, and a horse-shoe was valued at fifty pieces of eight, and every iron nail deemed worth its weight in gold. Dec. iii. lib. i. cap. iii.

(C) It merits observation, that while *Cortez* was thus employed in *Mexico*, there were many considerable discoveries made by *Gonzalez d'Avila*, in the large province of *Nicaragua*.

Having built four vessels in the bay of *Panama*, *Gonzalez* set sail on the 21st of *January* 1522, and coasting about an hundred leagues westward, landed with a hundred men, and proceeded up the country to *Nicola*, where the cazique made him rich presents, and embraced christianity. From thence he proceeded to *Nicaragua*, the monarch of which province received him with equal civility, having been prejudiced in their favour by the loud report of the valour of the *Spaniards*, the sharpness of their swords.

Attempts
of Garay
defeated.

It was about this period, that the commission and imperial grants made to *Cortez* by *Charles V.* came to his hands; in consequence of which he redoubled his endeavours to bring the whole *Mexican* empire under the *Spanish* dominion. He was preparing to dispatch troops to the most distant provinces, when another attempt made on *Panuco*, by *Garay* in person, obliged him to send *Alvarado*, with a small party, to that country, hoping that the certainty of the royal grants to *Cortez* would deter him from pursuing a design expressly contrary to the emperor's meaning and intention. *Alvarado* met with *de Avalle*, one of *Garay's* officers, who was ravaging the country; he laid before him the intention of his arrival, and acquainted him with the extent of the commission lately received by *Cortez*; upon which they both agreed to prosecute the public service in peace and amity. *Garay* was not so fortunate as his officer. Having sent some of his people to sound the inhabitants of the new colony of *San Estevan del Puerto*, he was invited thither, set upon by the

swords, and the docility of certain warlike animals in their army, by which was meant their horses. This prince followed the example of the cazique of *Nicoyn*, made presents to the amount of twenty-five thousand pieces of eight, and received baptism, together with nine thousand of his subjects; on condition, however, that they should be allowed to dance when they were drunk, as being a harmless recreation; to make war upon their enemies, and to wear their plumes, military trophies, and usual weapons. The cazique was very desirous of knowing, whether the Christians had any knowledge of the flood that destroyed the world, and was equally astonished at their answering in the affirmative, as they were at his question. He whispered the interpreter in the ear, asking whether those knowing people came from heaven? and whether they were not wasted upon clouds? Prodigious

presents in gold plates were made by the women that received baptism, that tender sex generally carrying superstition to the greatest pitch of extravagance. But the people did not long continue their reverence for the *Spaniards*. They were disgusted with their rapacity and avarice. The curiosity which they expressed to know where the mines of the precious metal lay, roused their jealousy that they entertained designs of subjecting the country, and establishing colonies. The natives assembled in their own defence, they attacked the *Spaniards*, who were carelessly dispersed in parties round the country, skirmished with some success, but could not prevent them from uniting, and retiring to their ships with the presents they had received, valued at twelve thousand five hundred and twenty-four pieces of eight in gold, besides pearls and other jewels.

Indians and Spaniards in the interest of Cortez, and defeated, with the loss of forty of his men taken prisoners. Four of his ships were also lost upon the coast, and the rest were one by one put by their commanders into the hands of Cortez. His affairs being quite desperate, the finishing blow was struck by *Kallejo*, governor of *Estavan*, who arrested *Garay*, but released him afterwards at the intercession of *Ocampo*; upon which he went to *Mexico*, threw himself at the general's feet, was pardoned, and treated with the utmost kindness and humanity.

EVERY thing being settled on this side, Cortez bent his thoughts on finding a passage from *Honduras* to the South Sea, 1524. The farther his actions, and the death of Cortez, to little was the country known after the many expeditions made to it by the Spaniards. The command of this enterprise he conferred on *Christopher de Olid*; who had, upon many occasions, signalized his zeal and valour, and eminently distinguished his good sense and spirit. Five ships, well provided, and five hundred Spaniards, were assigned him, with which he had orders to repair first to the *Havannah*, where he was to purchase a great quantity of arms, provision, and other necessaries. He was to proceed afterwards to *Xhueras*, and there to found a colony. It was during his residence at the *Havannah* that he was persuaded, by the friends of *Velaquez*, to throw off all obedience to Cortez, and commit the first breach of that fidelity, which he had hitherto inviolably preserved upon the most trying occasions, and amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune. As to any private motives he could have, they were never known; but it is certain, that on his return to the continent, after building the town called *Triunfo de la Cruz*, in the neighbourhood of *Cavallos*, he openly avowed his intentions. Against him Cortez sent *Francisco de la Casas*, who arrived at the new settlement at the time when *Olid* had fitted out two vessels at the new town *Saint Gil Buenavista*, one of the many settlements already planted in this country by the Spaniards. At first the parties cannonaded each other from their vessels, by which one of *Olid's* caravels was sunk. This obliged him to make overtures of submitting to Cortez, on condition that he should be allowed to keep his command. In the midst of the treaty a tempest arose, *Casas's* two ships were driven aground, forty of his soldiers drowned, and the rest, with their commander, forced to save their lives by swimming, and to throw themselves upon the mercy of *Olid*. He treated the prisoners with so much kindness, that most of the soldiers enlisted under his banner; and being thus reinforced, he made prisoners several out-parties belonging to Cortez,

Cortez, and among others, one very considerable detachment, commanded by *Giles Gonzalez*. Neither gratitude nor honour could engage the affections of Cortez's soldiers who had enlisted with *Olid*; it is probable they were instigated by *Casas*. First they demanded their dismissal, which being put off under various pretexts, they broke out into murmuring, and at last formed a conspiracy, which proved fatal to the life of *Olid*. He was assassinated in a base manner, as the just punishment of his perfidy to Cortez, who had always treated him with the marks of the strongest friendship.

SOME writers ascribe the divisions among the Spaniards in Mexico to the policy of *Charles V.* who dreaded the ambition and popularity of Cortez. He imagined that his towering spirit, the elevation of his genius, and the veneration in which he was held by the *Mexicans*, might stimulate him to usurp an independent authority over this vast empire, and throw off all obedience to the Spanish crown, at that time rather splendid than powerful, upon account of the discord that prevailed among the different members of the widely extended imperial dominions. *Herrera* insinuates the jealousy of the court, by observing, that *Charles* paid little regard to the complaints of his general against the mutinous spirit of his officers; "thinking it convenient that so great a government should be divided," there being now little danger that the *Mexicans* would attempt to throw off the Spanish yoke. Cortez was preparing to set out against the revolted *Olid*, of whose death he had yet received no intelligence, when a number of officers, appointed by the king, arrived in Mexico. *Alonso de Espada* was sent in quality of treasurer, one *Albornoz* came in the character of comptroller, *Alonso Chirinos* was inspector, and *Gonzalez de Talazar* took upon him the quality of factor and agent, employments which they began to exercise with all the petulance of office, making reformations in the whole oeconomy of Cortez, endeavouring by every means to retrench his authority, and grate his spirit. They exerted themselves to frustrate the expedition meditated against *Olid*; but Cortez pursued his measures with success, in despite of all opposition, set out with above a hundred horse, a hundred and fifty Spanish foot, and three thousand armed Indians, for *Nuevo*. He was no sooner gone, than the government, now lodged in the hands of the treasurer, and the other Spanish officers lately arrived, fell into anarchy and confusion. Every man was eager to engross more power than fell to his share; and these magistrates accorded in nothing but their enmity to Cortez, and

resolution to plunder his house, and make their own fortunes, upon a report that he perished in the attempt to reduce *Olid*. There was something unaccountably licentious in their behaviour. They sold off the general's goods, and those of his principal officers, as if themselves had been the nearest heirs, and they had been certain of his decease; they even arrested, tortured, and hanged the faithful *Frederick Paze*, the steward and kinsman of *Cortez*, because they supposed he had concealed the general's treasure. The treasurer carried his insolence and cruelty to such a pitch, that he ordered a *Spaniard's* wife to be publicly whipped, only because she expressed her suspicion, that the report concerning the general's death was ill-founded.

In this manner was *Cortez* treated by his ungrateful countrymen at *Mexico*, while he was hazarding his life, and supporting incredible fatigue, in the service of the public. He passed through a wild, uncultivated, desert, marshy country; having, in the space of thirty five leagues, crossed fifty rivers, over which he laid bridges with infinite labour, and subdued various nations, who had been seduced to revolt by the civil divisions among the *Spaniards*. After a victory obtained over the lord of *Patzuchan*, he founded a little settlement in his dominions. For the space of several months he traversed barren countries, untrode by christian feet, suffered all the extremities of want, exhibited fresh and astonishing proofs of constancy and perseverance, built *La Natividad* on the bay of *St. Andrews*; and, after passing through the vast tract of country between *Mexico* and *Honduras*, returned again to the capital. It appears from *Herrera's* relation, that *Cortez* took with him the royal captive, *Guatimzin*, upon this expedition; probably to prevent any designs to set him at liberty, during his absence from *Mexico*. This monarch still retained the ambitious notion of one day reascending his throne, for which purpose he was continually forming some new conspiracy. At this juncture, when *Cortez* was pressed with the united misfortunes of famine, fatigue, and disease, he set on foot a project for murdering him and his principal officers, sending advice of his design to his friends in *Mexico*, that they might be in readiness to second his enterprise. Happily, however, remorse seized the breast of *Mexicatzin*, one of the conspirators, who discovered the whole affair to *Cortez*, and at the same time confirmed his relation, by giving the names of all the accomplices. The general called a court-martial: the emperor, and his principal officers, were tried, condemned, and hanged, with all the formalities which

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which the situation of the place would permit; the credulous *Mexicans* persuading themselves, that he came to the knowledge of their contrivances by means of a sea-compass, which he always carried with him, and which he now made subservient to his policy, by cherishing the delusion of the *Indians*. It was at *Truxillo* that *Cortez* was first made acquainted with the disturbances in *Mexico*, the sale of his own effects, the death of his steward, and the arbitrary conduct of the new officers, with whom he had intrusted the government. No time was to be lost in deliberation; he immediately issued out commissions to some of his friends, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to supersede the present magistrates, and take the government upon themselves, until his arrival. These he dispatched by a trusty *Spaniard*, escorted by some *Indians*. The arrival of this messenger, and the certainty that *Cortez* was living, diffused the utmost satisfaction among his friends in the capital, and confounded his enemies, who were immediately deposed and taken into custody, to answer for their crimes to the general.

As it would be descending to unnecessary minuteness, to trace *Cortez* through every step of this and other expeditions, made into the provinces, in order to accomplish the whole reduction of the empire of *Mexico*, we shall only observe, that the expedition to *Ybueras* was not finished before the year 1527. The next year he found it advisable to make a voyage to *Spain*, to solicit the court in person for more ample powers, to justify his conduct from the aspersions raised by the malignity of his enemies, and to procure a stronger curb on the seditious, headstrong humour of the inferior officers, each of whom aspired at being the first in command. He was well received by the emperor *Charles V.* who created him marquis of *Guaxaca*, procured him an honourable marriage, and conferred on him the whole vale of *Atrisco*, as the inadequate reward of his eminent services; but, however, he suffered *Cortez* to return the ensuing year to *Mexico*, with a very limited commission, which did not at all answer the purpose of his application. In progress of time the marquis of *Guaxaca* lost all civil authority, a viceroy being appointed; but retained the dignity and power of captain-general. The conduct of an ungrateful court to him, was indeed similar to what was formerly shown the celebrated *Columbus*. The very extraordinary services of both, made them envied by the ministry, and suspected by the monarch. When *Mendoza* came over to *Mexico*, with the commission of viceroy, the government was immediately distracted by the opposition

friction between the civil and military officers. Like *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Mendoza* could not brook a superior, nor *Cortez* an equal. He had conquered *Mexico*, and he reasonably imagined he should reap the reward, by enjoying the full authority, civil and military, during life. However, he never once lost sight of his patriotism, nor suffered private animosity to prejudice the service of his country. He went on with all possible alacrity in reducing provinces, and making discoveries in the most remote parts of the southern continent of *America*. He even co-operated cordially with his rival, in attempts towards the discovery of a north-west passage, and likewise in the reduction of the provinces of *Sibola* and *Quivera*, situated at the immense distance of five hundred leagues from *Mexico*. A great number of expeditions were made to the northward. The *Spaniards* went to a country governed by a great lord, called *Ticoantipe Cician Pipe*, who received them hospitably, and sent ambassadors to *Cortez*, imagining that he had dropt from the clouds, and believing his vessels to be sea-monsters of an extraordinary nature. This prince greatly admired the *Spanish* horses and fire-arms; he offered them fifty thousand men to assist in reducing *Tatepec*, who had declared himself his enemy, on account of his partiality to the *Spaniards*. In the year 1542, the marquis of *Guaxaca* resolved to make another voyage to *Spain*, in consequence of certain disputes with the viceroy, relating to the late discoveries. His reception, and the success of his application, were the same as before; he was much respected and caressed by the emperor, who, however, artfully evaded taking cognizance of the dispute between the marquis and viceroy. *Cortez* was too penetrating not to discover the partiality of the court to his rival; however, he determined to extinguish every spark of suspicion by his conduct. He redoubled his assiduities towards the emperor, attended him in the famous expedition against *Algiers*, charged as a volunteer, was unhorsed in battle, and is reported to have lost two emeralds in the field of immense value. This was the last military action of his life; the remainder was spent in a retired manner; and he yielded up his last breath at a village near *Seville*, on the second day of *December*, in the year 1554, in the sixty-third year of his age.

SUCH was the end of this illustrious conqueror, the greatest hero, and one of the brightest ornaments in the *Spanish* annals; who, by dint of merit, raised himself from the lowest and most adverse fortune, to the highest pinnacle of wealth and renown, in despite of the malice of public and private enemies. Courage, magnanimity, constancy, prudence, and deep

deep policy, conspired to form the soldier and the statesman; and if we find his character stained by a few blemishes, they vanish like the spots on the body of the sun, before the distance of his glory. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon his picture; the whole series of his conduct, from his first arrival on the coast of *Mexico*, sufficiently speaks his extraordinary qualities; to contract the lineaments into miniature, would only serve to weaken the distinguishing features (D).

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the first Discovery of Peru; and the Progress of the Conquest of that Kingdom.

Attempts
towards
the disco-
very of
Peru.

WE have already mentioned the intimations which *Nunco de Balboa*, in his expeditions, had of *Peru*. After this officer was superseded in his command, and afterwards put to death by *Peter Arias d'Avila*, several attempts were made to prosecute the enterprise, but unsuccessfully. The navigation southward, from the bay of *Panama*, was at last deemed impracticable, on account of the winds and currents driving northward. Hence the towns of *Porto Bello* and *Panama*, situated on opposite sides of the *Isthmus*, began to flourish extremely, particularly the latter, which appears to have been the seat of government, or at least the residence of the governor. Early in the year 1526, *Arias* made an expedition to *Nicaragua*, on pretence that *Hernandez*, one of his officers, had revolted, although it was generally supposed his intention was to oppose *Cortez* in the reduction of that province, and prevent his penetrating farther to the southward. He knew he was to be supplanted in his government

(D) The reader may observe, that we have purposely omitted a variety of expeditions mentioned in the *Spanish* writers, because they were necessary consequences of the reduction of *Mexico*, and would only swell the volume, without contributing either to his instruction or amusement. We now propose to defer the account of the present state of *Mexico*, until we have concluded the conquest of *Peru*, to avoid interrupting the narrative of hostile transactions, and that the whole of the *Spanish* dominions in *America* may appear under one uniform point of view, which we imagine will have a better effect on the memory, than giving historical, natural, and geographical detached pieces.

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by *Pedro de las Rios*, who was daily expected from Spain, and he was to make a new establishment independent on the new governor. Thus the discoveries southward were wholly abandoned; however *Arias* had, previous to this undertaking, authorised an enterprise concerted by *Francisco Pizarro*, *Jacobo Almagro*, and *Ferdinando de Lueue*, of making discoveries to the westward. It is sufficient presumption that no opinion of the success of this expedition was entertained, that the governor stipulated for himself no share of the profits which might arise, as was usual upon similar occasions (A). These three adventurers entered into article, never to abandon each other, or to be discouraged by any hazards or disappointments, until they had fully executed their design of discovering and conquering *Peru*; an agreement to which they swore in the most public and solemn manner, each of them taking upon him a certain department. In this triumvirate *Pizarro* shone the brightest character, upon account of the nobility of his birth, and the reputation he had acquired by former desperate and bold actions. He served in all the wars in the island of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, and afterwards accompanied *Ojeda* to the gulph of *Orinoco*, as hath already been related, where he saved from destruction the infant colony of *Darien*, by his prudence and valour. He was one of the captains who had the good fortune to make the first discovery of the *South Sea*; he attended *Arias* when he settled the colony of *Panama*, and was employed by that officer in the reduction of *Veragua*. When he entered upon this enterprise, *Pizarro* was in the decline of life; his fortune was sufficiently easy to sit down contented; but he had a restless enterprising disposition, and eagerly aspired at being the rival of *Cortez* in glory. As to *Almagro*, he was of obscure birth, but had raised himself by his conduct to affluence and considerable reputation; while the third partner in the expedition, *Ferdinando de Lueue*, was an ecclesiastic, proprietor of the island of *Tobago*, who had avarice and spirit enough to embark his fortune with those bold adventurers.

THE commission was no sooner granted, and the agreement between the parties finished, than two ships were purchased, the command of one of which *Pizarro* took up-

(A) *Herrera* indeed alledges, usually assigned to the governor that *Arias* demanded to have, but we prefer the authority of *La Vega*.

(1) *Herrera*, Dec. iii. lib. iii. chap. 1.

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The dis-
tress be-
under-
went.

on himself, and set sail from *Panama* in the month of *November* 1525, having on board one hundred and four-
Spaniards, according to *Garcilasso*, or eighty men and four
horses, if we chuse to follow the relation of *Herrera*. It
was matter of astonishment to see persons of discretion and
property embark their fortunes in an enterprise already
judged, by repeated experiments, to be desperate; but our
adventurers were not discouraged. Arriving at *Port Pinas*,
Pizarro landed with his soldiers, leaving the mariners on
board, marched up the country, along the banks of the river
Biru, in expectation of finding provisions in the territories
of the cazique of *Biruquetta*, and encountered all the diffi-
culties which the roughness of the country, the want of
provision, fatigue, and heavy rains, could throw in his
way. Necessity obliged *Pizarro* to embark, though he per-
suaded himself that he was now in the fair tract to *Peru*;
that the river *Petu* took its rise in that kingdom, and that
the dominions of the cazique of *Biruquetta* bordered imme-
diately upon those of the *Incas*. He continued his course
for ten days, every man on board being limited to two ears
of *Indian* corn a-day, a pint of water, and scarce any ani-
mal food; a scarcity that obliged him to put to shore at the
first port, land with his soldiers, and send the ships back for
provision to the *Pearl Islands*, in the neighbourhood of *Pa-
nama*. During the absence of the vessel he was reduced to
the utmost extremities, and forced to live on bitter palmetoes,
and a kind of acorns, in consequence of which twenty of
his people perished. At last he met with some cocoa-nuts,
and a bushel of *Indian* wheat, which the natives had left be-
hind. This was immediately seized as a treasure of ineffi-
mable value. In a word, the necessity to which the *Spa-
niards* were driven, in this inhospitable country, exceeds de-
scription; but they were soon forgot on the return of the
ship loaded with wheat, animal food, and great abundance
of fruits, roots, and pulse.

By this time twenty-seven of the crew were dead, but
Pizarro kept up the spirits of the survivors by promises, and
vast expectations of wealth and glory. Again they all em-
barked, with a full determination to proceed, and after sail-
ing some days, landed in a bay, which they called *Puerto de
Candelaria*. They marched up the country, perceived by
the tracts cut through the woods, that it was populous,
came to a town which was deserted by the natives, and here
met with great abundance of provision, and a booty of six
hundred pieces of eight in gold. Afterwards they proceeded
by

by sea to a place called *Puebla Quemado*, from whence the ship was dispatched to *Panama* to be careened, *Pizarro* and his soldiers resolving to employ the intermediate time in discovering the nature of the country. The natives assembled to oppose them, and placed centinels all round the Spanish quarters to watch their motions, in order to fall upon the out-parties. The action was soon brought on, in which the Spaniards lost three soldiers, killed by the Indian poisoned darts which so stung them, that they attacked *Pizarro* with great resolution of the town, while *Mentengro* was absent with sixty men. They were received with valour; but the Spaniards must have sunk under the infinite superiority of numbers, had not the out-party returned seasonably, fallen upon the rear of the enemy, and obtained a complete victory. Not many days after the ship returned refitted, bringing a reinforcement of men, and supplies of provision, to the great joy of the adventurers. They proceeded to *Chinchama*, and were there joined by *Almagro* with another ship, sixty-four Spaniards, and abundance of arms, ammunition, and provision. Here fresh consultations being held, it was resolved their force was too inconsiderable, and that *Almagro* should return to *Panama* to enlist more soldiers, while *Pizarro* endeavoured to gain some farther knowledge of the country. It was not long before *Almagro* returned with a commission from *Arias*, by which he was raised to an equal command with *Pizarro*; this was an affront to the pride of the latter, but he then suppressed his sentiments, and determined to make use of the fresh supplies towards promoting the end of the expedition.

SAILING in company from *Chinchama*, they coasted along to a river, which they called *St. John's*. On the banks of this river they surprised a town, where they found a booty of *The Spaniards* fifteen thousand pieces of eight, with some provisions. A new resolution was now formed to apply the profits of the expedition towards raising a still more formidable armament, for which purpose *Almagro* again returned to *Panama* with the treasure. *Pizarro* continued on shore with the bulk of the soldiers; and the pilot, *Bartolomeu Ruyz*, was dispatched, with the other ship, to make discoveries along the coast. He advanced to the island *Del Galo*, discovered the bay of *St. Matthew*, and took a large float, with a triangular sail, upon which were two boys and three women, who appeared to be *Peruvians*, which afforded the utmost satisfaction. *Ruyz* proceeded on his course, until he arrived at *De Ruffado*, under the line, and then returned to *Chinchama*.

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THE new governor, *Pedro de los Rios*, gave more maintenance to the enterprize than his predecessor. *Almagro* in enlisting troops, gave him forty of the best soldiers he had brought with him from *Spain*, equipped him in every necessary, and put on board several horses, with which suddenly *Almagro* joined his colleague *Pizarro*. *Almagro* now advanced under the direction of *Ruyz* to the island of *Gallo*, where a dispute arose between the commanders, that had almost blasted the whole hopes of their enterprize. This refused doubts, fears, and jealousies among the troops, who were all unanimous in returning to *Panama*; but these murmurs were at length quieted, and *Almagro* once more dispatched to *Panama* for further succours. We are thus minute, only to shew the difficulties which attended this great undertaking, which, from a very unpromising aspect, terminated successfully, beyond the most sanguine expectations. All possible care was taken to prevent the soldiers from transmitting home an account of the unfortunate occurrences of the voyage, the sickness, and famine that prevailed.

Desperate state of the Spaniards. I was from the island of *Gallo*, that *Almagro* took his departure. Here *Pizarro* thought of remaining till his return; but perpetual rains pouring down from the heavens, the great scarcity of provisions, the discontent which appeared among the natives, and the prodigious swarms of musquitoes that tortured the soldiers, and occasioned ulcers and sores in different parts of their bodies, obliged him to make preparations for returning to the continent. While he was thus employed, a vessel arrived from *Panama*, with advices from *Almagro*, upon which the people grew clamorous to return, obliged the captain to take them on board, and only thirteen Spaniards and a mulatto, remained with *Pizarro*.

IN all appearance the enterprize was now entirely defeated; *Pizarro's* affairs appeared quite desperate; but he determined to perish in the attempt, rather than return disappointed in his expectations. Meantime supplies arrived from *Almagro*, who, informed at the desertion of the troops, immediately sent another ship to carry off *Pizarro*, with his few faithful attendants. *Diego* *Yanew* *Ruyz* commanded this vessel, and he continued being *Pizarro's* pursuer. Their discoveries, instead of increasing, increased. *Panama*, according to the intention of *Almagro*. Finding their course south-west, they arrived, in twenty days, at an island on the coast of *Tumbez*, and soon perceived they were come into a wealthy country, from the great number of bits of gold, and silver which they found in the form of hands, heads, women's breasts,

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dream, ~~men~~ one silver pitcher, that contained twelve quarts, ~~and~~ his revived their hopes, and encouraged them to pursue their voyage, in the course of which they took a large bark, manned with fifteen *Indians*, cloathed in tunics and mantles, made of fine yellow wool. Next day they fell in with four more barks, which they understood were destined on an expedition against the natives of *Puna*. Pizarro ~~dis-~~ *The Spaniards arrive at Puna.* missed the *Indians* the kindest treatment, desiring they would inform the *Caziques* that his intentions were friendly. This produced the proposed effect. The *Caziques* marvel-ling at what they had been told of the sails, the rigging of the ship, the complexion, the beards, and the civility of the *Spaniards*, immediately dispatched twelve floats, loaded with all manner of provisions, and a lamb, sent by the virgins of a temple, a present that excited astonishment among the *Spaniards*, who little expected to have met with this species of quadruped upon that coast. An *Oreja*, or nobleman of *Peru*, came on board himself, with whatever the country afforded. A *Spanish* soldier had the resolution to land singly, enter the fort at *Tumbez*, and suffer himself to be brought before the great monarch, *Huayna Capac*, who treated him civilly, and sent him back with several presents. The soldier's relation of the prodigious wealth he had beheld was so incredible to the *Spaniards*, that they dispatched *Pedro de Condin*, a person of approved integrity, for further information. *Condin* was conducted to the governor of the fort, saw, with astonishment, the truth of the soldier's report; fired his musket, at the desire of the *Cazique*, who was highly delighted with the novelty of the artificial thunder, and poured abundance of liquor down the barrel, saying, "Drink, since you can vomit fire, and imitate the heavenly thunder." Both *La Vega* and *Herrera* alledge, the *Spaniard* was ordered to defend himself against a lion and tyger let loose upon him; that he fired his piece, and these wild beasts came tamely up, and licked his hands, to the great amazement of the spectators, who were then convinced that the *Spaniards* were divinites. He was dismissed, after both sides had gratified their curiosity, and informed his companions that he had seen a city of *Tumbez*, built by *Huayna Capac*, dedicated to the sun of the natives only by two hundred noble and beautiful virgins, to whom none of the other sex were admitted, except on particular occasions. Here he said was treasured up such an infinity of gold and silver, in curiously wrought vessels, as exceeded belief. The fortress of *Tumbez*, he said, was filled with silver-works, ~~and~~ converted into wrought plate the taxes levied

by the crown-officers; in a word, he so inflamed the imagination of Pizarro and his crew, that they regarded this immense wealth as already within their grasp, and determined to encounter all possible danger. It was resolved to proceed to *Paita*, where Pizarro was informed there was a good harbour; and he accordingly run down to the seventh degree of south latitude (B), as far as where *Pauxillo* was afterwards founded. Pizarro pursued his course, as he found the natives received a favourable impression of his people, from their behaviour at *Tumbez*; but his crew being impatient to return to *Panama*, he yielded to their remonstrances, from the consideration, that he had already discovered would give sufficient reputation to the expedition, and that to execute his whole design, a much greater force and more extensive powers would be necessary. Towards the close of the year 1527, he arrived safe at *Panama*, after having spent three years in a voyage attended with incredible hardships.

The success of the voyage was related to the partners in the enterprise, and confirmed by the specimens of woollen cloth, gold, silver, and precious stones shewn by Pizarro. There were inducements enough to pursue the undertaking; but there were likewise impediments that appeared insurmountable. The three colleagues had exhausted all their fortunes in the armaments already made; however, this difficulty was removed, by the great reputation which the discoveries had acquired, that enabled them to borrow money. No sooner was this obstruction conquered, than another no less important arose. The governor refused to renew their commission, and they were now forced to sit down with their loss, tantalized with the near prospect of wealth and honour, or to apply to the court of *Spain* for powers, with very little certainty of succeeding. This last resolution, however, was taken, and the event warranted the most sanguine expectations. Pizarro took upon himself this commission. He set sail for *Old Spain*, was honoured with an audience of the emperor, and the dangers he had encountered in his tedious voyage, displayed the specimens he had brought from the countries he had discovered, and obtained a new commission of *Adelantado*,

Pizarro
sets sail
for Spain,
and re-
ceives
powers
from the
court.

(B) The reader, unacquainted with the geography of *America*, will observe that a town of this name stands on the northern coast, between the capes

of *Honduras* and *Camaron*, south-west of the bay of *Honduras*. We have already mentioned Cortez's troops were in this

in the intent of *Peru*, of captain-general, and governor of all the territories which the *Spaniards*, under his auspices, might conquer in *Peru*, together with the rank and title of nobles; for which reason we afterwards find him stiled *Don Francisco*, by *Garcilasso de la Vega* (C). According to this writer, the same honour was conferred on *Almagro*, whom he distinguishes valiantly by the title of *Don Diego*. Attended by his brother, the *Pizarro* embarked at *Seville*, and arrived at *Panama*, at the close of a prosperous voyage, where contests soon arose. *Almagro* resented his claiming to himself the whole authority of commander, though he had been an equal contributor to the discovery, had spent a large fortune in the service, and lost an eye in one of the skirmishes with the *Indians*. He demanded at least an equality; and there was not wanting busy friends to inflame the rising animosity. Mutual interest at length silenced the parties, though it did not extinguish the sparks of jealousy. They proceeded in their undertaking, and suppressed, but did not forget their resentment. Two ships well manned and provided, horses, and all other necessaries were bought up by *Almagro*, and put under the direction of *Francisco Pizarro*, upon that gentleman's transferring to him the title of *Adelantado*, and promising to exert his interest with the court of *Spain*, to procure a ratification of this assignment.

HAVING, by the interest and influence of the three colleagues, drawn together near two hundred men, another vessel was added to render the navigation more commodious, and *Pizarro*, attended by his brothers *Hernando*, *Juan Gonzalo*, and his half-brother *Martin de Alcantara*, began his voyage towards the beginning of the spring of 1530. He sailed from *Panama*, with intention not to touch at any port before he arrived at *Tumbez*; but meeting with adverse winds and currents, he landed a hundred leagues short of this des-

This is all we find upon during his life. He was by the authority of *Garcilasso*, but is entitled to a twentieth part *Herrera* adds, that *Pizarro*, after the council had taken the profits arising from his conquests, provided this share was not more than one thousand five hundred ducats yearly. *Almagro* was made governor of *Tumbez*, and raised to the dignity of a gentleman, while *Lugue* was recommended to the pontiff to be made bishop of *Tumbez*, and protector-general of the *Indians*. Dec. iii. lib. v. cap. i.

tinuation,

ination, designing to proceed by land, and send the ships back to the settlement. In this march the Spaniards encountered numberless difficulties. Entering into a barren country, they were soon pressed with famine. The way was rough and tedious, over mountains, rivers, and many rapids. Floats were every day making with great labour and fatigue, over which they passed with equal danger and difficulty. Don Francisco Pizarro was himself the sole chief and director, and indeed he conducted everything with great prudence and vigour, animating his people by his exertions and example, and bearing a principal share in the hazardous and laborious action. Such was his piety, his humility, and perseverance, that he often assisted in carrying the sick upon his own shoulders. After wading through unspeakable hardships, the Spaniards at length reached the province of Coaqui, which Herrera calls Quaque, proceeded to the capital of the same name, seated among the high mountains, found great abundance of provision, and a booty in gold and silver to the value of twenty thousand pieces of eight, and a great number of fine emeralds, many of which the Spaniards destroyed, by making injudicious experiments. Trying the hardness of the jewel, they were reported to have broke in pieces turquoises and emeralds of forty thousand ducats value; an instance of inconceivable ignorance, in which they were imitated by the soldiers of Pedro de Alvarado, who afterwards came into this country. The inhabitants of the town thought it strange that the Spaniards should plunder men who never injured them; they admitted them freely into their houses, but when they saw them begin to pillage, they fled to the mountains. The cazique hid himself in his palace, but was discovered, and brought to Pizarro, who found some difficulty in convincing this honest barbarian that he had not violated the laws of hospitality. This indeed was an imprudent step, which entirely destroyed the reputation of gentleness, lenity, and integrity, which the Spaniards acquired in the preceding years upon the coast, and that could only be justified by the necessity they were in for relief, to raise further supplies. The value of twenty thousand being ducats was remitted in gold to Almagro, with some emeralds of extraordinary size and beauty, of which there was one belonging to Pizarro of the size of a pigeon's egg. Two ships were dispatched to Panama, and one to Nicaragua, while Pizarro remained some months in the neighbourhood of Coaqui, under the equinoctial, exposed to the intemperance of the climate, the intense heat by day, and the chills,

The Spaniards remit money to Panama.

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in the night. *Garcilasso* relates, that the *Spaniards* were afflicted with a loathsome disease, which at first appeared in swellings on the head and face, resembling wens, or large warts, that soon digested, and dropt an ichor. He compares this tumor to a ripe fig, says that it was not always mortal, though great numbers died of the disease; and to confirm this report, affirms that he saw three *Spaniards* at *Ataca* ill of the distemper, who recovered. Besides the unhealthiness of the country, the *Spaniards* had other dangers to encounter. It was easily perceived that the natives had not forgot the pillaging of their town, though they did not break out into open hostilities. A *Spanish* soldier dared hardly to stir out of the town singly and unarmed, the *Indians* having killed two who had ventured to roam about carelessly, which obliged *Pizarro* to seize upon the person of the cazique. He released him upon his promise to keep his people within subjection, and restrain them by the laws of hospitality, which required that strangers, who entertained no bad designs, should be entertained with civility; an argument which did not carry conviction to the mind of the prince, although his circumstances required he should appear satisfied. These things determined him to proceed to *Tumbez*, even before the return of the shipping; and it was on his march thither, according to *Garcilasso*, that he overtook a body of *Spaniards*, under the conduct of *Sebastian Balalcazar*, and *Juan Fernandez*, who came from *Nicaragua* to make conquests in *Peru*, upon the report spread of the immense wealth of the country. We are not told in what manner they traversed this vast extent of country; it is probable they came by sea, the march by land being next to impracticable. Sufficient it is for our purpose, that both those officers cheerfully united their forces to those of *Pizarro*, and put themselves under his direction; so that he now imagined his strength was equal to the enterprise meditated against the fort of *Tumbez*, and the island *Puna*. This fortunate reinforcement of upwards of thirty men, was picked up in the province of *Huerto Viejo*, from whence the *Spaniards* set out for *Tumbez*.

Advice of all that was of *Tumbez* strangers was regularly sent to *Atahualpa*, king of the new province of the empire, bestowed upon him as a recompence, by his father *Huaynu Capac*, with the consent of his elder brother *Huascar*. By this time *Atahualpa*, whom some call *Atabalipa*, had taken upon him the tunic, or tassel, which is the badge of regal dignity in that country. He was fortunately for the *Spaniards* embroiled, at first with his brother, which probably prevented his

The court of Quito receives information of their progress.

sending

sending an army against them, as he expressed great concern at their conduct, and wondered what could induce them to traverse seas and lands, encounter enemies, fatigues, and famine, merely for the sake of making discoveries, and changing the religion of other nations, which was all they alledged for a motive. *Pizarro* meeting with no opposition from the monarch, advanced directly to the strait opposite to *Puna*, and was preparing to pass over, when murmurs broke out among his troops, who desired to return to *Puerto Rico*, to found a colony; however, he persuaded them; with many arguments, of the bad consequences that would necessarily attend their betraying any symptoms of fear to the *Indians*. He represented *Puna* and *Tumbez* as the keys of *Peru*, extremely rich in themselves, and the proper places for founding settlements, in order to assist and promote their future conquests. At last he prevailed, the soldiers consenting to make the experiment, whether the wealth of those places would answer the trouble of the conquest. The islanders were at perpetual war with the people of *Tumbez*, and it was *Pizarro's* intention to enter into a confederacy with them, the more easily to effect his designs against the *Punese* and *Tumbezans*. The former were no sooner acquainted with the intention of the *Spaniards*, than they turned into ridicule the fear and simplicity of the *Tumbezans*, for admitting such warlike strangers into their country; however, they sent *Pizarro* an invitation to come over to their island, though their purpose was to destroy his whole army, by cutting the joints of the floats upon which the *Spaniards* were transported. The cazique *Tomala* accordingly sent a great number of floats ready made; but the diligence of the *Indians* created suspicion of some evil design. The interpreters intimated their fears, and he prudently deferred his embarkation, until his brother *Hernando* arrived with the remainder of the forces. This delay made the cazique impatient, fearing lest his design should miscarry; and to expedite measures, he passed over in person to the continent, to pay his compliments to *Pizarro*, and endeavour to prevail on him to accept his invitation. Without delay. He seemed greatly astonished when, as being his commander, accused him with treachery; but as treacherous, he showed no symptoms of guilt upon his countenance, *Pizarro* grew more certain of the inclinations of the *Indians*, ordered some men to get upon the floats, and keep constantly upon their guard. They were safely waisted over to *Puna*, and entertained with much kindness, that it was soon believed the whole sullenness was groundless. Nor is it at all impossible that fear, rather than

that suggested that idea of treachery upon this occasion to the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the disputes which afterwards ensued with the islanders.

PIZARRO had brought with him to the island several natives of *Tumbez*, which gave great offence to the *Punese*, who could not bear to see their inveterate enemies walking about their territories, under the protection of the *Spaniards*. It was this, according to some accounts, that gave the first disgust, made them offer sacrifices to their gods, and interrogate their idols about the means of revenge. After long deliberation, it was at last concerted that the *Spaniards* should be invited to a great hunt, where they imagined the strangers might easily be surprised, and destroyed. Notice was given to *Pizarro*, by his interpreters, of the conspiracy, some hints relating to it having dropt from the natives. Some ascribe the discovery to the *Tumbezans*, and others treat the whole as a fiction, propagated by the *Spaniards*, to apologize for their unjust attack, and perfidious breach of the rites of hospitality. Be this as it may, all writers are agreed about the issue; that he fell upon the islanders, took their sixteen caziques prisoners, whom he delivered over to their enemies the *Tumbezans*, routed the *Punese* in divers engagements, reduced the whole island, and acquired immense booty, of which his allies, the *Tumbezans*, had their proportion (D). The misfortunes of the *Punese* did not dispirit them; they were defeated by the *Spaniards*, insulted

(D) The island of *Puna*, standing in the bay of *Guaquil*, in the third degree of south latitude, contained upwards of twelve thousand inhabitants, though it was not six leagues in diameter. In the division of the empire, between the two sons of *Huayna Capac* it fell to the share of the elder, *Huascar*, although *Atahualpa* pretended a right, as part of his kingdom of *Quito*. It was this division which had now revived the ancient animosity between the *Tumbezans*, who had first reduced them under the dominion of the incas of *Peru*. These, indeed, relying upon their natural strength and situation, had long practised piracy, infesting all the coast of *Guaquil*, and robbing the *Tumbezans* upon all occasions. The war was carrying on with great vigour at the time *Pizarro* arrived upon the coast, and he had the address to make his advantage of the enmity of the *In-* dians. The *Punese* were cannibals, their island was fertile, the scarcity of water rendered it unwholesome, and intolerable to any besides the natives. Prodigious quantities of gold and silver were found in the temples, all which *Pizarro* remitted to *Panama*, to be employed in augmenting his fleet and army.

by the *Tumbezans*, forsaken by the inca, and the caziques were prisoners; but they resolved upon the boldest effort to extricate themselves from those galling pressures to a free people. Their first attempt was upon a *Spanish* ship arrived on the coast, to attack which they sent three hundred archers upon floats, while the rest of the natives should fall upon the *Spaniards* on the island. The attack of the float was desperate, but fruitless; the cannon of the ship having sunk and destroyed them, before they could reach within the distance required by the archers. On shore, their projects were equally abortive. The *Spaniards* repulsed them in every assault; and drove them to the mountains, whence they made excursions, that rather harrassed the *Spaniards*, than effected the original purpose of the revolt. And now their schemes were totally defeated by the arrival of supplies brought in two vessels from *Nicaragua*, by *Ferdinando Soto*, who was sent with men, horses, and provisions, by *Almagro*. Upon the arrival of these succours, the resolution was taken of passing over to the continent, *Pizarro* relying upon the friendship of the *Tumbezans*, whose affections he imagined he had gained by the conquest of their enemies, the share of the plunder, and the *Punese* caziques whom he had surrendered into their hands, as well as the prisoners of their nation he had set at liberty, after they were long confined by the enemy, and in danger of being sacrificed. He gave them notice of his intention; and *Garcilasso* alledges from *Gomara*, that they put the messengers to death. *Herrera* affirms, he had so little doubt of their friendship, that he embarked a part of his people on floats, and passed over without any previous intimation, which the *Tumbezans* resented so much, that they seized upon the first men who landed, conducted them to the town, pulled out their eyes, cut off their privities, and then flung them into cauldrons of boiling water, in which they perished miserably. What motive could prompt them to this act of violence, is not ascertained. Probably they either dreaded the resentment of the inca, for entertaining foreigners, whose views were suspicious, or they apprehended sharing the fate of the *Chiese*. All the boats were in the utmost danger, the stream being rapid, and the *Indians*, who navigated them, treacherous. The greater part of *Pizarro's* baggage was plundered, but he getting safe on shore with the horse, soon revenged the injury, fell upon the town, and made terrible slaughter of the inhabitants. A variety of skirmishes and battles were fought; but the *Indians* perceiving themselves worsted upon every occasion, began to entertain an opinion, that the *Spaniards* were invincible.

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cible, that they were assisted by some divinity, and that themselves were guilty of enormous crimes, in attempting to oppose the will of heaven. They now endeavoured to appease the Spaniards by immense presents of silver, upon which metal they observed they put a great value. One Indian in particular, of some quality, entered into an intimacy with the Spaniards, and had such particular favour shewn him, that a cross was put up in his house, to shew that it was exempted from being plundered. He related marvellous stories of the wealth of the empire, and the grandeur of *Cuzco*, the residence of inca *Huáscar*, assured the Spaniards of the facility with which they might effect the conquest of the empire, amidst the present civil commotions, and so inflamed the ambition of *Pizarro*, that he instantly set out on a march to examine the country, and endeavour to reduce some of the neighbouring little princes. First, however, he dispatched a vessel to *Panama* with all the treasures found in *Tumbez*, to be laid out by *Almagro* as the former remittances were, in insisting men, and sending supplies of provision, arms, and ammunition. The sovereign of *Tumbez* had taken refuge in the mountains, upon the late defeat of his troops; and *Pizarro* laboured to get him into his hands, which was one of the chief objects of his expedition. In this excursion he reached the beginning of the great road of the inca's leading to the principal cities; but his men being harassed with fatigue, he was forced to return without succeeding in any of the points proposed. *Ferdinando Soto* was at the same time detached with a party, with a similar design. He marched as far as *Caxas*, saw many flocks of *Peruvian* sheep, a number of magnificent buildings, found some bars of gold and silver, defeated the natives in battle, discovered the great road called *Huayna Capac*, and then returned to *Tumbez*, where he joined *Pizarro*, who had finished his unsuccessful expedition a few days before. It was after this junction that *Pizarro* determined to found a colony among the vales of *Tangarala*, to secure his footing in the country, and serve for a place of arms, retreat, and refreshment. Accordingly he built the city of *St. Miguel de Piura*, and appointed the soldiers least fit to endure fatigue as a garrison, and magistrates, dividing among them the territories of *Tumbez* and *Piura*, as a district to the city, and the lands of the new settlement (E).

WHILE

(E) *St. Miguel* was the first Spanish colony planted in Peru, did not continue long in that situation. It was found to be now called *New Castile*, but it unhealthy, which obliged the Spaniards

Civil war
in Peru.

WHILE he was employed in the business of the colony, various accounts daily arrived of the fortune of the civil war now raging between the brothers *Huascar* and *Atahualpa*. *Pizarro* thought it necessary to keep a strict eye upon every event, as great part of his hope was founded upon the intestine commotions of the empire, which would prevent either of the brothers from paying much regard to the accidental arrival of a handful of strangers upon the coast. With this view his brother *Juan* was ordered to penetrate farther into the country with fifty horse; at the same time he employed himself in making the necessary preparations for following this party, and in gaining the best intelligence concerning the country, the customs and manners of the inhabitants, their civil and military policy, method of fighting, power, and the cause of the present war, together with the disposition of the people in general with respect to the rival princes. He learned that *Atahualpa*, of whom we have spoken, was much more popular than the emperor, though only a natural son of the late prince, by one of his concubines; that in the wars carried on by his father he had signalized his courage, and gained the affections of all the commanders of eminence; that he was politic, affable, liberal, and generous, by which means he had engaged a strong party to support him in disputing the imperial crown with his brother; though he alone, of forty brothers, had the ambition or boldness to lift their minds to so great an enterprise. In *Quito* he was already acknowledged as inca; though, by the emperor's will, this province was only given him as a fief and dependency on the imperial crown. *Huascar* took umbrage at this presumption, and after holding a council, sent notice to *Atahualpa*, that he could not possibly shut his eyes to a conduct so injurious to his own person, so dangerous to his crown, so impious in itself, and so contrary to the established laws of the empire. He therefore requested, that he would desist from his ambitious practices, which must necessarily terminate in civil discord, his own, and, perhaps, the ruin

Spaniards to remove it from though the climate be extremely
Tongarala, to the place where dry, land the soil sandy. Vines
now stands, nearer the coast, and figs in particular bear, abun-
and surrounded by beautiful and dantly, and two crops of
fruitful vallies. These they wheat shoot up every year.
cultivated with great diligence. Formerly this valley was popu-
raising great variety of Euro- lous, and the inhabitants inde-
pean vegetables, which flourish- pendent of the inca, of Peru.
ed as if in their native soil, Her. de. iii. lib. v. sec. iii.

of his people! At the same time he levied an army, to give weight to his message, and enforce obedience.

LITTLE attention did *Atabualapa* give to a remonstrance which he expected, and for which he was prepared. Elated with his popularity, hurried on by his ambition, he thought probably of rivalling his brother, by building a city at *Quits* equal to the imperial residence at *Cuzco*, and then he enlarged his views to the conquest of the whole *Peruvian* empire. He began to sound the sentiments of some of the lesser provinces, and finding them averse to every measure that threatened to disturb the public tranquillity, he directed his march towards the capital, to meet his brother the emperor, to whom he gave battle with such success, as obliged *Huascar* to retire precipitately to repair and augment his scattered forces. Upon this he proceeded to the capital, subduing all the provinces in his way. On his arrival at *Caxamalca*, he received a more particular account of *Pizarro's* transactions at *Puina* and *Tumbez*, and therefore formed the resolution of remaining there with part of his troops, while the rest were sent to give battle to his brother, who had again taken the field with a fresh army. The two armies met in the vale of *Xauxa*, with nearly equal forces, each exceeding a hundred and forty thousand men. The conflict was bloody, and victory, a second time, declared for *Atabualapa*. A third battle was fought with similar fortune; and the emperor was, soon after, treacherously seized in the heart of his capital, and delivered up into the hands of his brother and rival. His women were infamously and inhumanly treated, his effects plundered, and his royal person thrown into a dungeon.

This series of prosperity gave *Atabualapa* more time to reflect upon the arrival of *Pizarro*; but when he was told that his troops did not exceed two hundred men, he made light of the affair, and thought it impossible that so inconsiderable a body could ever give the least shock to so vast an empire. Accordingly he contented himself with sending an oron, or nobleman of his court, to give into the designs of the Spaniards, for which purpose that nobleman employed a number of emissaries in *Tumbez*. Such was the situation of the empire, when *Pizarro* departed from *St. Miguel* on the fourth of September, on his way to *Caxamalca*, at the distance of twelve days journey (F). Floats were prepared for cross-

1532.

(F) We find this city variously written by the Spanish historians; but *Garcilasso* constantly writes it *Cassamalca*.

sing

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- Along the river, in three days he came up with an officer he had sent with a detachment to reduce the cazique, of *Cayam*, of *Piura*. In the vale of this name, *Pizarro* continued for ten days, making the necessary provision for his march, and procuring the best intelligence possible of the progress and strength of *Atahualpa*. Before he renewed his march, a general muster was made of the forces, which amounted to sixty-seven horse, and a hundred and ten foot, of whom nine returned to fort *St. Miguel*, on *Pizarro*'s declaring, at the head of the army, that all who had no inclination to proceed should have lands assigned them in the new colony, for that he reposed more confidence in the valour of a few, than in the shew of a number. So bold a declaration gave *Pizarro* great reputation with the soldiers; and he well knew how to make his advantage of his character, to strengthen his own authority, and raise the hopes of his people.

*Pizarro
advances
into Peru.*

His affairs being thus adjusted, *Pizarro* boldly advanced through a hostile country altogether unknown to him, with all the caution required in such critical circumstances, and soon reached the frontiers of the *Curaç Paver*, a powerful vassal of the imperial crown, notwithstanding he had been grievously oppressed by the late inca, *Huayra Capac*. The *Spaniards*, upon his invitation, took up their quarters in his town, and were kindly treated. Here *Pizarro* gained better information of the state of the war, the situation of the country, and every particular that could forward his designs. Among other pieces of information, he learnt, that a body of *Atahualpa*'s forces lay at *Caxas*, a town in his way to *Caxamalca*, at the distance only of two days journey. A captain, with a party, was detached before, to view the place, and endeavour to cultivate an alliance with the people. *Pizarro* followed slowly, and halted at a town called *Zamen*, to wait for the return of the party. In five days a messenger returned from *Caxas*, with the following relation, that the captain had endeavoured to surprise the town, but found unnecessary, the people being extremely civil; that the inca's officer had received him in the most cordial manner, and given him all the information he could require of the present condition of the empire, of which he must be a competent judge, on account of his employment of collecting the tribute in the different provinces: that this officer related wonders of the wealth of *Cuzco*, the metropolis, at which *Atahualpa* now resided. The captain had orders to rejoin the main body with his detachment, upon which *Pizarro* proceeded first to *Caxas*, and then to *Guzacamba*. At the former of these towns, struck with the appearance of a large building, en-
closed

built with mud walls, like a fortress; he was informed that it
 was the residence of a great number of women, employed
 in spinning and weaving cloth for the royal army, no males
 being admitted entrance. In going out of the town, he
 perceived a number of men suspended by the heels, and was
 told they were punished in this manner for presuming to
 enter the female hospital, which was deemed sacred. In his
 march he was accosted by an *Indian* of distinction, who called
 himself an ambassador from *Atahualpa*, presented him with two
 cups of stone curiously wrought, a load of a kind of perfumed
 powder; and assurances, that the inca desired nothing more
 than the friendship of the strangers, with whose valour and he-
 roic qualities he was not unacquainted. It was not difficult for
Pizarro to discover that this *Indian* was sent as a spy; but he
 disguised his sentiments, ordered him to be well treated, and
 dismissed with presents and promises of duty and respect to-
 wards the inca. To keep the colony of *St. Miguel* in spirits,
 he sent back an account of his progress, and a present of the
 cups, and several pieces of beautiful woollen and cotton
 cloth, finely adorned with flowers of gold and silver, charg-
 ing the garrison to live upon terms of amity with all the
 surrounding *Indians*. *Guacacamba*, a day's journey from
Cajas, was a city of more consequence, secured and beauti-
 fied by a fine fortress built of stone, a large river, and a va-
 riety of bridges and causeways. Through these towns passed
 the great road of the inca's, exceeding the distance of four
 hundred leagues from *Cuzco* to *Quito*, paved with the utmost
 art, and so broad, that six horses marched easily a-breast.
 In every part it was supplied with water, brought at a vast
 expence in pipes from distant mountains, and at the end of
 every four leagues were *tambos*, or houses of refreshment for
 travellers, supported by a small toll.

It would seem that *Pizarro* now quitted the great road
 leading to *Cuzco*, upon information that the inca was at
Caxamalca; we find him passing through a desert, in which
 he was reduced to the utmost necessity for water, before he
 reached *Motex*. The curaca of this town was now serving,
 at the head of three hundred men, the inca's army; never-
 theless, the commanding officer in the town consented, that
 no hostilities should be committed upon either side, and that
 the *Spaniards* should have free quarters, to refresh themselves
 for a day or two after their fatiguing journey. It was matter of
 astonishment and horror to *Pizarro* and his people, to observe
 the periodical human sacrifices that were offered to the idols.
 On a certain day in every month the faces of those false deities
 were sprinkled with fresh blood, issuing from the veins of the
 wretched

- Mob. Hist. Vol. XXXVIII. X

wretched victim; and in such reverence was this religious ceremony observed, that when sacrifices were wanting, many voluntarily devoted themselves to the purposes of piety, and rejoiced at the happiness of being cut in pieces by the sacred hands of those ministers of fraud and impostor, who exercised the hierarchy. Besides these scenes of horror, the length of the march, the heat of the climate, the sultry closeness of the atmosphere, the scarcity of water, and the sometimes intolerable fervour of the sun-beams reflected from the sand, pressed exceeding hard upon the *Spaniards*, who were supported only by the hopes of ending their toils in the utmost affluence and splendor of fortune and reputation. After surmounting a variety of hardships, *Pizarro* at length arrived on the banks of a river, the opposite side of which was covered with towns and villages. To prevent the *Indians* from obstructing his passage on floats, he ordered his brother, captain *Hernando*, to swim over with a party of horse; at whose approach the natives retired in the utmost consternation, being equally astonished and terrified at the novelty of the men swimming over upon the backs of animals, whom they guided in the water as if they had been canoes. *Hernando* seized some of the inhabitants in their flight, and by his dexterous management, convinced them that no violence was intended, and that they might safely return to their habitations. Yet could he obtain no information, until he put one to the torture, who then declared that *Atabualapa* expected the *Spaniards* in a warlike posture. That his army was divided into three columns, each of which was determined to dispute the progress of the strangers; and that one corps was at the foot of the mountain, on the way to *Caxamalca*, another on the summit, and a third on the opposite declivity. The *Indian* farther added, that the *inca* would now have been pursuing the conquest of the provinces; but that he thought it advisable to destroy the *Spaniards* before their numbers were augmented, or that they had raised a party in the country. Upon this information *Pizarro* made floats, crossed the river without opposition, quartered his troops in a fort of which he took possession, and sending for the curaca, was told by him, that the army at *Caxamalca* exceeded fifty thousand fighting men. The curaca declared himself the enemy of *Atabualapa*, who had put to death four thousand of his subjects, because he had supported his lawful sovereign against an ambitious usurper. What the curaca chiefly lamented was the loss of five hundred women, violently forced from the arms of their husbands and parents, and surrendered.

Martinez
to Caxa-
malca.

ed to gratify the brutal licentiousness of the conqueror's soldiers.

PIZARRO found it necessary to refresh his men in this friendly town, and employ the time in procuring still more minute intelligence. An *Indian* offered himself for this service, but refused to act as a spy. He said he would throw himself at the feet of the inca, deliver any message the *Spaniards* thought proper, and bring back the best information in his power; but he would not take upon him any employment that would injure his character, or subject him to a violent and ignominious punishment. The generous sentiments of this barbarian greatly delighted *Pizarro*; he believed he might safely trust a man who had expressed himself so boldly, and so virtuously; accordingly he dispatched him to *Atabualapa*, to salute that prince in his name, to offer him the best services of the *Spaniards*, and to signify that they were in full march to have the honour of prostrating themselves before him, and of meriting his friendship; their sole intention being to fight his enemies, without injuring his subjects. The *Indian* set out on his embassy; and *Pizarro*, after having fully refreshed his troops, began his journey, and after three days march reached the mountain, where *Atabualapa* was said to have a body of forces. He ascended the hill without any other opposition than what he met with from the steepness and roughness of the ascent. At the head of forty horse, and the bulk of the infantry, he quietly approached a fortress, seated on a high eminence, of so difficult access, that it was scarce possible to advance with the horse, the whole rock being cut in the form of an irregular steep stair. Round the fortress was a stone-wall built, upon the brink of a perpendicular rock upon every side, except the pass we have described. Had the least opposition been given, it would have been utterly impossible to have gained possession of this fort with double the number of men that composed the *Spanish* army; and it was matter of great rejoicing, that a difficulty, surpassing imagination, should be so easily overcome. Here *Pizarro* halted for the remainder of his forces and the baggage, forming to himself the most favourable prognostics from this fortunate incident. He conjectured that the inca had no intention to treat them as enemies, else he would certainly have disputed this post; but it afterwards appeared, that his policy was to suffer the *Spaniards* to advance into the heart of the country, that he might then have them in his power, without the possibility of their escaping.

He re-
ceives an
embassy
from Ata-
hualapa.

WHILE the *Spaniards* were resting themselves on the tops of the mountains, which they had gained with infinite labour, an embassy arrived from the inca, in consequence of the message sent by *Pizarro*. The ambassador had a pretty numerous retinue: he presented the general with ten *Peruvian* sheep, sent by his imperial majesty, some other things of a trifling nature; and then desired to know, in the name of his master, at what time the *Spaniards* proposed reaching *Caxamalca*, that accommodations on the road might be got ready. He related the course of the inca's victories, and contradicted all the reports of his having forces with him at *Caxamalca*; saying, that he only staid there to make preparations for the reduction of some provinces that still held out for his brother, who was now a prisoner. To this *Pizarro* made answer, that he rejoiced at the prosperity of his imperial majesty, and thanked him for the good will he had shewn towards strangers, whose commission was of more importance than he could well imagine. He desired the ambassador to acquaint *Atahualpa*, that he was the servant of the greatest monarch in the universe, sent to reclaim him and his people from the most impious and abominable errors in religion: he therefore hoped that he would receive him peaceably, in which case he might rely upon his faithful services; but if, on the contrary, any hostilities were offered, and his majesty preferred war to peace, he would soon find that the *Spaniards* could make themselves as dreadful to their enemies as useful to their friends. With this answer the ambassador took his leave, and the *Spaniards* proceeded on their march, halting that night in a beautiful valley, at the foot of the mountain. Here *Pizarro* was honoured with another embassy, and more presents, of much the same nature as the former. The retinue of this minister was extremely magnificent, and all his servants drank out of silver vases, which gave the *Spaniards* the most exalted opinion of the extraordinary wealth of their master, which indeed the ambassador cherished by his discourse. Next morning the *Indian* messenger returned; and being made acquainted with the relation given by the ambassador, he was so incensed, that he flew upon him, called him a treacherous liar, and would have certainly put him to death, had he not been torn away by violence. He now told *Pizarro*, that he was not to believe a syllable of what was advanced by those messengers, who were only spies upon his conduct, and false lights held out to mislead him. He asserted, that the inca was at the head of a numerous army; that *Caxamalca* was deserted, and the troops in the field; that he had not only been refused access to his majesty,

jeſty, but even diſmiſſed without eating, notwithstanding he was on the point of perſiſhing with fatigue and hunger; in a word, he declared that all the deſigns of the inca were hoſtile, and thoſe of his meſſenger perfidious. *Pizarro* had no doubt of the truth of this relation; however, he concealed his ſentiments before the *Peruvian* meſſenger, and diſmiſſed him with preſents. *Garcilaſſo de la Vega* mentions an ambaffador who came about this time from the unfortunate *Huaſcar*, craving the *Spaniards* to revenge his cauſe, and in the name of juſtice, truth, religion, and the ſons of the god *Virachoca*, to puniſh the ambition and uſurpation of his unnatural brother. This meſſenger was treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and returned with an answer, that the *Spaniards* were in full march to procure the enlargement of the unhappy monarch, and to redreſs all his grievances.

In proportion as the *Spaniards* approached *Caxamalca*, the embaffies from the inca began to multiply. While *Pizarro* was deſcending from the mountain, a third ambaffador came to him from *Atahualpa*, more ſolemn than any of the preceding. He was brother to the inca, and a perſon of the firſt conſideration about the court, to which his equipage and retinue correſponded. He told *Pizarro*, that his mighty and ſovereign lord had ſent him to bid the *Spaniards* welcome, and preſented them with ſome of the produce of the country, as a proof of his regard and affection. It was great joy, he ſaid, to the inca, to ſee his kiſmen, deſcended from the ſame common father the ſun. “Inca *Virachoca*, ſaid he, ſince it hath been my fortune to carry you this meſſage, I preſume to beſeech you, that you will be generously pleaſed to grant me three requeſts. The firſt is, that you will eſteem my inca, *Atahualpa*, your friend, and enter into a perpetual league of friendship with him. The ſecond is, that you will forgive all thoſe crimes and treſpaſſes which his ſubjects may have committed, either thro’ ignorance, or want of reflection. The laſt is, that you would remit, towards the inhabitants of *Caxamalca*, thoſe puniſhments, which by the direction of your god and father, the ſupreme *Virachoca*, you inflicted upon the inhabitants of *Puna* and *Tumbez*; and that, as you are an inca, the deſcendent of the ſun, you would exerciſe clemency, which is one of your attributes.” He then ordered the preſents to be diſplayed, which conſiſted of a variety of ſerpents and birds, many fruits of different kinds, various pieces of cotton and woollen manufactures, honey, corn, pepper, a variety of liquors diſtilled or brewed from the grain, veſtments of the richeſt kinds, and a ſervice of

of silver cups, plates, toys studded with turquoises and emeralds, with abundance of other curiosities, which were of very great value. As a particular mark of the inca's respect, he presented *Pizarro* with a pair of hose, of the same kind with those wore by the emperor, and a couple of rich gold bracelets, this being deemed a military honour in *Peru*, and bestowed on this occasion, in acknowledgement of the general's valour. *Titu Antouchi*, for that was the name of the ambassador, apologized for having presumed to make so trifling a present to the children of the sun; but he said, that he hoped his master would find other opportunities of shewing them his respect and esteem. In a word, no minister, of the most civilized prince, could have acquitted himself with more address and politeness, than this barbarian; who, in course of the conversation he held with *Pizarro*, eminently distinguished his good sense, policy, and sagacity. *Garcilasso* alledges, that *Atahualpa* had no sinister design in this embassy, which was sent merely to appease the resentment of the sun, for the injuries done to his children by the inhabitants of *Puna* and *Tumbez*. He affirms, that the inca's courage began to forsake him on the approach of the *Spaniards*, and the report of the wonders they performed upon the coast. He mentions a prophecy, uttered by the father of the present emperor, similar to the tradition which we observed prevailed in *Mexico*, at the time *Cortez* entered that country; and says, that *Atahualpa* was persuaded the season was arrived for the completion of this prophecy, because he could not imagine that such a handful of men could defeat the armies of *Puna* and *Tumbez*, and dare to penetrate into the heart of his empire, unless they were invigorated and supported by the almighty power of the sun.

With respect to the *Spaniards*, they dismissed the ambassador with presents, and assurances of perfect respect and resignation to the will of the inca; but their sentiments were greatly divided about the intention of the embassy, and the presents. Some regarded them as a blind to conceal the inca's real designs, and lull the *Spaniards* into security; whence they inferred the necessity of redoubling their vigilance and circumspection. Others ascribed the presents wholly to the magnificence and hospitality of the emperor; while a few of the more sanguine believed, that they could discover spies fears under the appearance of courtesy. It was, however, the unanimous opinion, that they could not be too cautious in their march to *Caxamalca*. As they drew near the inca, they had a view of the inca's army, which extended in the space of a whole league, and presented the most formidable appearance.

Pizarro
arrives at
Caxamalca
ca.

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appearing, were victory to depend on numbers. In the evening they reached *Caxamalca*, and found it deserted by the inca and principal nobility; though orders had been left to feast and treat the children of the sun with the utmost respect, if we may credit *Garcilasso*, whose relation is diametrically opposite, in this place, to that of *Herrera*. According to this last writer, the *Spaniards* found not a soul in the town, except a few women, who openly avowed the design of destroying the christians, and pitied their unhappy fate. Immediately *Pizarro* ordered the place to be diligently searched, lest any troops might be concealed; and after taking every precaution for his security, sent an *Indian* to the emperor, to demand what quarters he had provided for his friends, agreeable to the promises of his ambassadors.

It was afterwards known that the arrival of the *Spaniards* in *Caxamalca* had greatly disconcerted *Atahualpa*, whose fears increased in proportion as the danger drew nearer; however, he betrayed no other symptoms of the terrible apprehensions he was under, than what might be perceived from his holding more frequent councils than usual. On the other hand, *Pizarro* deliberated with his officers, whether it was not requisite he should send a formal embassy to the inca, to acknowledge the civilities received, request the continuance of his favour, and acquaint him with the purpose of his expedition. After various debates, this proposition was carried in the affirmative. Accordingly *Hernando Pizarro*, and *Ferdinando Soto*, were appointed to execute this commission, their retinue being composed of twenty horse; *Soto* to proceed with this party to the emperor's presence, and *Pizarro* to remain at a little distance behind, with another party, to bring him off in case any violence should be offered to his person. The *Spaniards* found the *Peruvian* army drawn up to receive the ambassadors, notice of whose arrival had been given by an *Indian* sent to prepare the way. As they passed the ranks, the *Indians* gazed with astonishment upon the horses; and *Soto* leaping over a ditch, plunging, rearing, and curveting, with his horse, greatly delighted all those simple spectators, who could hardly separate, in imagination, the rider from the horse, taking both to be one animal, as several other *Indian* natives had done before. The inca had dispatched one of his generals to receive the ambassadors, and shew them all possible respect. When this officer approached the *Spaniards*, he adored them with the most profound veneration; and then turning round to his people, denouncing to them that those were the descendants of their god *Viracocha*, whom they ought to worship with the most profound

He sends an embassy to the inca's camp.

X found

found adoration; a speech that was scarce uttered, when all the Indian files began their reverences with the utmost submission, accompanying the Spaniards, at the same time, into the inca's presence. The amazement of both parties was pretty nearly equal. The Spaniards admired the riches, grandeur, and magnificence of the inca; while the monarch was surprised at the habit, beards, complexion, manners, arms, and horses of the Spaniards. Some minutes passed in profound silence; when at length the Spaniards recovering themselves, approached the throne of gold in which Atahualpa was seated, making the most submissive obeisances as they advanced. When Soto came within a proper distance, the inca rose up, embraced him cordially, and bid him welcome into his dominions: "Behold, said he, the very face, attitude, and habit of our god *Virachoca*, in the exact manner described by the inca *Virachoca*, our ancestor, to whom the deity appeared." Having spoke this, an elegant entertainment of bread, fruits, and divers kinds of liquors, was served up by six virgins, and as many boys, well dressed. Two beautiful maidens of the royal blood advanced before these, holding in their hands small cups of gold, filled with the liquor usually drank by the inca; of which they gave one to Atahualpa, and another to the ambassador, who drank peace and friendship to each other; this being deemed in Peru a mark of the most cordial reception and sincere welcome. Having gone thro' the preliminary ceremonies, the Spaniards began to deliver their commission; but they had scarce uttered a sentence, when they were stopt by the inca, who said he must admire a little longer, in their form and figure, the image of his god. Soto mounted his horse, to please the emperor, made him prance, leap, and curvet to the great satisfaction of Atahualpa, who suffered the horse to run up so close as to smell him, without seeming afraid, though the Indian soldiers fled in crouds when the animal came near them. At length the ambassador was permitted to speak, but a charge was given that he should be concise. Accordingly Soto, after making several profound reverences, began to inform the inca, of the exalted dignity of the pontiff, and the vast power of Charles V. emperor and king of the Romans, who, desirous of rescuing the Peruvians from the gross ignorance and idolatry in which they were immersed, had sent on Francisco Pizarro, with his company, spies and some priests, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to enter into a perpetual alliance and amity, for his imperial highness. He concluded with acquainting the inca of the arrival of the Spaniards in Caxamalca, and the marriage of the

sending him for farther particulars to a personal interview with Pizarro.

It must be confessed, that the *Spanish* writers differ widely about the particulars of this audience, and indeed the whole of the inca's conduct. *Herrera* relates, that he received the embassy politely, but gave immediate orders that the army should march to *Caxamalca*, to crush *Pizarro*, at one blow, take all his people prisoners, and offer them up as sacrifices to the gods; for which purpose he had prepared a kind of gin-nets, or toils, in which they were to be caught alive, like wild beasts. According to *Garcilasso*, the inca had given up all thoughts of defence, seeming to regard his empire for lost, from the time the *Spaniards* ventured to advance to the heart of his dominions. In answer to the ambassador, he said, that although he could not but be pleased to think that the prophecies of his ancestors were to be completed in his days; yet it could not but give him some uneasiness to reflect, that the end of a vast and flourishing empire was approaching. He told the *Spaniards*, that notwithstanding the advices he had constantly received of the victories obtained by them in *Puna* and *Tumbez*, and of the fortifications they were erecting in his dominions, he had taken no measures with his council for their expulsion, because he fully persuaded himself that they were the children of the great god *Virachoca*, and the messengers of the *Pacachamac*, and had therefore published it as a law in the schools of *Cuzco*, that none should presume to take up arms against them, unless he would be guilty of sacrilege, and the grossest impiety. He desired, however, that the ambassador would inform him how it came to pass, that while the *Spaniards* professed that their sole intention was to cultivate an alliance, and promote peace, they had made such dreadful slaughter in the countries through which they passed, without, so much as informing themselves of the dispositions of the inca, and imperial court? "But I conceive, added he, that the two princes, your employers, enjoined you to act with the utmost severity against us; wherefore I resign myself wholly to your will, only imploring that you shew some compassion to my subjects, wives, and relations, whose misfortunes affect me more deeply than my own." These two hunts are extremely different; yet they may be reconciled, and it is supposed that their scheme was designed to blind the inca, and conceal the stratagem formed to seize them. Yet we must consider it as a little extraordinary,

that all the nobility and soldiers, within hearing of the inca, should be so deeply affected with *Atabualapa's* speech, which they knew to be perfidious. According to *Garcilasso*, they shed tears, groaned and sighed piteously, and gave themselves up to despair, with such appearances as could not be counterfeit. Indeed the inca himself, if we may credit this historian, was so strongly impressed with the prophecy mentioned, that he neglected all means of resistance, regarded the *Spaniards* as the messengers of heaven, and prepared his mind for an entire resignation. The fact probably is, that neither the *Spaniards* nor *Peruvians* rightly understood each other, upon account of the ignorance of the interpreter, who was a native of *Puna*, almost entirely unlearned in the *Spanish*, and but imperfectly acquainted with the language spoke at the inca's court, which was very different from the provincial dialect. In one thing both writers agree, that the inca told the ambassadors he would visit *Pizarro* in *Caxamaka*, but that he hoped it would give no umbrage if he should be attended by his army, as was customary in the country when the emperor travelled.

As soon as the dawn appeared, great fires were seen lighted in the *Peruvian* camp, and every thing was perceived to be in motion, which gave the alarm to *Pizarro*, as he had no great confidence in the fair words given to the ambassador. He drew the *Spaniards* up in order of battle, in a great square, and firmly waited the approach of the inca, who was four hours marching three leagues, the distance between the town and the camp. He was carried in a golden litter of rich workmanship, supported upon the shoulders of *Indians* of the first distinction, and attended by a body of twelve thousand *Orejans*, or noblemen, who had arms concealed under coats of mail of palm-leaves, contrived to ward off the edge of the *Spanish* swords. Besides this guard, there followed an army of seventy-five thousand men, attended by near thirty thousand servants, women and children. All the *Indians* were richly dressed, and adorned with plates of gold and silver, and great abundance of precious stones. *Pizarro* observed them at a distance; and the glittering appearance they made, served rather to whet his avarice, than raise any emotions of fear. He exhorted his men to be of good courage, and sent an *Indian* to acquaint what emperor, that he impatiently expected his arrival; to which *Atabualapa* made no other reply, than requesting that his *Spaniards* would keep their dogs and horses, which ferocious

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so terrible to the people, and not take offence at seeing several of them armed, contrary to his orders and promise, as he again assured them no hostilities were intended. From this message *Pizarro* was convinced that the suspicions of treachery he entertained were well founded. He communicated his sentiments to the chief captains, and a resolution was taken to improve the circumstance to their own advantage, and to place the horse and dogs in ambush, under pretence of complying with the inca's request. Observing that the emperor now pitched his tent in the fields, *Pizarro*, apprehending lest the design might be to postpone the interview until night might furnish the *Indians* with an opportunity of practising some insidious purpose, sent *Aldena*, a *Spaniard*, to beseech him to hasten his march. *Atahualpa* received the messenger angrily, and at first ordered him to be seized and punished; but afterwards suppressing his resentment, he dismissed him courteously, desiring him to acquaint *Pizarro*, that he would be with him immediately. This incident, more and more, betrayed the design of the inca, and put the *Spaniards* on their guard. *Pizarro* ordered a body of musqueteers to take post on an eminence in the square, and to fire, upon the word of command, among the thickest of the enemy, while the cavalry were to sally out upon different quarters, and to secure the passes, that none of the principal *Indians* might escape. There was something uncommonly bold and desperate in the resolution of attacking an army of near a hundred thousand fighting men, with a party of less than a hundred and seventy soldiers; but the *Spaniards* knew the genius of the *Indians*, their dread of the fire-arms, horses, and dogs, their ignorance of the art of war, and their great disparity in point of courage; nor were they strangers to the strong impressions left upon their minds by the victories obtained at *Puna* and *Tumbex*.

THE inca advanced with great order and solemnity, amidst the sound and din of warlike instruments, sending out scouts to observe the posture of the enemy, who returned with the joyful intelligence, that only the general, and fifteen of his companions, were waiting on foot in the great square. This advice rendered the *Indians* so bold and tumultuous, that they poured in without order into the square, and that they could easily bring all the *Spaniards* bound to *Atahualpa*. The inca followed the crowd, and raising him-
self in his litter, exhorted his people to behave themselves with proper courage and vigilance. They were preparing all upon *Pizarro*, when he thought it necessary to justify

The inca
is defeated
and taken
prisoner.

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his own conduct, by once more making pacific overtures, with which he sent the friar *Vincenti Valverde*, accompanied by the interpreter *Filippo*. The friar was admitted to the presence of the inca, who beheld his habit, different from any thing he had before seen, with wonder, asked him several questions about the God-head, the pope, and the emperor; desired to know why the *Spaniards* required that the tribute should be paid to *Charles*, who was of inferior quality to God the Creator and Father, to God the Son, to God the Holy Ghost, and to the pope? He likewise asked the friar, how *Jesus Christ*, who was a God, came to lose his life, and how he came to be informed of all the particulars which he mentioned in his speech concerning the Divinities of the Trinity? To this the friar replied, that he learned all these things from the book he held in his hand, which was a breviary. *Atahualpa* desired to see the book; he took it in his hand, put it to his ear, and not hearing it speak, flung it upon the ground, as if he imagined the friar wanted to impose on his understanding. "You believe," said he, that *Christ* is God, and that he died: I adore the sun and moon, which are immortal. I owe no tribute to any mortal prince, and know none superior to myself. I should be glad to be a friend to the monarch who has sufficiently displayed his power, by sending armies to such distant countries; but I disdain being vassal to any, but the gods. I know of no duty I owe the pope, nor can I see what right he has to dispose of my kingdom. As to changing my religion, it would be equally foolish and impious in me to abjure the doctrine received by my ancestors, until you have convinced me that it is false, and that yours, which you would have me adopt in its stead, is true."

WITH this answer the friar returned, not chusing to attempt convincing the mind of the inca by reasoning, when he knew that more powerful arguments were preparing. He was no sooner returned, than *Pizarro* gave the signal for executing his orders. The musketiers began a most terrible fire, while the cavalry called out from different quarters, and trod down the affrighted *Indians*. At the same time the foot pressed on with their cross-bows, pikes, and swords, making dreadful slaughter of a confused multitude, who were entirely disconcerted by the suddenness of the attack. The unusual noise of the musquetry, the vigour of the numerous the death of their companions, the fury of the horsemen, the dogs, and a method of fighting, to which they were so many strangers. Mean time *Pizarro*, sensible that the whole was a petty

depended on the fate of the inca, fell desperately; with his fifteen targetteers, upon the corps surrounding the royal litter, and met with an unexpectedly obstinate resistance. Great numbers of the *Orejans* were slain; but their place was undauntedly filled up by others; insomuch, that the *Spaniards* must have relinquished their design of seizing the monarch, through mere fatigue, had not *Miguel*, a resolute soldier, pierced through the middle of the guard, laid hold of the litter, and made way for *Pizarro*, and some other soldiers, who immediately laid hands upon *Atahualpa*, overturned the carriage, and took him prisoner. The consternation of the *Indians* was inexpressible upon this event; they endeavoured to escape at the outlets of the square, and there met the fate they endeavoured to avoid. Several thousands were slain, or trampled down, and a multitude perished amidst the ruins of a wall that sunk under their weight. At last a heavy shower of rain put a stop to the carnage, and obliged the *Spaniards*, quite spent with slaying, to look for shelter, carrying with them the inca in triumph, whom they justly esteemed ample security for their future success. *Atahualpa* was conveyed to his quarters, put under a strong guard, and, as *Gomara* alledges, loaded with irons, which were taken off next morning by order of *Pizarro*. The booty was collected, and it appeared immense. The vessels in gold and silver found in the inca's tent were incredibly rich, one of these alone being reputed worth a hundred thousand ducats. Besides these, a prodigious number of ornaments in gold, silver, and jewels, were taken from the dead; and one would imagine that the whole wealth of *Peru* had been collected only to reward the valour of the conquerors. Above five hundred women, belonging to the emperor and his principal attendants, surrendered to *Pizarro*, and were kindly treated. Many of them were of the blood-royal, others were prime favourites of the emperor, and a few vestals taken from the temple of the sun, to pray for the success of the imperial arms, and the destruction of the *Spaniards*.

May 3.
1533.

At first, the *Indians* imagined that *Atahualpa* was slain; but finding that he was only taken prisoner, above five thousand returned to *Caxamalca*, to attend him in his confinement, and bear a share in his affliction. Nothing could be more moving than the fidelity and affection they expressed on this occasion to their sovereign, which convinced the *Spaniards* they could not be too vigilant, as nothing would be expected by his subjects to procure his liberty. As to the principal general, *Tiumiravi*, he made the best of his way to *Quito*, carrying off above three thousand loads of treasure,

state, and there exercised the most cruel tyranny. Every nobleman of ambition profited by the misfortune of the prince, erected a little dominion for himself, and governed with the most despotic authority; at the same time that others constantly attended the person of the unhappy inca, dried up his tears, and, by their fidelity and attachment, broke the poignancy of his grief, and poured comfort into his wounded bosom; to which Pizarro contributed all that lay in his power. He not only gave orders to the Spaniards to treat him with the utmost respect, but suffered his women and attendants to have free access to his apartments. In the end he gained so much upon Atahualpa, who, at first, was sullen and dejected, that he seemed somewhat reconciled to his situation, and condescended to enter upon divers conversations with the Spanish general, who seized that opportunity of disclosing to him more fully the purport of his expedition. Although we mentioned the defeat of the inca, Huascar, in the preceding pages, it was not till this time that Atahualpa received the news of his imprisonment. When it was told him he smiled, and said it was extraordinary to be a conqueror and a prisoner in the same instant. Observing that the Spaniards were extremely covetous of gold and silver, Atahualpa judged that his metal was the key to his liberty, and accordingly made proposals of a prodigious ransom. It is reported, that he offered as many vessels of gold and silver as would fill the apartments in which he was confined, up to a certain line he had drawn upon the wall, as high as he could reach, amounting, according to Herrera, to upwards of ten thousand bars, besides jewels, and precious stones, of inestimable value. He sent for great quantities to the adjacent provinces; but not being able to fulfil his promise, the Spaniards murmured, alledging that he had some sinister intention in this delay. The inca excused himself, by al-

The inca offers an immense ransom.

(A) *Tismirazi*, or as Garcilasso calls him, *Runminazi*, had the bulk of the army at command, and, under pretence of revenging the cause of his sovereign, was actually aspiring at the imperial diadem. He immediately seized upon all the sons and kindred of Atahualpa, under pretext of securing them against the violence of the Spaniards. He soon afterwards put them to death; particularly

a brother of the inca's, who had ventured to commiserate the misfortunes of the empire. He maintained a court at Cuzco, which was the asylum of all desperadoes, robbers, murderers, and outlaws, whom he supplied and protected, because he was sensible it was their interest to see the government overturned. Garcilasso, cap. lib. i.

ledging

leading the great distance of the places, whence the ransom was to be drawn, and desiring that *Pizarro* would send some of his *Spaniards* to satisfy themselves about the treasures in *Cuzco*, whom he would order his subjects to conduct with safety, and treat with the utmost kindness; affirming, that they had nothing to fear during his imprisonment. This offer was embraced, *Pizarro* not chusing to deprive him of hope, lest the treasure might be destroyed. In consequence, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, were appointed to go to *Cuzco*, while *Hernando Pizarro* undertook to give an account of the wealth contained in *Pacacamec*, and other provinces specified by the inca, where his treasures were deposited. Before their departure, the inca ordered proclamation to be made throughout his dominions, that the *Spaniards* should be hospitably received wherever they went, and shewn every thing they desired.

FULL of expectation of great wealth, and confident of safety, under protection of the inca, the *Spaniards* set but upon their journey, in a kind of litter, which the *Peruvians* call *Huantu* and *Rampa*, supported on the shoulders of twenty *Indians*, who were relieved by others, posted at certain distances. *Soto* and *Barco* were the first who began their journey, directing their course to *Cuzco*. They met with the most profound respect from the natives, who not only honoured the inca's passport and commands, but regarded the *Spaniards* as the messengers and ministers of some powerful divinity, who had, for certain purposes, brought affliction upon their sovereign. Many sacrificed to them, and others loaded them with rich presents, to appease their resentment, and expiate the crimes they had ignorantly committed against heaven. There were some who regarded *Soto* and *Barco* as inferior deities, of a malicious cruel nature, to be satisfied only with gold and silver, of which they made liberal offerings. Not long after their departure, *Hernando Pizarro* began his journey to *Pacacamec*, in the temple of which place the inca affirmed there were immense treasures. On the road they met with one of the inca's brothers, attended by some hundreds of *Indians*, loaded with plate for the payment of the ransom, amounting to upwards of a million of pieces of eight. The name of this prince was *Quitliscan*; he had escaped the snares laid for him by the perfidious *Tiumiravi*, and had used his utmost influence with the *Curacas* to raise a sufficient price for the inca's liberty, for whom he had the most tender fraternal affection. By him the first intelligence was received at *Caxamalca*, of the revolt of the *Spaniards*; but as no measures could be taken for punishing his

this treachery, until *Atabualapa* was set at liberty, the *Spaniards* were disappointed, in hopes that the return of the *Spaniards* from *Cuzco*, and the other places mentioned, might produce a favourable crisis.

PIZARRO having reached the temple of *Pacacamec*, where he saw every thing corresponding to the inca's relation, returned after a fatiguing journey, with a good deal of treasure, and one of the inca's generals, named *Chalchucbima*, who had been assembling troops to attempt the recovery of his prince, but had yielded to the remonstrances of *Pizarro*. *Hernando* was so bold, as to go attended only by an interpreter, into the midst of the *Indian* camp, and, by the force of eloquence and argument, prevailed upon the general to attend him to *Pacacamec*, to dismiss his troops, to submit quietly to the fate of his sovereign, and to repair to the place of his confinement, to endeavour, with the rest of his friends, to alleviate his misfortunes, until the ransom was paid. On their journey, *Hernando Soto*, and his fellow traveller *Barco*, touched at *Sanja*, where the inca *Huascar* was detained prisoner by the officers of *Atabualapa*. Curiosity made them desirous of visiting this prince, and the *Indians* readily gratified their request, upon examining their passport. Little, however, could be made out at the interview, for want of an interpreter. The *Spaniards* had just learned enough of the language, to make themselves barely intelligible in common affairs, with the help of signs, but they found it impossible to conduct a political negotiation. The royal prisoner, however, being given to understand that they were his brother's conquerors, that they professed redressing injuries, and distributing exact justice, conceived great hopes of being reinstated. He complained of the tyranny, cruelty, and usurpation of his brother, who, not content with robbing him of his crown and dominions, was now going to deprive him of life, for which reason he was kept in close confinement. He conjured them not to leave him in that condition, but to take him under their protection to *Cuzco*, where his presence would be mutually beneficial. He promised not only to fulfil the promise made by *Atabualapa*, respecting the ransom, but to pay the *Spaniards* much more than his brother had in his power, as great part of his treasure had been concealed during the late wars, and deposited secretly in the hands of his faithful vassals. It was certainly unpolitic in the *Spaniards* to refuse these proposals; but they feared that attempts might be made to rescue the prince out of their hands, when they had no power to protect him; and therefore contented themselves with promising, that their

their return from Cuzco, they would conduct him safe to their commander. By this means *Huascar* lost his life, and the Spaniards immense treasures, no account of which could ever afterwards be obtained. *Atahualpa*'s officers soon gave him notice of *Huascar*'s promise, as to the Spaniards; and he dreading the consequences, determined to remove so dangerous a rival out of the way; upon which he immediately founded *Pizarro*, desiring, in the most artful manner, to know how he stood affected. He just told him, that his officers had unadvisedly killed *Huascar*; and finding *Pizarro* extremely indifferent, then sent private orders that he should be immediately strangled, which was punctually executed, while *Soto* and *Barco* were at Cuzco (B).

ON the arrival of the Spaniards in that city, they were astonished at the respect and deference shewn them by the Indians, of both parties. The friends of *Huascar*, imagining that prince was still living, endeavoured to engage the strangers in his interest, by the utmost civilities, and the most liberal presents and offerings; those of the opposite faction put on a similar behaviour, in expectation of procuring the release of *Atahualpa*. The vestals, called *Mamaconas*, dedicated to the sun, were ordered to attend upon the strangers, whom they regarded as the children of that luminary. Unfortunately, however, the Spaniards abused the respect shewn them, laughed at the simplicity of their votaries, and thereby incurred their hatred and contempt; a ridiculous weakness, which *Herrera* ascribes to four Spaniards, who attended *Soto* and *Barco* on this expedition. To their misconduct, the same writer attributes the great effusion of blood that ensued; for had the Spaniards maintained the dignity of their character, and indulged the natives in their superstitious veneration, they would probably have quietly received the yoke, and submitted to the will of their conquerors, whom they beheld as the descendants of the great god *Virachoca*. As the emperor's chief treasures were lodged in the great temple, application was made to the high priest *Atahualpa*, to issue out what was necessary for *Atahualpa*'s ransom, which he readily granted. Immense quantities of gold and silver were accordingly brought to the Spa-

(B) The manner of *Huascar*'s death is variously related. *Augustino de Carate* speaks as if he had been cut in pieces, and his flesh devoured by his barbarous adherers. *Costa* relates that he was burnt; but all agree he was put to death by order of his brother, after he had sifted the sentiments of *Pizarro*. Apud Garcil. Lib. i. cap. 33. pag. 470.

niards, who set out with it to *Caxamalca*, attended by several hundreds of the natives, loaded with the precious metals, in vases, urns, and other utensils of curious workmanship. *Pizarro* was astonished at the prodigious wealth that flowed in, which greatly surpassed his most sanguine expectations; but not satisfied, he obtained a grant from his prisoner of the treasures contained in the temple of *Pacacamec*, in the province of the incas, which his brother *Pernando* had surveyed.

Almagro
joins *Pi-*
zarro.

By this time *Pizarro* was joined by *Almagro*, an hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, and fifty horses brought from *Panama*, with great difficulty and danger. Endeavours were used to revive their mutual animosities, and create jealousies that might have proved destructive to the enterprise; but *Almagro* discovering that his secretary was in the conspiracy, ordered him to be hanged, and for that time quieted the suspicions entertained, that he had planned an expedition independent on *Pizarro*. After refreshing his people, he offered to attend the general's three brothers to *Pacacamec*; and accordingly set out upon that journey, being every where well treated by the natives, though great part of the treasure was concealed before his arrival. The report of the behaviour of the *Spaniards* at *Cuzco* had spread itself to *Pacacamec*, which determined the priests of the temple of the sun to disapprove their avarice, and obstruct the plundering of so ancient and venerable a temple. It is affirmed, that four hundred load of plate had been carried away, and concealed in such a manner that it never afterwards appeared. Notwithstanding this, the *Spaniards* found as much as amounted to ninety thousand pieces of eight, besides several pieces of rich plate, stolen and plundered by the soldiers, with which they returned to *Caxamalca*.

Divisions
among the
Spa-
niards.

ALL the treasure being now collected, and the inca's promise punctually fulfilled, he demanded his liberty, according to agreement; but divisions arising among the *Spaniards*, the execution of their promise was entirely neglected. Their business was to amass wealth, and little regard was paid to the sentiments which the natives might entertain of their integrity and honour. *Almagro*'s people insisted upon sharing all the acquisitions made since the arrival of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, because they had contributed equally to the success of the expedition, as if they had been actually present. This, indeed, was true of *Almagro* himself, but not of the soldiers he had enlisted subsequent to the imprisonment of the inca. *Pizarro* readily admitted the claim of his partner, and, to avoid the consequences of dispute, ordered that

the

the value of a hundred thousand ducats should be distributed among his followers, with which they appeared satisfied. Agreeable to the power vested in him as lieutenant governor and generalissimo, he then passed a decree, ordaining, that the king's fifth should be deducted, and the remainder of the treasure be divided in a certain proportion to each, according to the merit that should be adjudged him by his commander. After imploring the divine assistance to enable him to perform exact justice, he then shared to the amount of one million, five hundred and twenty eight thousand, five hundred pieces of eight, deducting the king's fifth, and all other incumbrances and expences. In this division the *Spaniards* reaped the fruits of all their labour, as far as riches could afford a recompence; but the effects did not correspond with their wishes. Wealth is not always productive of felicity; and it appeared, on this occasion, that the prodigious treasures amassed served only to diminish the enjoyment of the adventurers, who were infinitely more happy in expectation, than in actual enjoyment. The great plenty of precious metal diminished its value one half; those who imagined themselves rolling in wealth, were astonished to find they, in reality, had but half what they expected. Disappointment begat jealousy, the parent of discord; it also naturally produced avarice, each striving to acquire a fortune equal to what he first imagined he enjoyed. Gaming grew to an exorbitant height among them, and property was continually shifting from one hand to another. The tides of affluence and indigence brought along with them an infinity of vices, which foiled all the authority and influence of the commander, and rendered the *Spanish* conquerors the most profligate, corrupt, and abandoned set of miscreants in the universe. No regard was paid to the most sacred obligations; wealth was the only pursuit, and power the only rule of right; nor was *Pizarro* himself untainted with the general depravity. *Atahualpa*, in the most pressing manner, urged the emperor for his liberty, every particular of which he had fulfilled. He offered to lay himself under the strictest ties, to do nothing contrary to the interest of the *Spaniards*, to acknowledge himself a vassal of the emperor, to pay a regular tribute, to receive baptism, as soon as his understanding could be convinced, and, at all events, to live upon terms of the strictest amity with the *Spaniards*; but his remonstrances were vain, and fresh pretexts were invented to prolong his confinement. Upon these delays, some of his commanders proposed attempting his release, by force of arms; to which he very prudently refused

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refused his consent, admonishing them in the strongest manner not to have recourse to violence, which might endanger his life, and the total subversion of the empire. In obedience to him they laid aside their designs; but the discontent which appeared in their countenances excited suspicions in the Spaniards, which were corroborated by the whispers of the *Yuconas*, or Peruvian slaves, who were grown rich, haughty, and insolent, during the late confusion, and desirous of a change in the *Orejans*, for nobility. They spread a variety of reports, the foundation of which could never be traced, though they were readily believed by the Spaniards, who wanted an apology for their own perfidious conduct. Pizarro doubled the guards, and very probably cherished rumours which he could not possibly credit. Atahualapa grew extremely uneasy, and remonstrated with him; but meeting with no satisfactory answer, poured his grievances into the bosom of *Hernando Pizarro*, who had gained his confidence and affection. The whole blame of these disturbances were charged upon the *Indians* general, *Qualquetriama*, who would certainly have been sacrificed to the vengeance of the Spaniards, had not *Hernando* interposed, and asserted his innocence.

It was now the subject of great grief and mortification to Atahualapa, that he was going to be deprived of the only person, among the Spaniards, for whom he had entertained a friendship. The general thought it necessary to transmit an account of his success to the court of Spain, to remit the king's fifth, and thereby insure the countenance and protection of the emperor and ministry. His brother was appointed to discharge this commission; and the inca was no sooner informed of the resolution, than he imagined his ruin was determined. He told *Hernando* his fears, and bewailed himself in the most piteous manner, saying, "that he was now deprived of hope, as he had lost his only remaining friend and confident." In this he discovered his penetration, for *Hernando* was departed but a few days, when all that Atahualapa had foreseen happened (C).

(C) With *Hernando Pizarro* Knowing that a difference sub-
near fifty Spaniards returned-
to Spain with immense for-
tunes. *Almagro* solicited, by
letters, that he might be con-
stituted adelantado of certain
countries beyond those assigned
to Pizarro, and entirely inde-
pendent on his authority. He
sisted between the two, where
he entrusted the commission to
Hernando, and is said to have
gained the promise of his inte-
rest, by a present of twenty
thousand ducats. The wealth
which they brought to *Panama*,
raised such a spirit in the inha-
bitants,

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The discontents of *Almagro's* soldiers, which were again revived, their refusal to be led to the reduction of the province, the difficulty of keeping so mighty a potentate as the inca securely confined, the attempts which would probably be set on foot to procure his release, the jealousy which his breach of promise must excite in the *Indians*, and the almost impossibility of establishing the dominion of the crown of *Spain* over such an immense tract of country, greatly perplexed *Pizarro*, and suggested the first hint of the necessity of putting *Atahualpa* to death. This he regarded as equitable, because it was convenient: it being a maxim of his policy, to stick at nothing which contributed to his own interest, the security of his people, and the good of the public, however contrary to the faith of treaties and engagements. A notion that it was essential to the accomplishment of the conquest of the *Peruvian* monarchy, was the actuating motive to this base action, whatever the *Spanish* writers may alledge of intrigues carried on by *Fillippo*, the interpreter, in consequence of a passion which he entertained for one of the inca's women. It is not indeed improbable that *Fillippo* might be employed as a tool to *Pizarro*, to stir up those discontents among the *Yuaconas*, which we have mentioned; but all the stories related of the egregious ignorance of the general are no way compatible with his birth or refined policy. *Garcilasso* alledges, that the inca, who at first adored him as a god, began to fall off from his respect, on observing that *Pizarro* was rough, unpolished, ignorant, and void of honour. The same writer observes, that *Atahualpa* admiring nothing so much as the faculty of conveying ideas by writing, one day resolved to make experiment of the reality of the pretended art, desired a *Spanish* soldier to write the word God upon his thumb-nail, which he had heard them often repeat; then calling another soldier, he desired to know what these characters meant, and was answered God. He called a third, and received the same answer; and at last putting the question to the general, *Pizarro* replied he could not read; and hence it is inferred he could not read, and asserted that he was greatly in the inca's opinion, for shewing himself inferior, in point of knowledge, to the common soldiers. Insinuations are likewise given as if this circumstance tended to widen the breach between the emperor and the commander, and hurry on the tragical end of the

bitants of that place, that it was with difficulty the governor could restrain the whole colony from seeking their fortunes in *Peru*. *Garcil. Lib. i. Her. Dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. 5.*

and treacherously
put him to
death.

former. *Pizarro* was piqued to observe the contempt in which he was held by a barbarian; and all constraint being now removed, since the departure of his brother, who ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~annually~~ ^{annually} vindicated the *inca* upon all occasions, caused a formal process to be drawn up against him, consisting of several articles, many of which were truly absurd and ridiculous. That being a bastard, without any right to the imperial diadem, he had ordered his brother, and legitimate sovereign, *Huascar*, to be put to death, and seized his dominions. That he had given orders for this barbarous murder since his own imprisonment by the *Spaniards*. That he was an idolater. That he not only allowed, but commanded, the sacrifices of men, women, and children. That he had raised unjust wars, and occasioned much blood-shed and cruelty. That he had levied taxes and tributes since the arrival of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, and consumed and embezzled the public treasure, which now became the property of the conquerors. Lastly, that he had endeavoured to stir up factions and rebellions against the *Spaniards*. From hence it appears that *Pizarro* was resolved, at all events, to rid himself of the *inca*; for else would he never have strained so hard to find sufficient ground of impeachment.

To all these charges the *inca* pleaded not guilty. With respect to the death of his brother, he justly alledged that the *Spaniards* could take no legal cognizance of the fact. With regard to the taxes which he had levied, and the wars he had carried on, they were nothing to the *Spaniards*; and as to the conspiracy mentioned in the impeachment, it was utterly false and groundless. He called heaven and earth to witness the integrity with which he had discharged his engagements, and the perfidy of his accusers; and desired he might be sent over to *Spain* to take his trial before the emperor; but little regard was paid to his remonstrances. He exclaimed, he reasoned, he intreated in vain; *Pizarro* proceeded out of form to examine sham evidences, and after a full hearing, *Almagro* and he occupying the bench, condemned him to be burnt, giving the sentence into the hands of the friar *Vincenti Valverde*, to be revised and confirmed. It is alledged that the friar used every argument with the *inca* to convert him to christianity; and that at last prevailed, on assuring him that he should get the sentence changed from burning to strangling, which the unhappy prince now regarded as an extraordinary favour. In all other respects the sentence was rigorously executed, and the *inca* yielded up his last breath with that resolution, firmness, and heroism, which would have done honour to a more civilized

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villainous prince, and legitimate sovereign. *Pizarro* did not carry his resentment farther than the grave; he now treated with the most honour the royal corpse, went into mourning, and saw it interred with the most solemn magnificence; but he soon found how detestable this action rendered him to the natives. As there appeared no necessity to keep the death of the inca secret, it soon spread into the remotest parts of the empire. Most hideous cries were first set up by his women at the funeral procession passed; many offered to bury themselves with him, which being refused, they hanged themselves out of grief and vexation. Their affliction communicated itself, like a courageous distemper, to all who resided near them; the whole town of *Caxamalca* was filled with lamentations, and the melancholy scene extended itself over the provinces, then to *Quito*, and afterwards to all the countries that acknowledged the sovereignty of *Atabualapa*. His personal merit had gained him powerful alliances, and his misfortunes could not fail to move pity. Friends and enemies joined in accusing the *Spaniards* of treachery and inhumanity. The ambition of the deceased prince, with all its fatal consequences, were so great, and nothing now was present to the imagination of his people but his virtues, which they exaggerated, as if to aggravate the crime of his barbarous murderers. Loads of gold that were coming to *Caxamalca*, by order of *Atabualapa*, were now brought back to *Cuzco*, and the loss of the treasure was the first unfortunate consequence which the *Spaniards* perceived to flow from their late unjust and iniquitous measures. The two factions of *Indians* united against *Pizarro*, and many of the *Spaniards* not only exclaimed against the death of the inca as a base infraction of the laws of nations, and a violation of the *Spanish* honour; but they would even have proceeded to open mutiny, had not the impending danger united them for their common safety. At *Cuzco*, the friends of the late emperor *Huascar* immediately proclaimed *Manco Capac*, the legitimate brother of the late inca, and determined to support him with the last drop of their blood against the machinations and violence of the *Spaniards*; while *Pizarro* set up *Inca by the Tazarpa*, the son of *Atabualapa*, caused him to wear the imperial diadem, to be treated with all the honours due to the dignity of emperor, and to have all orders and public business dispatched in his name. It was essentially necessary to the success of his designs to gain possession of *Cuzco*, the capital, and suppress the opposite faction before it could gather strength sufficient to maintain the vigorous resolutions taken. Accordingly he set out from *Caxamalca*, attended by the new inca,

Consequences of his death.

Manco Capac proclaimed by the natives.

Inca, after having spent seven months in that city, where he met with the most luxurious accommodation, the soldiers being emasculated with ease and abundance. Near the valley of *Xauna*, advice was brought, that an army of *Indians* had occupied the passes, and resolved to dispute *Pizarro's* progress. Advancing a few miles farther, the plain was seen covered with armed troops; a sight extremely formidable to the *Spaniards*, who so long enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and were now fatigued with the march, and the prodigious rains that had lately fallen. *Almagro* led the van; he approached so near as to hear the enemy's revilings, and giving way to his indignation, attacked them with great impetuosity, after having passed a rapid river, in despite of all their opposition. Nothing could withstand the *Spanish* cavalry; the *Indians* were confounded, broken, and defeated, before the reat came to close fighting. They lost great numbers in the fight, and left behind a considerable quantity of gold, and other booty. In the fruitful vale of *Xauna* was a temple dedicated to the sun, where the conquerors likewise found some wealth; and here *Pizarro* resolved to found a colony, which, however, was not permanent, it being afterwards removed to the place where now stands the city *Des los Reyes*, afterwards called *Lima*.

WHILE *Pizarro* was thus employed, *Ferdinando Soto* was detached with sixty horse, to make the best of his way to *Cuzco*, and clear the road for the march of the remainder of the army. *Soto* had not advanced far, when he received intelligence, that a considerable body of the enemy had fortified themselves at *Cavabayo*, to defend that pass; and fearing lest his strength should be unequal, he sent notice to *Pizarro*, and desired that the inca might join him, because the presence and influence of the monarch might possibly save the effusion of blood, and obtain the ends of, a victory without the hazard; but *Taparpa* fell sick about this time, died, and thereby frustrated all the expectations entertained by the *Spaniards* of bringing the *Indians*, by means of their friend the inca, to acknowledge their authority, without the necessity of having recourse to arms. *Soto* was now forced to place his dependence on his own valour; the *Indians* had cut down a bridge over an exceeding rapid river that divided them from the *Spaniards*; but *Soto*, without regard to the violence of the stream, plunged in with his horse, made the opposite banks, put the enemy in consternation, defeated them without striking a blow, and performed what has never been since attempted, the fording a river which had always been deemed impassable, and without the loss of a single horse,

horses and soldier. The enemy flying to *Lima Yumbo*, he continued the pursuit, notwithstanding he had received orders to advance slowly, saying, it would be folly and cowardice to adhere so literally to orders, as to neglect seizing the opportunity of an important advantage, which could not possibly be foreseen when the orders were issued. Accordingly he continued his march along the great road of *Chinabayo* to the mountain of *Bilaconga*, seven leagues from *Cuzco*, where the *Indians* determined to fortify a difficult pass, to dig pits and trenches, and fill them with stakes, to incommode the horses. Here they resolved to make their last effort; great abundance of provision was brought, the army was augmented, some alledge the new inca was present, and every measure taken that could defeat the intention the *Spaniards* had of seizing the capital. They said it was shameful to suffer themselves to be driven like a flock of sheep before sixty strangers, whose chief dependence was founded on the pusillanimity of their enemies. The present opportunity was favourable, and they ought to strike the blow, where the *Spanish* here could not act on account of the ruggedness of the country. *Soto* could have no reliance upon assistance from *Pizarro*, who was employed in reducing the *Yuanas* and *Yays*, and settling the new colony. He, therefore, reposed his whole hopes on vigour, and the possibility of repulsing the *Indian* army before it could be reinforced. As he advanced, however, it was perceived that the enemy were exceedingly numerous. The whole face of the mountain was covered with their forces, and unexpected difficulties occurred with respect to the danger of the pass. The *Indians* began to pour in their darts and arrows upon the *Spaniards* with more resolution and regularity than they were accustomed to observe, which produced murmurings and discontents among the soldiers. Upon this *Soto* told his people, that it was now necessary to conquer or die. The numbers of the enemy cut off all possibility of retreating, without being exposed to disgrace, and the most imminent danger, and, if they hesitated a moment, the same difficulty would attend their advancing, new levies being continually joining the inca. One victory more, he said, would remove every obstacle, and the same valour which had hitherto proved invincible, would now likewise be successful, if they would exert it as became *Spaniards*. This speech gave new life and vigour to the troops. They advanced with great resolution up the hill, amidst showers of the enemy's weapons, and reaching the narrow pass, they formed themselves two a breast, cut their way through the *Indians*, made

made dreadful slaughter, and at last reached the summit of the mountain, in despite of all resistance. Five soldiers and two horses were killed in this attack, and eleven men and fourteen horses wounded; however, the joy of obtaining a victory rendered this loss of less consideration. It is probable that Soto must have encountered the same dangers next morning, had not Almagro seasonably arrived with a reinforcement, which so dispirited the Indians, that they dropped their intention of renewing the engagement, and ~~rendered~~ the Spaniards to proceed unmolested.

Several expeditions made by the Spaniards into different provinces.

PIZARRO had detached Gabriel de Rojas with a party to Pacacama, about the same time that Soto began his march for Cuzco. This officer was met on the road by the Peruvian general Quizquaz^f, and twelve thousand men, who had determined upon revenging the death of the inca Atahualpa. Herrera and most of the Spanish writers relate, that a battle was fought, which terminated to the advantage of Rojas; but Garcilasso affirms, that Quizquaz receiving intelligence of the approach of the Spaniards, in a careless manner placed a great number of troops in ambush in the woods and rocks, and engaging his army in a semicircle, in a narrow pass through which the Spaniards must proceed, attacked them with great fury, and at the first onset wounded four soldiers in the rear, and killed twelve auxiliary Indians. When the horse advanced, Quizquaz retreated slowly among the rocks, where part of his troops were concealed, and by this means drew the Spaniards into his snare. The cavalry pursued, and were suddenly attacked by the Indians in ambuscade. Here the slaughter began, seventeen Spaniards were killed, several were wounded, and seven fell into the hands of the enemy. A multitude of the auxiliary Indians lay bleeding on the field, and the victory was complete in favour of Quizquaz^g, although it is disputed by the Spanish writers. Garcilasso speaks, as if Pizarro had been present in this battle; and he affirms, that the Spanish wounded and prisoners were treated with the greatest humanity by the Indians, whose general accepted peace notwithstanding the victory. One they put to death, upon information that he was deeply concerned in the death of the inca Atahualpa, and had actually drawn up the process against the monarch, although this account was in reality false. It was owing to the policy and disaffection of the Spanish prisoners that a peace was negotiated. They so gained upon the affections of the Indians, and powerfully represented the madness of opposing

^f HERRERA.

^g GARCILASSO, lib. ii. cap. 5.

Pizarro,

Pizarro, who had more than half the empire in his interest, that they dismissed them with rich presents of gold, signed peace with them, as the representatives of the general, and exhorted them to procure his ratification of the treaty; the terms of which were to the following purpose. That henceforward all hostilities should cease between the Spaniards and Indians. That the Spaniards should not deprive the new inca of his right, nor oppose his election. That the Spaniards should set all the Indians at liberty whom they held in chains, and that henceforward no Indian should be imprisoned who was willing to enter into the Spanish service. That all the laws made by the former incas, which were not prejudicial to the pretensions of the Spaniards, should remain in force; and that the governor Don Francisco Pizarro should send this treaty to the court of Spain, to be ratified by the emperor.

THE new colony at St. Miguel was left under the direction of Sebastian de Belalcazar. Since the departure of Pizarro, it was powerfully reinforced by a great number of Spaniards, that flock'd from *Funima*, upon the report of the immense riches acquired by the adventurers. Belalcazar, who was of a warlike, enterprising spirit, thought to profit by his strength, enlarge his stock of riches by new conquests, and rival the power of the other commanders, by striking some blow equally important and unexpected. He contriv'd matters with such address, that the council proposed he should march with a body of forces to *Quito*, where it was reported *Atahualapa*, and the preceding inca, had treasured up much wealth. He was not long in obeying the orders of the magistrates. Having assembled a corps of an hundred and forty horse and foot well armed, he marched to *Carrachabamba*, one of the interior mountainous provinces, and, before he reached *Zeropulta*, suffered incredible hardships. The news of his progress soon reached *Quito*; upon which it is supposed that the Indians concealed a prodigious quantity of gold and silver, in order to disappoint the Spaniards, whose avarice they detested. They also assembled forces to oppose them, under the conduct of *Tiurumina*, who represented to them the danger that threatened their liberty, lives, and property. The first thing done by this general was, to dispatch a body of men to watch the motions of the Spaniards, in the neighbourhood of *Zeropulta*. Without knowing any thing of this detachment, Belalcazar was advancing with thirty horse towards *Tomabamba*, met the Indian party on the road, and by his presence, with the terror which his horse inspired, defeated their designs, and

Belalcazar's expedition to *Quito*.

and obliged them to retire with great precipitation to the main army.

WHILE the Spanish commander resided at *Tomabamba*, he received an embassy from the inhabitants of the provinces called *Canaries*, desiring an alliance with the *Spaniards*, in order to revenge the cruelties committed by the friends of *Atahualpa*, in their country, during the late civil commotions. Their request was readily granted, and *Belalcázar* exhorted them to raise forces immediately to assist in the designs formed upon *Quito*. However, before any effects could be expected from this confederacy, advice of the defeat of their detachment arrived at *Quito*, where it produced the strongest and most ardent thirst of revenge. It was immediately resolved to raise an army of fifty thousand men, and to crush the *Spaniards* under the weight of numbers. *Belalcázar* was no less diligent and eager. He detached a small party of ten horse, under the conduct of *Ruyz Diaz*, to get intelligence, and reconnoitre the enemy's disposition. This party was soon attacked, and surrounded by a body of *Indians* placed in ambush by the general. The *Spaniard* fought with great resolution, and made dreadful carnage; but he must have sunk under the weight of superior numbers, had not one of his soldiers broke through the enemy by an extraordinary effort, and given advice to *Belalcázar* of the danger of *Ruyz*. Leaving a small party for the security of his quarters, *Belalcázar* posted away to the assistance of this brave officer, whom he found fighting valiantly in the midst of heaps of slaughtered *Indians*. The enemy were not discouraged either with their loss, or the arrival of *Belalcázar*: on the contrary, their fury was exalted, they redoubled their endeavours, and appeared determined to perish or to conquer; but fatigue, at length, obliged the combatants to separate, as if by mutual agreement, the *Indians* all the while denouncing vengeance, and boasting that the *Spaniards* would find a different kind of resistance in their approaches to *Quito*, to what they met with at *Caxamalca*.

IN the night *Belalcázar* took the utmost care of his wounded, while the enemy employed themselves diligently in making such fortifications as the time would allow, and they thought sufficient to render the power of the *Spaniards*. Of this the Spanish commander was aware. The courage and obstinacy they had shewn the past day, left him little hope that he should be able to force their entrenchments: he therefore resolved to try the effects of policy, and, while the darkness of the night concealed his motions, to take the road of *Chimo* and *Tarba*. An *Indian* offered to conduct

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duc him by a safe road through which he might escape the enemy; but he had scarce marched a league when he was overtaken, and attacked in the rear, by the whole body of the Indian army. At the same time, *Yuruminapi* dispatched several thousand men to occupy the passes, and dig pits, which he ordered to be covered with grass, as passes for the cavalry. The action was sustained in the rear by thirty horse, while *Belalcazar*, with the rest of the troops, struggled to gain a neighbouring eminence, which he at last accomplished, after much difficulty, and then sent succour to the cavalry in the rear. Here the battle raged for some time, until the enemy thought that the pits, ordered to be dug, were finished; when they drew off, and wheeled, with great velocity, to the front. What the consequence of this stratagem might have been, is uncertain, had it not been discovered to *Belalcazar* by a deserter; but it was now rendered abortive by the resolution of the *Spaniards* to quit the road to *Riobamba*, and make the best of their way over some steep mountains leading to *Quito*. When the *Indians* observed their intention, they were dispirited, not doubting but the *Spaniards* were protected by some divinity, who revealed all the stratagems contrived against them. They insisted that their generals would make immediate proposals of peace; but *Yuruminapi* laboured to convince them, that it was better to perish with their swords in their hands, than to become the slavish dependants on an insolent, rapacious enemy, who paid no regard to justice, innocence, treaties, misfortune, or the most sacred ties of religion and humanity. His eloquence again roused up their resentment, and they marched in pursuit of the *Spaniards*, who arrived safe at the stately palace of *Riobamba* before they were overtaken. From thence they sallied out with thirty horse upon the *Indians*, and drove them back with great slaughter; but they again returned at the persuasion of their general, and seemed determined to dispute every inch of the road to *Quito*. After resting twelve days, *Belalcazar* resumed his march, and was joined on the road by a body of his new allies, the *Canaries*, who congratulated him very cordially on his late victories, and assured him of their endeavours to render the issue of the expedition as fortunate as the beginning. They were averse to all pacific overtures; however, the *Spanish* general, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, in case of any untoward incident, made very equitable proposals to the *Indians*, which were rejected by *Yuruminapi*, who was now fortified on the opposite bank of a river, over which the *Spaniards* were to pass. The cavalry led the way, and charged with

with great impetuosity; the infantry followed, fired their musketry and cross-bows while they were crossing the river, and, as soon as they touched shore, fell in with their swords upon the enemy with irresistible fury, and defeated them at the first onset, making very considerable slaughter, and a number of prisoners. Here they had likewise dug pits for the horses; but the Spaniards grown cautious by experience, discovered and eluded the stratagem: yet still they were continually harrassed in their march; every thing produced fresh and obstinate skirmishes. Belalcazar was ~~was~~ and shocked with slaughter and bloodshed; he sent an Indian, with a cross in his hand, to make proposals of peace, or, at least, of a cessation from hostilities, which many of the Indians were ready to embrace, had not Tiurumiravi again interposed, and by his inflammatory eloquence revived the dying sparks of resentment and vengeance. He painted the character of the Spaniards in the most odious colours, and declared his fixed resolution rather to perish than submit; a determination to which they promptly acceded. They honoured their leader with the title of *atundapo*, or great lord, and, in the transport of their fury, murdered the messenger. Every mind was bent on opposing the advances of the Spaniards to Quito; they made perpetual attacks, and kept Belalcazar in continual alarm and hurry, but could not prevent his reaching a pass in the country of Quito, which they had fortified with all the knowledge they possessed in the art of war. Several deep trenches had been dug here, and divers little bastions, filled with archers, were erected; however, the fame of the immense treasures contained in the capital of the province so inflamed the minds of the Spaniards, that they pushed the attack with more than human valour, carried all the works before them at the first assault, drove the enemy to take shelter in Quito, and from thence in the mountains. Tiurumiravi perceiving he could not maintain his ground in the city, used his utmost influence with the inhabitants to retire to the mountains, and there wait the first favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy, lulled in security, and intoxicated with prosperity; but three hundred families having resolved to rely upon the humanity of the Spaniards, he ordered them to be massacred, and their houses levelled to the ground. Thus Belalcazar got possession of the city, without opposition, though here he expected the greatest resistance; but none of the vast treasures, of which fame had spoke loudly, were to be found, to the grievous disappointment of the oldiers, who now regretted all their past labours. Belalcazar made the strictest enquiry amongst

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amongst the natives; but he could obtain no other answer than that *Turuminaui* had concealed it in some place unknown to them, and that great riches were carried off by the families who retreated to the mountains.

MEAN time *Pedro de Alvarado*, one of the principal officers engaged under *Cortez* in the conquest of *Mexico*, was seduced by the report of the inexhaustible wealth of *Peru* to raise an armament for invading that empire, contrary to the express privileges granted to *Pizarro* and *Almagro*. Almost all the Spanish settlements on the continent were abandoned by the inhabitants, who flocked in crowds to share in the honour and profit of *Pizarro's* enterprise. *Alvarado* with regret beheld himself second to *Cortez* in the former expedition; but he hoped to render himself equal, or even superior to *Pizarro* in the second; and to his own experience in the art of war, he joined the assistance of some of the best officers and approved soldiers of the age. *Garcilasso de la Vega*, whose father attended *Alvarado* upon this occasion, alledges, that he had a commission from *Charles V.* to conquer, govern, and plant all those countries on that part of the continent, not yet possessed by the Spaniards, and that his jurisdiction was wholly independent on the authority of *Pizarro* and *Almagro*: this is possible enough; but with respect to *Peru*, it was contained in the charter given to *Pizarro*. While *Alvarado's* fleet and army were getting ready, he dispatched *Garcias Holguin*, in a small vessel, to procure some intelligence of the country and coast, against which he intended the expedition, and also of the progress of the Spaniards; but *Holguin*, after encountering manifold hardships, could proceed no farther than *Puerto Viejo*, where he received some vague accounts of *Pizarro*, the riches he had acquired, the immense wealth that still remained; and a few other general pieces of information, with which he returned to *Alvarado*, and whetted the appetite of the mariners and soldiers for pursuing the enterprise. They now embarked to the number of seven hundred men, two hundred and twenty-seven of whom were horsemen; and, after thirty days sailing, arrived at *Cape St. Francis*, in one degree of north latitude. *Alvarado* perceiving the crews grew sickly, and that the horses perished, or contracted such diseases as would render them useless, landed on the bay of *Catagles*, harangued his men, nominated all his officers, sent the provisions by sea to *Puerto Viejo*, and proceeded with some horse to *Mantu*, a town in which was found a very rich booty in gold and silver. Orders were given to the pilot to sail along the coast of *Peru*, to the farther extremity of *Pizarro's* government,

vernment, to make the necessary charts, observe the soundings and harbours, and set up marks of having taken formal possession. It appears that *Alvarado* had no design to croach on *Pizarro's* rights; but the exaggerated accounts which the *Indians* gave of the incredible wealth of *Quito*, so inflamed his people, that he was compelled into that expedition, to avoid of being deserted. The hardships from famine and fatigue, encountered in this tedious and perilous march, proved the ruin of his army. Great numbers of men and horses died, and to such necessity were the troops reduced, that even the officers lived upon the flesh of dogs and horses which had perished with want. What the *Spanish* writers relate of his having passed over snowy mountains under the equator, and losing sixty of his people, who were frozen to death, has so much the air of fable, that we do not chuse to follow them in so extraordinary a particular. Very probably the heavy rains, which fell in those countries, might have produced a mortality among the *Spaniards*; and we cannot possibly deny, although we have the liberty of doubting, another circumstance in the *Account* of this expedition. It is affirmed, that *Alvarado* directed his march over a sandy desert, wholly destitute of water; where all his people must infallibly have perished, had they not providentially met with large groves of bamboe canes, of extraordinary size, in the joints of which was found a sufficient quantity of excellent water for the men and horses.

At this time *Pizarro* and *Almagro* were deeply engaged in the progress of their conquest, and the news of *Alvarado's* approach and designs gave them the greatest disturbance. A body of horse was immediately detached by *Almagro* to watch his motions; but this party fell into *Alvarado's* hands, was kindly treated, and dismissed. This moderation suggested the first idea of compromising differences in such a manner, that all should heartily unite in the same design. *Almagro* made the proposals, and they were accepted, without hesitation, by *Alvarado*; who was sensible of the necessity of perfect harmony among the *Spaniards*, which alone could insure success to any of the parties engaged in this arduous enterprise. An interview was appointed, and the following agreement signed by the commanders; that an hundred thousand pesos should be paid to *Alvarado*, by *Pizarro* and *Almagro*; that such of *Alvarado's* officers and soldiers as desired to serve under *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, should be provided for as their own troops, according to the merit of their services; that *Alvarado* should return to *Mexico*, after he had visited *Pizarro* at *Cuzco*, of which capital he had heard the most extravagant

He comes
to an agree-
ment
with *Pi-
zarro* and
Almagro.

gant accounts. There were some other stipulations of less consequence in this treaty, to which both parties adhered with great punctuality; except that Pizarro, apprehensive of Alvarado's resolution, sent him a message, that he would save him the trouble of so tedious a journey, and give him the meeting in the valley *Pacacamec*; for which place he immediately set out, escorted by a body of cavalry. Here he met with Alvarado and Almagro, to the former of whom he gave the command of all the troops while he remained there, in order to ingratiate himself the more, and by acts of complaisance keep Alvarado steady to his agreement. He also paid him 20,000 pesos more than was stipulated in the treaty, made him several valuable presents of torquises, and other precious stones, and conducted himself with so much address, that Alvarado returned perfectly satisfied to Mexico, having been fully recompensed for the expences and trouble of the expedition, and assured that all his soldiers and officers would be well provided for, according to their several abilities.

We must now turn to survey the proceedings of Pizarro, previous to the agreement with Alvarado, which we were obliged to defer, to prevent interrupting the chain of events. He had remained at *Caxamalca* since the death of *Atahualpa*, contenting himself with sending detachments to gain a more perfect knowledge of the different provinces. We have related the issue of these expeditions, and the death of the new incá, *Taparipa*, set up by the Spaniards. Pizarro now determined to follow Soto, with the rest of the forces, and proceed to *Cuzco*; the total reduction of which might greatly contribute to restore the tranquillity of *Peru*, and dispose the natives to submission. Almagro accompanied him in this march, and was chiefly instrumental in the defeat of an Indian army that opposed their progress, and gave battle in the vale of *Xauxa*. On the mountain of *Bilcazonga* he rejoined Soto; and in the month of October made his public entry, without obstruction, into the great city of *Cuzco*; where, notwithstanding the immense wealth that had been carried off and concealed, he found treasures, beyond the most sanguine expectation, in gold and silver, cast into bars, vessels, and ornaments. *Almagro* gives the following account of the behaviour of the Spaniards at *Cuzco*, and of the vast riches they acquired. "They immediately set to work in stripping the gold and silver from the walls of the temple, to dig up the vessels of gold and silver concealed in the graves, and buried with the dead, to plunder the idols, houses, and fortrefs, in which great quantities of the precious metal

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Pizarro
sets out for
Cuzco

“ had been amassed by the late inca. In *Cuzco* much larger
 “ treasures were found than those brought to the *Spaniards*
 “ for the ransom of *Atahualpa*. However, the share of
 “ each soldier was not equal to the former dividend, be-
 “ cause their numbers were now greatly augmented by *Al-*
 “ *varado's* troops; nor was the fame of this action so loud
 “ as the first, which united the triumph of riches with
 “ the imprisonment of a great monarch. A certain *Spaniard*
 “ entered a vault, and found there an entire tomb of pure
 “ silver, of inestimable value. Others met with similar
 “ fortune in an inferior degree; for it was customary, with
 “ the rich men of this country to be buried in this manner
 “ in the fields, and laid in state like idols. Nor were the
 “ *Spaniards* contented with this prize; but still thirsting
 “ after more wealth, they searched, with indefatigable in-
 “ dustry, for the treasures of *Huascar Copac*, and other
 “ princes of *Cuzco*; but they were disappointed in their en-
 “ quiries, although they tortured several poor *Indians*, to
 “ oblige them to discover what they did not know, and the
 “ places where their great men were interred. It is probable
 “ that the *Peruvians* concealed their riches in the temples and
 “ tombs, because they could not imagine the *Spaniards* would
 “ be so brutal, as to rake up the ashes of the dead, or violate
 “ the reverence due to the gods; in which they were mistaken.

BEING now in possession of the capital, *Pizarro* invited
 the people to return to their dwellings. It was by no means
 his intention to drive the people to despair, left the whole
 power of *Peru* uniting, might inclose him in *Cuzco*, and, by
 cutting off his provision, reduce him to their own terms,
 without hazarding a battle, or giving the *Spaniards* an op-
 portunity of exerting their superior skill and courage. Many
 accepted the invitation; and it is asserted, that the inca
 himself made an offer to embrace christianity, and acknow-
 ledge the sovereignty of his catholic majesty, provided that
 neither himself nor his subjects should, for the future, be
 molested in their persons and property. He entertained
 thoughts of visiting *Pizarro* in person, and demanding restitu-
 tion of his kingdom, on the preceding conditions; but he was
 dissuaded for this time by the remonstrances of his council,
 who strongly admonished him not to confide in the treache-
 rous *Spaniards*, who had cruelly put his brother to death,
 without regard to the most solemn engagements. Soon after,
 however, he renewed the same project, and spoke to his
 council the following terms: “ Sons, brethren, and

"I am, we have now determined to demand justice in per-
 "son of those strangers, reputed the descendants of the great
 "great god *Virabaca*, who, at their first entrance into our
 "country, declared their firm resolution to do justice to all
 "mankind. I cannot therefore doubt they will admit my
 "claim, so consonant to reason and equity. If they really
 "are the children of the sun, as our ancestors were, who
 "brought us truth for a principle, their actions will cor-
 "respond with their words, and they will certainly not deny
 "what they solemnly engaged to perform. For my part,
 "I had rather trust to the justice of my cause, than to the
 "force of arms. If they are what they pretend, the mes-
 "sengers of the god *Pachacamac*, they will dread offending
 "him, by doing any thing so inconsistent as to justice with
 "the nature of the divinity. Let us therefore boldly go to
 "them, armed with the justice of our cause; and since we
 "believe them to be the offspring of the great deity, trust
 "they will act agreeable to their high descent. Our an-
 "cestors never deprived the curacas of their hereditary rights,
 "even in case of rebellion; can we then imagine that the
 "*Spaniards* will divest us of our lawful inheritance, who
 "never did them any injury, who, instead of opposing their
 "entrance, actually resigned every thing upon their sum-
 "mons? Let us go in a peaceable manner; for, if we go
 "armed, they will suspect our intentions are hostile, and
 "will make that a pretext for refusing our just demand.
 "Avarice lays hold of the smallest opportunity to gratify
 "that passion. Instead of our aims, let us carry such pre-
 "sents with us, as may serve to win the affections of co-
 "vetous men, and pacify the displeasure of offended gods.
 "Let us collect all the gold and silver, and precious stones,
 "in our power, and by this offering of our wealth, take
 "away the temptation to injustice and oppression. It is
 "true, the ancient power of our kings is fallen, but still
 "let us maintain their integrity, honour, and prudence;
 "and if this will not prevail with the strangers to restore to
 "us our empire, we may then absolutely conclude, that
 "the prophecy of the inca, our father and predecessor, is
 "accomplished, that our monarchy is to be translated to
 "strangers, our political government destroyed, and our
 "religion abolished, part of which prophecy we have al-
 "ready seen fulfilled. If the *Pachacamac* has ordered these
 "things, what have we to do but to submit? Let them yet
 "as they please, it becomes us to pursue the maxims of rea-
 "son and justice."

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THIS speech, pronounced with great pathos and energy, drew tears from the whole assembly. They lamented the approaching destruction of the empire, but prepared to obey their prince, and provide every necessary for his journey. When his retinue and equipage was in readiness, he set out for *Cuzco*, with a great number of vassals, officers of his army, great lords of his household, and other dependents; and was met by the *Spaniards*, who had intimation of his design, at some distance from the city. His courtiers advised that he might be carried, agreeable to his dignity, in the state-chair, made of pure gold, and wear on his temples the coloured wreath: but the *inca* said, that these badges of royalty ill-became a petitioner; therefore, he desired to be conveyed in a bye low litter. He was received and welcomed with great reverence by *Pizarro*, who caused him to be crowned and invested in the casiona, or royal palace, with all the formality used on former occasions in that country. A treaty was concluded, favourable to both parties, which we need not specify, as it was soon broken, and mutually disregarded. These pacific measures were taken, because it was known, that both the southern and northern provinces were assembling forces, under the generals *Tiruminaui* and *Mizquiz*; and also, because *Pizarro* had formed a project of settling colonies, and building cities upon the coast, which he could not execute until the public commotions were subsided. The latter of these generals, incensed at the concessions made by the *inca*, and the power assumed by a few hundred strangers in the centre of the empire, and heart of the capital, assembled a great army of *Mitimies* to expel them from *Peru*, and recover the ancient liberty of the nation. He harangued his people with great vehemence, laid before them the shameful usurpation of the *Spaniards*, the disgraceful timidity of the *inca*, the danger that threatened their religion, manners, lives, and properties, the dreadful carnage already made by the strangers, their extraordinary avarice and rapacity, with every other circumstance that could rouse, inflame, and animate. When he found he had sufficiently excited a spirit of resentment and revenge, he artfully applied himself to the *Gua-~~ra~~raonas*, a nation distinguished for valour in the province of *Suito*. This people had already felt the scourge of *Spanish* tyranny, and thirsted for an opportunity of revenging their losses and disgraces. They were advised, merely to try their sentiments, to retire quietly to the lands of their ancestors, to till the grounds, and depend on the generosity of the strangers for the liberty of enjoying the fruits of their labour. So inflammatory

the *inca*
visits the
Spaniards.

War with
the *In-*
lians.

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matory and insinuation produced the desired effect. The *Guacacas* declared to a man, they would first try the fortune of war with the *Spaniards*, desired he would conduct them, and, if they failed in the enterprise, they would then pursue his advice, and submit to slavery. It was then resolved to attack *Cuzco*, and endeavour to drive the *Spaniards* out of the capital, and accordingly he advanced with great resolution. *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, who had intimation of the designs of the *Indians*, marched out at the head of a select body of horse and foot, came up with the enemy at the bridge of *Apurima*, and, by the vigour of their onset, soon reduced them, unmindful of all their valorous determinations. Without scarce any resistance, they turned their backs, and suffered themselves to be slaughtered in heaps, all night and fatigue put a stop to bloodshed. *Soto* continued the pursuit as far as *Bilcas*, while *Pizarro* returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, in full expectation that the enemy would not venture upon a second attempt to disturb the public tranquillity; in which he was mistaken.

QUIZQUIZ was disconcerted, but not discouraged, by this defeat. He resolved upon another trial of arms, and accordingly set, with great diligence, about levying forces. It was his intention to surprise the *Spaniards*, but it was impossible to conduct so great an undertaking with secrecy. The *Ynucanes*, who stood in dread of *Pizarro*, brought him informations of all that was transacting; and it was determined to meet the *Indians* in the plain, where the cavalry might act in conjunction with the infantry and confederate *Indians*. Here another battle was fought with the same fortune; but victory proved less decisive, and more bloody on the side of the *Spaniards*, who could not prevent *Quizquiz* from taking the road of *Quito*, in good order.

It was after these fortunate events, that *Pizarro* resolved to pursue his project of establishing colonies and building cities, for which purpose he now set out for *Cuzco*. Accordingly he laid the foundation of *Lima*, in twelve degrees and a half south latitude, on the borders of a river, about six miles from the *South Sea*, and nearly the same distance from the island and harbour of *Callao*. In this particular *Garcilasso* and *Herrera* agree, notwithstanding some writers date the foundation of this capital four years earlier. Either he removed the colony settled at the city called *Des los Reyes*, and it soon became populous and flourishing. Lands were assigned to the inhabitants, and the natives, who were tied down to the glebe under the *cuzacas*, were now transferred like cattle, or any other property,

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perty, by the *Spaniards*. Proceeding farther northward, he built another city, in nearly the eighth degree of south latitude, which he called *Truxillo*; and here also he made a division of the lands and *Indians* among the new colonists, without any distinction between those who were born free-men, and those who had been slaves and villains from their birth, all being subjected to the same drudgery, and the same torments, if they proved disobedient, repined at their hard fate, or refused to discover, what they never knew, where the treasures of the *Saziques* and princes were deposited. During his residence in this city, advices arrived from *Spain*, that his brother *Ferdinando* had succeeded in almost all his negotiations at the *Spanish* court. *Pizarro* petitioned, that his government might be extended two hundred leagues to the southward; that he might have a grant to him and his heirs of the province of *Atabilos*, with all its revenues, and the perpetual vassalage of twenty *Indians*: but the emperor, who found an unreasonable ambition in this request, only vested him with the title of marquis of that province, and enlarged his government to the southward. But with respect to the dominion over the *Indians*, he must, he said, inform himself of the peculiar customs of the country, and the equity of the measure: after which *Pizarro* might depend on all the favour that was consistent with justice. *Almagro* too, in consequence of *Ferdinando* *Pizarro*'s application, had very extraordinary honours bestowed upon him. He was created marquis of *Peru*, and had a jurisdiction of 200 leagues extent, southward of the frontier of *Pizarro*'s government. He was likewise empowered to make discoveries in what manner he thought proper; and the rich province of *Chili* fell under his authority, which laid the foundation of all the discord and contention that ensued. *Almagro* and *Pizarro* grew jealous of the favours shewn to each by the government. The one regarded the other as the minion of the court, and complained that sufficient regard had not been paid to his peculiar services. Their adherents cherished these seeds of animosity, and the brothers of *Pizarro* treated the friends of *Almagro* with great ugliness. The *Spanish* writers differ in their relation of this affair. *Lucrera* alleges, that the marquis *Pizarro* returning from *Truxillo*, adjusted all differences with *Almagro*, restrained the insolence of his brethren recent to *Lima*, and left the government of *Cuzco* in the hands of one of his brothers; while, on the other hand, *Almagro* went upon an expedition to *Chili*. On the contrary, *Garcilasso* asserts, that *Almagro*, jealous of the capital's being assigned to *Pizarro*, took upon himself the

Jealousy of
Pizarro
 and *Al-*
magro.

title

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title of governor of *Cuzco*, and all its dependencies, and threw off all subordination to *Pizarro*; an usurpation that was boldly opposed by the brothers of the marquis. According to this writer, the dispute rose to such a height, that both parties had recourse to arms, a formal war was declared, and several *Spaniards* and *Indians* were slain on both sides, before the arrival of the marquis, who, by his moderation and policy, accommodated all differences, and concluded a treaty with *Almagro*. It was therefore, in all probability, after this affair, that *Almagro* formed the scheme of marching to *Chili*; since we find it expressly stipulated in the treaty with *Pizarro* that his right to this province should not only be uncontested, but he should have the command of the bulk of their joint forces to assist him in reducing it to obedience. The other principal articles of the agreement were, that the co-partnership between *Pizarro* and *Almagro* should subsist, without interruption through interest, ambition, or any other motive: that all the conditions stipulated in the original contract, should be rigorously maintained; that all dispatches to the court of *Spain* should be in the joint name of the commanders; and that all profits and expences should be clearly produced, and faithfully divided. This treaty was signed on the 20th day of June, and solemnly sworn to by both parties; but how it was executed, will soon appear.

SUCH was the posture of affairs when *Almagro* proposed to set out on the expedition to the southward; requesting the *Inca* to appoint two *Indians* of distinction, to prepare and dispose the minds of the natives for the reception of the *Spanish* forces. In consequence of this request, the *Inca* ordered his brother *Topu*, and the high priest *Vilhoma*, to execute that commission, whose high dignity would not only give them consequence with the natives, but whose absence from *Cuzco* would remove all cause of jealousy from the *Spaniards*, as the high priest was of a restless turbulent spirit (19). The *Spaniards* also took with them a great number of slaves to carry the baggage; and that all the soldiers might be well supplied with necessaries, *Almagro* lent them two hundred

(D) As a specimen of the immense wealth found at *Cuzco*, it is sufficient to observe, that when the plate was melting down to defray the expences of *Almagro's* expedition, one of the soldiers begged a ring out of the heaps of gold and silver; and

Almagro told him he might take as many as he could hold in both hands: besides which, he made a present to the soldier's wife of four hundred pieces of eight. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. i.

thousand

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thousand crowns, taking only their notes for the repayment of the booty they might acquire in the expedition. Through the course of a tedious march of two hundred leagues, he was well accommodated by all the *Indians*, who paid the highest regard to the inca's command, and supplied the soldiers with abundance of provision; but reaching the inhospitable barren country of *Charcas*, fatigue and hunger produced discontent among the troops, and determined *Almagro* to proceed to *Chili*, being ignorant of the immense wealth, both in the count^y he despised, and the invaluable mines of *Potosi*. The confederate *Indians* in his army remonstrated on the hazard and difficulty of the design, acquainting him, that the journey must be pursued either over the high mountains of the *Andes*, or *Cordilleras*, which at this time were covered with snow, and so intensely cold, that no *Indian* could possibly support the rigour of the climate; or through a sandy desert along the coast, where the excessive heat of the sun reflected from the sea, and the want of water, would hazard the entire destruction of the army. These were difficulties which could not check the ardor of *Almagro*, inflamed with the exaggerated accounts of the riches of *Chili*. He chose to climb the *Cordilleras*, as shorter, and more agreeable to the constitution of his troops; but he made only an inconsiderable progress, when the depth of the snow obliged him to dig his way through, while the *Indians* perished in multitudes, their naked bodies being exposed to all the severity of the weather. *Garcilasso* alledges, that not less than ten thousand *Indians*, and an hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, breathed their last in these dreadful mountains; and so intense was this cold, that many of the survivors lost their toes and fingers. At last, after encountering all the difficulties which the most rigorous cold, the greatest fatigue, and hunger could throw in their way, the *Spaniards* conquered the *Andes*, and reached a fine, fertile, temperate plain on the opposite side, where they were received with the most cordial and feeling hospitality by the benevolent natives, who supplied them with every kind of provision and refreshment, which the country afforded, administering to the necessities of the wretched soldiers with the utmost civility.

Progress of the expedition. WHILE *Almagro* was resting his fatigued troops in this terrestrial paradise, the inhabitants of *Chili*, informed that certain deputies of the great god *Viracocha* had honoured them with a visit, immediately collected an offering in gold and silver, which amounted to two hundred thousand ducats, and soon after brought another present to *Almagro*, exceeding three hundred thousand ducats; upon which he cancelled the

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the notes taken from the soldiers, and also made them a present in compensation of their sufferings. Those rich offerings confirmed all the accounts he had conceived of the wealth of the country: he congratulated himself upon the valuable grant made to him by the court, and determined immediately to subdue the provinces of *Purumanka*, *Anelli*, *Pinca*, *Canqui*, and other interior countries which did not acknowledge the authority of the inca. With this design he recommended to *Paulla Topu*, brother to the inca, to assemble all the *Indians* he could to reinforce the *Spaniards*, and with the united forces he advanced towards the southern extremity of *Chili*. In his march, he had several sharp skirmishes with the natives, who fought with great resolution, and disputed every inch they yielded. The confederates sustained considerable loss; but in the space of five months they reduced all the provinces under subjection, and would have effectually established their dominion, had not new projects filled the mind of *Almagro*. He had been joined by *Knyz Diaz* and *Juán de Herreda*, with above a hundred *Spaniards*, who had crossed the mountains in a more favourable season of the year, and was in a prosperous course of victory, when he formed the resolution of returning to *Peru*; in consequence of the emperor's commission, brought to him by the hands of *Almagro*. By this commission it appeared that *Cuzco* was within his department. *Pizarro's* original grant extended no farther than the equator; that was now enlarged by two hundred leagues to the southward; but as *Cuzco* lay three hundred leagues from the equator, and all south of his frontier was assigned to *Almagro*, within prescribed limits, he justly reckoned *Cuzco* within his jurisdiction, and resolved, by the advice of his friends, not to give up so valuable a city, happily situated to command the provinces of his department. The plan, therefore, was concerted for returning to *Peru*, in full hopes, that if *Almagro* possessed the capital, all the southern provinces would immediately submit. As the *Spaniards* had not yet forgot their sufferings on the *Andes*, they now resolved to try the other passage through the deserts, and to provide in the best manner possible against every accident, and especially the want of water; for which purpose, parties of *Indians* were detached before them, to close the wells that had been dug up with sand, and neglected during the late intestine commotions. Besides this precaution, a great number of leathern bottles of sheep skins

1536.

were provided, and filled with water; and a small body of horse was sent out to examine whether the *Indians* had given a just report of the country through which the army was to pass, and faithfully executed the orders respecting the wells. Every thing being settled with the utmost punctuality, he began his march, and suffered incredible hardships in the desert of two hundred miles extent, notwithstanding all his foresight and providence. In this march he was deserted by the high priest, in consequence of advices he received of disturbances between the emperor and the *Spaniards* at *Cuzco*. *Herrera* indeed relates, that he went off during *Almagro*'s progress to *Chili*, and was the chief instrument of the revolt of the inca, and the *Peruvians*; but *Garcilasso* not only affirms, that the high priest continued with him until the present juncture, but that to his influence was owing the extraordinary respect shewn to the *Spaniards* in the different provinces of *Chili*. He farther relates, that this priest *Vilehoma* was assisted in his escape by the interpreter *Filippo*, who was seized, condemned, and executed, after he had confessed the false evidence he had given against *Atahualpa*. With respect to *Paullu*, he remained faithful to *Almagro*, and received the reward of his services; for the *Spaniards* were no sooner informed of the war carried on in *Peru*, between the emperor and the *Spaniards*, than they proclaimed this prince inca, and *Almagro*, with his own hands, adorned his temples with the imperial wreath.

Indians
inca dis-
satisfied.

WHILE *Almagro* was employed in the expedition to *Chili*, a variety of causes of discontent arose at *Cuzco*, between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*; the principal of which was, the dilatoriness of *Pizarro* to execute the articles of agreement with the inca, of reinstating him in his dominions and authority. Upon this head *Manco Copac* made frequent remonstrances to the marquis; but he was always put off with fresh excuses and pretexts. The inca had sufficient provocation to dive into the bottom of this conduct, and there were not wanting a sufficient number of the *Indian* nobility to aggravate the grievance, and rake up the embers of discord, both out of hatred to the *Spaniards*, and motives of self-interest. The inca now perceiving, that the *Spaniards* not only prevaricated, with respect to the performance of their engagements, but that he could be detained a prisoner, in case he refused submission to whatever *Pizarro* thought fit to propose, dissembled his resentment, and waited patiently until the opportunity offered to break this galling bondage. The resentment of this prince was likewise increased by fresh in-

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injuries and instances of Spanish perfidy. *Ferdinando Pizarro*, who was returned about this time from Spain, had promised the emperor a large sum of money from *Peru*, as the price of the honours and grants made to his brother. At this time the court was extremely necessitous, all the money in the treasury being exhausted by the continual wars carried on by *Charles V.*; and the expectation of a liberal donation from *Pizarro*, rendered the emperor more willing to extend his authority, and load him with honours. However, the marquis was of opinion, that he had already sufficiently paid for all the imperial favours, and that he and his soldiers were justly entitled to the remaining wealth, as the reward of all their sufferings, toils, and conquests. He could not, with patience, think of yielding up the fruits of his labour, to a set of idle, extravagant, and rapacious courtiers; and therefore told his brother, when he was informed of his engagements to the emperor, that he had conquered *Peru* at his own expence, without any assistance from the government; that he had already remitted a vast sum of money; that *Peru* was now exhausted, and all its riches laid out in building towns, planting colonies, and establishing other measures to secure the conquest, all which would redound in time to the honour of the crown, and interest of the government; but that, for the present, it was sufficient for infant settlements to maintain themselves. He particularly resented the enquiry which the emperor set on foot, respecting the ransom and treasures of *Atahualpa*; and concluded with leaving his brother *Ferdinando* to fall upon means to perform the extravagant promises which he made to the Spanish administration. It was this answer which determined *Ferdinando* to request the government of *Cuzco*; telling the marquis, that he doubted not but this opulent capital would enable him to make good his engagements to the court, and thereby secure the future protection of the emperor; which he would find of the utmost importance, in case the dispute with his colleague, *Almagro*, should ever be renewed. By this means he wrought upon the marquis to grant his request; and immediately took possession of his government, with a full resolution to procure the remittance to the court, whatever might follow, and even at the expence of blood and bones, of solemn engagements, and the most sacred rights of nations. He gave the natives to understand that he would engage for his restoration to his dignity, on condition of a considerable present to the court of Spain, and the better to convince him of his intentions, he removed

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moved him to the royal palace, and treated him with all the honours due to the imperial character. The bait took; the inca, persuaded that he should regain his lost authority, dispatched expresses all over his dominions, requesting the curacas to bring the usual tribute of gold and silver, as the only means of delivering him out of the hands of the Spaniards. The tribute arrived, and a very rich present was made by the inca to the governor; who repaid it with a renewal of his promises, instead of the performance; which awakened *Manco Capac* to a full sense of his own danger, and the little dependence to be placed in the engagements of a perfidious nation, that sacrificed every consideration to the thirst of gold. He perceived that honours were indeed paid to him, but that he was still a prisoner, all the gates of the palace being occupied by Spanish soldiers.

He escapes
out of the
hands of
the Spaniards.

It was no unnatural conclusion, from such inauspicious promises, that his fate might resemble that of *Atubualapa*, who died an ignominious death, and his treasures had been drained, and he was unable to purchase the longer duration of his existence; and therefore he continually revolved in his own mind how he could escape out of custody, and revenge all the indignities he had suffered in his imprisonment. The following stratagem offered itself to his imagination, and was practised with success, which conveys a favourable idea of the cunning and address of this barbarian. He told *Pizarro*, that in the valley of *Yucaya*, where the incas were interred, there were several rich tombs, and in one of these a statue in gold of an ancient inca, as large as the life, which he was persuaded he could find, if he was allowed to go in search of it with his usual guard of Spaniards. This was a proposal not to be resisted, especially as it was made with all the appearance of candor, and obviously with design to promote the execution of the governor's engagements. Accordingly *Pizarro* thanked the inca, readily embraced the offer, and consented that *Manco Capac* should go to the tombs of *Yucaya*, with a Spanish guard, little suspecting there was a general conspiracy laid to rescue the prince. In short, the inca had apprised some of the adjacent curacas of his intention, who assembling a considerable army, hid themselves in the neighbouring mountains, and kept fire abroad, to acquaint them when the emperor, with his Spanish guards, should appear. It was intended to attack the Spaniards, but the inca saved his troops that hazard: he found means to escape, joined his army, and then left the Spaniards to lament their own credulity, and admire the policy of the Indian sovereign.

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reign (E). Herrera asserts, that he purchased his liberty.

S E C T., IX.

Containing a Relation of the War between the Spaniards and Peruvians; the Divisions among the Spaniards, and Rivalship of Pizarro and Almagro, the Seizure, Condemnation, and Execution of the latter; the Assassination of the former, and sundry other Particulars.

MANCO CAPAC scarce found himself at liberty, when he contrived the destruction of those perfidious strangers; who had not only usurped his authority, kept his person in bondage, tyrannized over his subjects, drained his kingdom of its riches, but violated every obligation, human and divine, from an insatiable thirst of gold, and ungovernable lust of dominion. He summoned a council of all the great officers of state, of his generals, and principal nobility; depicted his sufferings in the strongest terms, the wretched condition of his subjects, and the tyranny and perfidiousness of the insolent Spaniards. He had early suspicion, he said, of the treachery and ambition of these strangers, by their dividing the lands of Peru among themselves, enslaving those who were born free, and putting the natives to the torture, in order to extort a confession where the treasures of the great were deposited. He apologized for sitting a tame spectator of these enormities, by alledging, that he only wanted the opportunity of making his escape, in order to revenge the injuries he had suffered, and assert the rights of his crown and country. It was impossible he could any longer regard those Spaniards as the descendants of Viracocha; but as vile

Origin of the war with the Indians.

GOMARA, cap. xlv. CAPATE, cap. iii. lib. iii.

(E) This is the account given by two Spanish writers, Gomara and Carate, but recently by Carate, who alleges, that Manco Capac obtained leave to go to Yucaya to celebrate a festival, prepared by the Incas, where the statue of the late inca, his father, was erecting (1). We must confess we thought the former account more probable, as it affords a stronger motive to the Spaniards to comply with the inca's request.

(1) Carate's 1. b. ii. cap. xxiv.

importers,

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the inca
begins the
Spaniards
in Cuzco.

impostors, who committed the most heinous crimes under the masque of religion, and had taken upon themselves the sacred character of the messengers of the great *Pachacamac*, while they were perpetrating every villainy. He was now determined to punish their wickedness, and vindicate the liberties of his people by force of arms; for which purpose, he called upon the assistance of every man, in whose breast the least spark of patriot virtue existed, that the war might be vigorously prosecuted against the ungrateful *Spaniards*, without whose expulsion they could never secure their religion, liberty, or property. He added a great many other arguments to rouse the council to revenge, and delivered himself with such spirit and energy, that all were wound up to a kind of madness, and called out for vengeance in the most tumultuous transports of fury. As soon as order could be restored, the council deliberated on the means of conducting the war; with respect to the propriety and necessity of which, all were unanimous. It was resolved to dispatch messengers to all the curacas, tributary provinces, great vassals, governors and officers of the crown, in different provinces, to raise all the troops in their power, with all possible secrecy, unite at a time and place appointed, and at one blow to surprise and overwhelm the *Spaniards* in their quarters. Agreeable to this plan it was concerted, that three armies should be set on foot; one to fall upon *Almagro*, another to attack *Lima*; and a third, to consist of two hundred thousand men, under the command of the inca in person, to surprise, or, if that failed, to invest *Cuzco*, and regularly lay siege to the capital. Every thing was executed with the most astonishing celerity; and the *Spaniards* in *Cuzco* saw themselves surrounded by an incredible multitude of enemies, before they had any suspicion of the revolt, or had made any preparation for their defence. The attack began in the night, amidst the shouts of the *Indians*, and the hoarse din of their warlike instruments; and such was the fury of the assailants, that they shot flaming arrows, and set the city in flames in divers places, being determined to destroy the *Spaniards* at the expence of reducing the capital of the empire to ashes. Their reverence for the temple of the sun, the convent of select virgins, and a few other sacred buildings, made them abstain from firing through streets and houses in their neighbourhood, which means the *Spaniards* were left in possession of the great square, and as much of the city as could well be defended by a slender garrison, which did not exceed two hundred horse and foot. The enemy had forced the citadel, and obliged *Pizarro* to form his troops in

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the great square, and point his artillery against the different avenues, by which he made terrible destruction, the cannon keeping off the *Indians* in troops; though even this dreadful carnage could not check their ardor. They pressed with unremitting fury for the whole night and day succeeding, until at length all the passes to the square were choaked up with dead bodies, and more than half of the city was burnt to the ground. Nothing could exceed the valour and conduct of the *Spaniards* upon this occasion; the horse, in particular, sallied out, and made terrible havoc. When night came on, the *Indian* army withdrew to a little distance, occupied all the passes round the city, and blocked up the *Spaniards* so closely, that it was impossible they should receive any supplies, determining to continue their approaches gradually, and reduce the besieged equally by famine and the sword. To this plan they adhered so steadfastly, that their scheme must have infallibly succeeded, but for a fortunate incident, that probably saved the *Spaniards* from destruction. The slaves, who first felt the effects of the scarcity that prevailed, took arms in their defence, as the only method of relieving themselves in the present distress, and in hopes that their services to the christians might procure them their liberty. They flocked in multitudes to *Pizarro*, desired he would accept of their assistance, and were received with such promises of rewards, as soon increased their number, and augmented that of the besieged to a very considerable army. The *Spaniards* were now in a condition to skirmish vigorously with the *Indian* army, and accordingly every day produced sharp and bloody actions; but this proving insufficient for their relief, they determined to come to a general battle, drew up their forces in the great square, and seduced the enemy to an engagement with all their forces, where every advantage of situation was on the side of the christians. Here, says *Garcilasso*, the parties fought with unremitting fury, for the space of thirteen days; the *Indians* withdrawing at night, and returning vigorously to the attack early next morning, raining showers of arrows, and volleys of stones from slings, so thick upon the besieged, that he ascribes it to a miracle, and the presence of the apostle St. *James*, who fought for them on horseback, that all were not demolished, and crushed into atoms under the superior weight of the enemy. The *Spaniards* now proclaimed liberty to all vassals and slaves, with such rewards and immunities, as not only augmented the number of those auxiliaries, but animated them to acts of the most heroic gallantry, by which they were enabled to drive the *Indians* out of *Cuzco* and the citadel, in

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 In storming of which *Juan Pizarro* was killed, after the enemy had been in possession for the space of nine months, all which time the siege continued with scarce any interruption. After the junction, indeed, of the vassals with the *Spaniards*, they scorned being cooped up within the limits of the capital, and made excursions far into the country, returning loaded with provision, in despite of the utmost efforts of the *Indians*. Sometimes flocks of a thousand head of cattle were driven into the city, while a party of *Spaniards* were keeping the *Indian* army in employment; and yet it must be confessed, that *Manco Capac* performed every thing becoming a spirited and magnanimous prince, had he been properly seconded by the officers and soldiers, who, after the first transports of rage, began to relax in their duty, and neglect the posts committed to their care. Many instances of the valour of private soldiers and officers, on both sides, are recorded by *De la Vega*; and the same writer relates such a number of prodigies and miracles, as must invalidate the belief of those actions that come within the compass of probability. *St. Jago*, or *St. James*, not only was seen fighting on a white horse in the heat of the battle, but the blessed virgin appeared over the *Spanish* quarters, quenched the flames that threatened to devour them, and turned aside the fiery arrows, or frustrated their effects, even when they chanced to fall upon the dry thatch of the houses, and among other combustibles. *Gomara*, *Carate*, and *Herrera*, join *Garcilasso* in the relation of these achievements, but endeavour to persuade us, that heaven assigned them *Peru* and *Mexico*, as the Almighty formerly gave the land of *Canaan*, to his chosen people. God, surely, never countenanced usurpation, tyranny, cruelty, and murder, however he may sometimes permit it for wise purposes: on the contrary, the effects which these conquests have produced on the *Spanish* monarchy, seem to indicate the intentions of Providence; that a nation, who trampled upon every obligation, human and sacred, to possess themselves of gold, should meet with their punishment in the gratification of their wishes (A).

ALL

(A) The number of *Indians* who were slain in different actions consisting in this siege, are altogether incredible. In every slight skirmish some thousands were always slain, and the slaughter became more

dreadful in proportion as the engagement was more general. On the side of the besieged near a hundred *Spaniards* were killed or wounded; and, what was an irreparable loss at this juncture, above a dozen horses perished.

At the whole the marquis *Pizarro* was at *Lima*, and the first suspicion he had of the general insurrection came from the interruption in his correspondence with the *señor* the capital. Immediately he employed the *Yuncanoes*, who served the *Spaniards* to bring him minute information of what *Lima* was transacting in the heart of the empire, by inquiries among their friends and acquaintance. The report they made greatly alarmed him; they brought word that not only *Cuzco* was closely besieged, but that an army was in full march to invest *Lima*; that another was gone in pursuit of *Almagro*; and that the whole empire had risen in arms by the direction of the inca, who had deceived *Ferdinando Pizarro* by a plausible tale, and made his escape. Though the advices of the *Yuncanoes* were neither very consistent, nor connected, *Pizarro* perceived that they contained too much truth, and not doubting but all the *Spaniards* in *Cuzco* had already perished, he applied with the utmost diligence to provide for the safety of *Lima*, and the other settlements; for which purpose he sent expresses to *Panama*, *Mexico*, *Nicaragua*, and *Hispaniola*, to solicit reinforcements to prevent the loss of *Peru*, and the most valuable conquest hitherto made by the *Spaniards*. All his detachments, sent to extend his conquests in different provinces, were likewise recalled to the defence of *Lima*; a body of an hundred horse and foot, under the command of *Diego Pizarro*, was ordered to march with all possible expedition towards *Cuzco*, either to succour the garrison if still existing, or

nished. Of the confederate vassals many thousands were slain; but this rather served to animate than discourage them, and the loss even served to augment the *Spanish* army. When the spirit of revenge took place, many who had before kept aloof from fear, now joined in the revolt against their tyrants, and exerted their utmost endeavours not only to avoid the punishment due to their rebellion, but to merit the reward of liberty promised by the *Spaniards*. Divers gallant actions were performed in the way of single combat, scarce a day passing without a challenge from one or other of the parties; and it

is remarkable, that notwithstanding the equality of the *Indians* to the *Spaniards* in strength, agility, and dexterity at handling their weapons when they fought singly; yet in the battle they were always worsted, although their numbers were superior by an hundred-fold, which we must ascribe to the *Spanish* discipline, horses, artillery, and musquetry, rather than to superior valour, or miracles wrought in their favour, as all their writers assert, and more particularly *Garcilasso de la Vega*, that royal historian, descended from the incas by his mother.

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Spanish
detachment
cut off.

to procure more exact information of the state of affairs: In a word, every measure was taken which prudence, and critical conjuncture could dictate. The army destined to the attack on *Lima* had notice of those proceedings, and determined to way-lay the detachment sent to *Cuzco*, the reduction of the capital being the main object of the designs of *Manco Capac*, on the success of which all the rest would in a manner depend. With this view they took post in all the narrow passes and difficult defiles, through which the detachment was to march; but to conceal their stratagem the better, and to cut off any resources, they suffered *Diego* to advance upwards of seventy leagues before they discovered themselves, or gave him the least molestation. At last, when they found their opportunity at a pass on the mountains of *Parcos*, they fell upon the Spaniards with the utmost fury, tumbled down great stones and pieces of rocks from the tops of the mountains, and plied them so thick with darts and arrows, that not a ~~Coy~~ of the whole detachment escaped. In much the same manner they cut off several other detachments that were on their way to *Lima*, By order of the marquis. *Gonzalo de Tapia*, with sixty horse and seventy foot, were destroyed; *Morgovego de Quinanes*, with an equal number of men, met a similar fate; and *Alonso de Gahate*, at the head of forty horse and sixty foot, perished. Upon the whole, above four hundred Spaniards, who were marching to the succour of *Lima*, in different detachments, were slaughtered in the field of battle, besides near an equal number who were killed in the mines in different provinces, where they imagined themselves in perfect security. The Spanish writers exclaim loudly against the barbarities exercised by the Peruvians upon these occasions; but, from their own relation, nothing appears besides the just retribution of an highly injured and enraged enemy. Great numbers had flocked from the different settlements on the continent of *America*, and the islands of the *West India*, to share the spoils of *Peru*, and they diffused themselves carelessly about the country, little imagining that the *Indians*, who had submitted tamely to the usurpation of *Pizarro* when supported only by a few hundred raw adventurers, would now venture to throw off the yoke, when every province was filled with Spaniards, and the inca remained their prisoner.

FLUSHED with success, the Indian army advanced to the destruction of *Lima*, certain that they could not fail in the reduction of a slender garrison, dispirited by disappointment, and not yet recovered from the consternation into which they were thrown by so unexpected and general an invasion.

When

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When they advanced within eight leagues of the city, a body of Spanish horse sallied out under the conduct of *Pedro de Llerma*, pushed on with the utmost impetuosity, and made such terrible slaughter, that the *Indians* retired to the mountains, from whence they alarmed the whole country with the noise of warlike instruments, so that they increased to the number of forty thousand men, descended again like a torrent from the hills, swept all before them, and drove the Spanish horse back to *Lima*, with the loss of twenty men, who died of the wounds they received in this engagement. This success not only animated the assailants, but augmented their numbers to sixty thousand men; with which army they drew nearer the city, and offered up as a sacrifice of thanks some Spanish prisoners they had taken, before the eyes of their countrymen; a piteous spectacle, that roused the Spanish garrison to a degree of fury, and occasioned their committing some signal instances of barbarity in their future sallies. *Pizarro* behaved with the greatest valour and prudence; however, he began to feel the pressure of hunger from the vigilance of the enemy, in cutting off all supplies; and but for the *Indian* slaves in the Spanish service, he must have either surrendered at discretion, or starved. The most vigorous sallies were made to introduce convoys of provision, but the great superiority of the enemy rendered them abortive. The *Indians* indeed were always defeated; but the garrison was not only weakened and fatigued, but generally disappointed in the design of the sally. The only resource was on the fidelity and address of their slaves, who, under pretence that they had deserted, gained admittance into the enemies camp, whence they always returned laden with provision, at that juncture the most valuable booty. Besides, they brought back an account of all the designs of the besiegers; so that when any attack was intended, the garrison having previous intimation, was in readiness to receive the enemy. However, all this could not have prevented the fall of *Pizarro*, and with him probably the loss of *Peru*, had not a providential accident occurred, which confirmed the superstitious *Indians* that the Spaniards were certainly protected by some invisible power. In consequence of a heavy fall of rain, the river overflowed the banks, deluged the neighbouring country, drowned great numbers of the enemy, prevented their renewing their attacks with the same facility, and opened a path for the garrison to introduce supplies into the city. From whatever natural causes this effect proceeded, both *Indian* and Spaniards joined in ascribing the overflowing of the river to a miracle; the former grew dispirited, thinking

The flood raised.

It in vain to strive against the gods, and the latter were animated with a double portion of courage; the one were held together merely by the authority of their commanders, while the others triumphed in every action, harrassed, fatigued, and kept in perpetual alarm, a desponding multitude, which at last withdrew, leaving the *Spaniards* at liberty to pursue what measures they thought proper.

*Almagro
returns
from
Chili.*

It is now time to return to *Almagro*, the news of whose approach, joined to a variety of circumstances, obliged the *inca* to relinquish the siege of *Cuzco*, imagining that *Almagro's* design was to relieve and succour his countrymen. A principle of honour, and the magnanimity of his sentiments, proved his ruin. It is affirmed that *Almagro* made proposals to him of an alliance against *Pizarro*, which he rejected with disdain, saying, that he had taken up arms to recover his own rights, and the liberties of the people, and not to assist in the base designs of one usurper against another. *Garcilasso* alledges, that the *inca* consented to an interview with *Almagro*, with intention to destroy him, and that here he rejected the overture of alliance; but failed in his design to assassinate the *Spanish* general, on account of *Almagro's* vigilance and circumspection. His officers endeavoured afterwards to persuade him to accept the proposal, alledging, that in promoting the discord of the *Spaniards* consisted his greatest security; and that by weakening both parties, he might at last recover his dominions, and totally expel the usurpers; to which he replied, "that it became not the honour of an *inca* to dissemble, or fail in his engagements; and that he had rather forfeit his empire, and live in perpetual exile and obscurity, than maintain his dignity by falsehood and treachery." A saying that sufficiently demonstrates the elevation of sentiment, the strict integrity and pundilio of this prince, whose the *Spaniards* affect to call barbarous. Disappointed in his designs upon *Cuzco*, and *Almagro's* forces, this generous monarch not despairing of success in recovering his dominions; and desirous that his subjects might suffer as little as possible for their loyalty, he requested they would disperse, and return to their own dwellings, thereby to appease the indignation of the conquerors, while himself would watch over their safety in a secure retreat, in order to seize the first opportunity that offered for another attempt to recover their privileges, and punish the insolent and rapacious usurpers of their property and liberty. As the speech which this extraordinary monarch made upon this occasion is remarkable, we shall venture to transcribe it in the margin, upon the authority of *Garcilasso*

*The inca
addicates.*

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de la Vega, who was personally acquainted with many of the nobility and officers who served in the inca's army at this time (B).

(B) "Brethren, sons, and subjects, I have had sufficient testimony of your affection to my person, and zeal for my service. You have with great alacrity offered your lives and fortunes, wives and children, to establish me in the throne of my empire; but since the *Pachacamac* evidently fights against us, and opposes my restoration, it would be madness in us to murmur at the divine will, or refuse our compliance: I have reason to believe that you are all of opinion my desire to govern is not founded on ambition, but to restore to my faithful people that peace and liberty they enjoyed under the government of my ancestors. It is the duty of a good king, to study the prosperity and felicity of his subjects, and, according to the practice of the incas, to prefer that to every other consideration. Though I have great reason to fear that the designs of those strangers, whom we call the descendants of *Viracocha*, are very different from their professions; yet I cannot but regret prosecuting my rights at the expence of your blood and happiness. I had even rather sacrifice my dignity, and live in the most deplorable obscurity, than hazard lives dear to me as those of my own children, if I did not think it my duty to impart more felicity to you, than I imagine you can possibly enjoy under the

dominion of these rapacious usurpers. However, as the gods declare that the juncture is not favourable, I must refrain from farther vain attempts, until the opportunity offers, and by a voluntary exile remove all kind of jealous and suspicious, that you may be again taken into grace and favour. I find the prophecy of my royal father fully completed, that a strange nation should deprive us of our empire, destroy our laws, and trample upon our religion. Had we fully weighed this circumstance before we commenced hostilities, we should have acquiesced in the decrees of heaven, as in all respects these strangers answer to the description in the prophecy, except in justice. They carry in their hands the thunder of the gods, and by that alone evince their being supported by almighty power. We have seen and experienced how a handful of men can defend themselves against our innumerable armies which cover the plains, and how they can subsist without rest, sleep, or nourishment, and renew the battle with redoubled vigour, when we imagined they were sinking under the united pressure of fatigue and famine. From thence it is evident that the hand of *Pachacamac*, is with them, and that in proportion as he encourages them, he insures

A a 3

"fear

Almagro
seizes upon
Cuzco.

THE dispersion of the Indian army, and the Inca's abdication, left the Spaniards at full liberty to display their avarice, and pursue their resentment. They were then in quiet possession of the empire; one commander affected to rule with despotic sway, and another prepared to disappoint him in the possession of that supreme power, while, neither admitted a superior nor a rival. *Almagro* arriving before the walls of *Cuzco*, summoned *Ferdinando Pizarro* to surrender the city into his hands, as being included in the grant made to him by his catholic majesty. *Pizarro* answered, that he held the city in virtue of a commission from his brother the marquis, and that he could not deliver up his charge to any man without his instructions; besides, he asserted, that *Almagro* had no kind of pretensions to it, as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government. However, as that was a point which he would have to be adjusted by the claimants, he was ready to obey the summons, provided it was founded upon the marquis's authority. To this *Almagro* replied; and several days were spent in altercation, while each side was making preparations to support his arguments by a more powerful logic. *Pizarro* was taking every measure to put the city in a posture of defence, and *Almagro* to seduce the garrison, in which he succeeded so happily, that his troops were introduced in the night, *Ferdinando* and *Gonzalo Pizarro* taken in their beds, all the Spanish forces in the city made prisoners, and the capital of the empire possessed without a drop of bloodshed; besides which, *Almagro* was considerably reinforced, almost all the garrison having cheerfully entered into his service.

ALL this while the marquis *Pizarro* held no correspondence with *Cuzco*, and concluding, from the silence of his brothers, that all the succours he had detached were cut off, and the garrison actually destroyed, or closely blocked up, he deter-

<p>"fear and dependency into "our minds. Let us therefore "submit, as the only means of "avoiding the most dreadful "calamities. For my part, I "propose retiring to the "mountains of the <i>Andes</i>, "where it shall be my greatest "comfort to hear that you en- "joy liberty and contentment "under your new governors, "beyond my expectation. Re- "volving schemes for your mel-</p>	<p>"fare and happiness shall be the "only business of my melancholy "solitude. Mean time I can- "jure you to serve and obey the "<i>Spaniards</i> to the utmost of your "power, so that you be well "treated by them, and now and "then heave a sigh and drop a "tear to the memory of your "prince, who ever loved and "cherished his people." <i>Garcilasso de la Vega</i>. Lib ii. cap. 29.</p>
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mined upon sending so powerful a force as should bear down
 all opposition, cut open a path to *Cuzco*, and bring him cer-
 tain accounts of what was transacting in the capital. With
 this view he assembled five hundred *Spanish* horse and foot,
 reinforced by a considerable body of *Indians*, gave the com-
 mand of this army to *Don Alvaro de Alvarado*, and ordered
 him to march with the utmost expedition to *Cuzco*. These
 forces he was enabled to raise by means of the *Spaniards* he
 had recalled from different quarters, and succours received
 from *Panama* and *Nicaragua*. *Pedro de Lerma* was appoint-
 ed to command under *Alvarado*, who was an older officer;
 a slight which so disgusted him, that from that time he me-
 ditated the ruin of the enterprise. To this circumstance the
Spanish writers ascribe all the subsequent misfortunes, al-
 though there appeared strong reasons for attributing it, in a
 great measure, to the misconduct of *Alvarado*. This gene-
 ral began his march with such celerity, and little precaution,
 that, unacquainted with the woods, and ill provided with
 guides, above four thousand *Indians* perished with fatigue and
 famine; which obliged him to halt, until an equivalent
 reinforcement could be pressed into the service. In this situ-
 ation he was, when *Almagro* receiving advice of his inten-
 tions, dispatched certain *Spaniards* of distinction to acquaint
 him that *Cuzco* was now in his hands; and as it belonged to
 his jurisdiction, according to the emperor's grant, he hoped
 he would make no difficulty about returning to *Lima*, until
 the controversy could be adjusted between him and the mar-
 quis. This message was roughly received by *Alvarado*, who,
 instead of listening to pacific measures, made the gentlemen
 prisoners who came with the proposal, and resolved to pursue
 his march, with intention to drive *Almagro* out of *Cuzco*.
 Notice of his violent proceedings no sooner reached *Alma-*
gro, than he took the field, and advanced but a little way on
 his march, when he had the good fortune to seize a party of
Alvarado's force, that had been sent out to procure intelli-
 gence. From his prisoners he learnt the posture of *Alvara-*
do's affairs, the disgust of *Lerma*, the murmurs of the sol-
 diers and auxiliary *Indians* at the rigorous discipline of
 the general, and a variety of other circumstances, which he
 meditated how to convert to his own advantage. He advan-
 ced as far as the river *Amanay*, and here encamped for a
 whole day within a little distance of the enemy, in hope of
 being joined by their deserters; and *Garcilasso* alleges that
De Lerma, and several of his friends, embraced this oppor-
 tunity of expressing their disgust, and ruining *Alvarado*.
 They came over to *Almagro*, and would certainly have se-
 duced

Almagro
defeats
Alvarado,
and takes
him pri-
soner.

duced more than half the army, had not *Almagro*, upon some suspicious words, ordered *Lerma* to be seized, which obliged him to make his escape sooner than he had proposed. By this means, it is alledged, *Almagro* was perfectly informed of the enemies position, and enabled to fall upon him in the night, with such advantages, as soon produced a complete victory, taking *Alvarado* prisoner, and incorporating most of his troops with his own soldiers.

1537. *ALMAGRO* returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, on the twelfth day of *July*, to project the means of extending his victorious arms, and securing his good fortune. He had yet the greatest difficulties remaining; he was to encounter the experienced marquis *Pizarro*, who, notwithstanding his losses, had still a considerable body of troops, which he would be augmenting every day with succours from *Panama* and other places, being in possession of the sea-coast and shipping. *Orgonnez* his lieutenant advised him to certain violent and unjustifiable measures; such as putting to death the two brothers of *Pizarro* in his custody, marching to *Lima* before the marquis could be reinforced, attacking that city with all his power, and thence establishing an intercourse with the other settlements in different tracts of *America*. The latter part of this opinion was prudent; but *Almagro* was disposed to listen to the whole, from an apprehension that the *Pizarros* might execute a revolt at *Cuzco*, while he was absent in the expedition against their brother. He was, however, dissuaded from such a piece of barbarity by another of his officers, *Jago de Almagro*, who had contracted a friendship with *Ferdinando Pizarro* during his imprisonment, although the result evinced the necessity of this cruel policy, and the foresight of *Orgonnez*. It was likewise doubted whether he could attack *Lima*, which was confessedly within the jurisdiction of his rival, without setting the emperor's grant at defiance, and declaring himself a rebel to the government; however, the expediency of opening an intercourse with the sea, was so universally allowed to be expedient, that *Almagro* began his march at the head of five hundred Spanish horse and foot, and a large army of Indian auxiliaries, taking with him *Ferdinando Pizarro*, and leaving the other brother and *Alvarado* prisoners in *Cuzco*.

He marches
towards
the coast.

MEAN time the marquis *Pizarro*, anxious about the situation of his brothers, and the fate of the capital, having received no advices, either from them or *Alvarado*, and apprehending that the *Indians* had seized all the passes, resolved to march in person to *Cuzco*; and having seasonably received a reinforcement, he set out on this expedition, at the head of

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seven hundred horse and foot. He soon got intelligence that the siege of *Cuzco* was raised, next day followed the account of the proceeding of *Almagro*, and the imprisonment of his brothers, and advancing a little farther, he was informed of the defeat and imprisonment of *Alvarado*. Such a tide of misfortune had almost overwhelmed that spirit which had already resisted the most cruel strokes of fate. Revenge sometimes occupied his whole mind, he thought of nothing but punishing the perfidious *Almagro*; a notion that was soon laid aside for more cautious measures, when he reflected upon his own weakness. When he began his march, he thought only of combating *Indians*, and his troops were accordingly armed in the manner best calculated to answer that design; but now he had a skilful and powerful enemy to encounter, it was necessary to provide himself in a different manner, and also to wait the junction of troops whom he hourly expected from *Panama*. On his return to *Lima*, he had notice that *Almagro* was advancing, which determined him to gain time, by setting on foot a negotiation. In consequence of this resolution, the licenciado *Espinosa* was dispatched with instructions to propose a compromise of their differences; and not long after several persons of distinction were sent to *Almagro's* camp, to enforce the licenciado's overtures, and at all events procrastinate matters until the arrival of the succours, and the necessary preparations were made to compel this rival commander by force of arms to abandon the capital. *Garcilasso* alleges that *Espinosa* reached *Cuzco* before *Almagro* began his march to the coast, and found him so elated with prosperity, that he was deaf to the proposed accommodation; although *Diego de Alvarado*, with great moderation and candor, remonstrated, that the conditions now offered were the very same he had lately demanded. *Almagro* haughtily replied, that he was not to be restrained from opening a communication with the sea, or, in the present flourishing state of his affairs, prescribed to as formerly by *Pizarro*, who had always usurped more authority than belonged to him, either by the king's grant, or the terms of the original contract. Still, however, *Espinosa* found means to protract the negotiation, until he was seized with a malady that carried him off; upon which *Almagro* immediately began his march, and proceeded to the valley of *Chinca*, leaving the government of *Cuzco* in the hands of *Gravial de Rijas*. So near an approach required all the address of *Pizarro* to prevent a rupture, and endeavour to procure the release of his brother *Ferdinando*. His commissaries waited upon *Almagro* in his camp, and were at first refused audience, from

from a suspicion that their proposals were fallacious. At length *Almagro* consented to send commissioners to treat with those of the marquis on the frontiers of their respective governments; but this had its difficulties, as both claimed different limits. When the objection was removed, and the place of negotiation adjusted, *Almagro's* commissioners were seized, and their dispatches examined, at which the marquis pretended to be greatly incensed. He denied that it was done by his authority, apologized to *Almagro*, dismissed the prisoners, and proposed a personal conference, at which each of the governors should be attended by twelve select friends.

*Marquis
dissembles.*

By this time *Almagro* was informed of the escape of *Pizarro* and *Alvarado*, with a hundred Spaniards, whom he had left in *Cuzco*; and *Orgonez* seized this opportunity of pressing him to put *Francisco Pizarro* to death, while *Jago de Alvarado* urged it as a reason for disavowing him, and coming to a perfect agreement with the marquis. He was ballancing between these opinions, when he discovered a stratagem laid by *Alonso de Pizarro* for seizing him during the interview with the marquis, from which he escaped very narrowly; yet as the marquis disclaimed all knowledge of this perfidious attempt, *Almagro* still consented that the commissioners should endeavour to effect an accommodation so beneficial to both parties. Accordingly the arbitrators met; but differing in opinion, friar *Francisco Bobadila* was chosen umpire, all parties agreeing that he was a person of candor, sense, and integrity. However, when his determination was declared, *Almagro* refused to stand by his award, because he had assigned *Cuzco*, the city in debate, to his rival; he appealed to the council of the *Indies*, and resolved to maintain possession until their resolution was divulged. With this the marquis pretended to be well satisfied, desiring that matters might remain in the present posture, until the result of a final appeal to the catholic king should be known, and promising to furnish *Almagro* with a ship to convey his deputies into *Spain*, provided he would release his brother *Ferdinando*. This was the great object of his policy; for he dreaded the consequences to his brother of coming to an extremity, while he continued in the enemies power; but having now gained his liberty, and received a considerable reinforcement from *North America*, he threw off all disguise, and made vigorous preparations for retaliating all the injuries he had sustained (C). A herald was dispatched, re-

(C) This was not the only design of the altercation with *Almagro*, who neither adhered

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quering him to surrender *Cuzco*, and acquainting him that the marquis looked upon his jurisdiction to extend along the southern coast, quite to the straits of *Magellan*; by which means he entirely excluded *Almagro* from the grant made to him by the government. This message he enforced with a detachment of seven hundred *Spanish* horse and foot sent to *Cuzco*, under the conduct of his brothers *Ferdinando* and *Gonzalo*, while he marched with another army to *Chinca*, where *Almagro* had founded a little colony, at which he was then encamped. Advice of these measures obliged him to return with all possible dispatch to the capital, in direct opposition to the sentiments of his lieutenant, who advised an attack on *Lima*, during the absence of the forces; affirming that the reduction of this place would secure in his interest not only the shipping, but all the recruits that were daily flocking from other parts of the continent. *Almagro* was sensible of the prudence of the measure; but he declined it, because he thought it a direct violation of the rights granted by the government to his adversary, and of consequence nothing less than disobedience to the commands of his sovereign. To this punctiliousness we may fairly ascribe his ruin, though another circumstance of misconduct equally *punctilious* contributed. He now marched back directly to *Cuzco*, and being better acquainted with the country, and his soldiers more seasoned to the climate, he got before *Pizarro's* detachment. Advice was brought him before he reached the capital, that the enemy were forced to halt in a very sickly condition in the mountains, and that, if he attacked them, the whole detachment might easily be destroyed. All his officers gave it as their opinion he ought to embrace so favourable an opportunity; but *Almagro* by some fatality discredited the intelligence, pursued his march, and believed he should be perfectly secure in accomplishing the ruin of so

on his part to the exact dictates of equity or honour. The bishop of *Panama*, or *Terra Firma Proper*, had been appointed the preceding year to adjust the limits of their governments, and to assign *Pizarro* two hundred and seventy leagues beyond the equator, and to *Almagro* two hundred leagues more, by which division the marquis apprehended *Cuzco* would fall within the ju-

isdiction of his rival. To prevent his knowledge of this circumstance, it was that he persuaded *Almagro* to undertake the expedition to *Chili*; and when the bishop arrived at *Lima*, he dissuaded him from making that tedious journey to *Cuzco* to execute his commission, upon which he returned to *Panama*. *Herrer*, Dec. iv. lib. iii.

small a body of forces, if they presumed to lay siege to *Cuzco*. In fact, it appears that he was determined to act defensively, in order that his cause might carry the more favourable aspect to the government, when he could prove *Pizarro* to be the aggressor. Indeed his officers at length obliged him to break this resolution. When the enemy approached the capital, they insisted on his giving them battle in the open plain. *Almagro* demonstrated almost to a certainty that he must destroy them effectually, by adhering to his defensive plan; but he was forced to yield to their impetuosity, for fear of giving them disgust, or creating suspicion of his want of courage. At this very time he was confined to his bed with the fatigue of so tedious and difficult a march, which proved too arduous an undertaking for his infirm constitution and advanced age; but roused with the clamours of his soldiers, he ordered himself to be carried in a litter, and marched out of *Cuzco* to meet the enemy, leaving the care of drawing up the troops in order of battle to his lieutenant. *Ordonnez's* plan was exceeding good, had he paid a proper regard to the nature of the ground, and avoided engaging himself personally so deeply in the engagement, that he could not give the proper attention to the execution of his orders, or seize those favourable opportunities which rise and vanish in a moment. The infantry was reduced to one battalon, formed in a kind of column in the center, each side being supported by harquebusiers, and a squadron of horse, in which *Almagro* was superior to the enemy.

Battle of
Salinas.

April 6,
1538.

The artillery was disposed on the right wing, while the front was secured by a rivulet and marshy ground, that rendered all access laborious and hazardous. *Pizarro* drew up his army in a manner nearly similar, but with more regard to the ground; for he took care to place his horse on plain ground, where they could freely bear down upon the hostile infantry, while the cavalry of *Almagro* was entangled in the *Salinas*, or salt-pits, whence this battle took its name. This was the first oversight in *Ordonnez's* plan; for as to *Almagro*, he could do nothing besides animating the soldiers by his presence. He was besides greatly mistaken in the opinion he entertained of the enemy. He believed they chiefly consisted of raw undisciplined recruits, ill armed, and feebly; whereas in fact they were for the most part veterans trained up in the wars of *Charles V.* and musqueteers, of whom there were only a few in *Almagro's* army. *Pizarro* began the action by crossing the rivulet with his horse; and the first discharge proved favourable to *Ordonnez*, who plied his artillery vigorously, swept off the entire first rank of the enemy, and

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and staggered the whole body of cavalry; but his courage destroyed the fruits of that advantage. He rushed with his horse against *Pizarro*, engaged him hand to hand, dismounted him, and bid fair for a complete victory, when he received a musket-shot in the forehead. By this time the infantry came to blows, and the battle raged with great fury; when a report suddenly spread among the troops that *Ordonnez* was killed, which infused so great a panic, that, disregarding *Almagro's* remonstrances, they fled in confusion to the city, carrying their general with the torrent. *Pizarro* entered *Cuzco* with the fugitives, made dreadful slaughter, and many prisoners, most of whom were killed after quarter was given, particularly *Ordonnez* and *Pedro de Lerma*, who were covered with wounds. Here private pique and resentment fully gratified themselves, every man taking this opportunity of reaking his vengeance on the unfortunate prisoners. The *Spanish* writers themselves record such acts of cruelty as would disgrace a nation of savages, and even speak of them with applause or censure, just as they happen to side with one party or the other. *Almagro's* life was preserved at this juncture; only to be more maliciously sacrificed by the tedious forms of what his enemies called a legal process. Having been closely imprisoned some months in the most execruciating suspense, at length a process was commenced, and an impeachment drawn up, in which he was charged with having seized upon *Cuzco* by force of arms; with occasioning the effusion of much *Spanish* blood; with entering upon a clandestine correspondence and secret treaty with the inca *Manco Capac*; with infringing on the terms of the emperor's grant, and encroaching upon the limits of the marquis *Pizarro's* jurisdiction; with breach of all the articles of several contracts with the marquis; and with fighting two battles against his countrymen, contrary to the peace of the sovereign lord the king, one at *Abancay*, and another at *Salinas*. These and divers other crimes and misdemeanours of less moment were proved according to certain forms of law; upon which the old general was condemned to death, though he appealed to the emperor in the most pathetic manner, implored the clemency of *Ferdinando Pizarro*, reminding him of the regard he had shewn for his life, when he had him entirely in his power, and of his constant refusal to put to death any of the friends or relations of *Pizarro*, although they had expressed the bitterest enmity to his person. He desired *Ferdinando* would consider how instrumental he had been in the success of the expedition, and the prosperity of the marquis;

not

Almagro
tried, con-
demned,
an' execu-
ted.

that he was an old infirm man, who, in course of nature, had not long to live, and that almost his whole life had been one continued series of toil, hardship, and misfortune; arguments which had no weight with *Pizarro*. He had the express orders of the marquis to remove *Almagro*, as the only obstacle to his ambition and glory, imagining he should then enjoy the whole dominion of *Peru* without a rival: the sentence was therefore executed in its utmost rigour; *Almagro* was privately strangled, publicly beheaded on a scaffold in the great square of *Cuzco*, his body stripped naked by the executioner, and then left exposed for the greatest part of the day, without a friend to pay the last duties to his remains. These were all in custody, and their enemies were too much inflamed with resentment to listen to the dictates of humanity. At last the corpse was carried off by an old slave of the deceased, who wrapped it in a coarse cloth, and buried it in the most devout manner he could, at the hazard of his own life; disgracing, by this act of compassion, the more polished and civilized christians. Thus perished, by the malice of his enemies, the enterprising, vigilant, active, and publick-spirited *Almagro*, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, sincerely regretted by his friends, and especially the *Indians*, who regarded him as their parent and protector, against the rigour of the other *Spanish* commander, and honoured his ashes with the unfeigned tears of sorrowful affection (D).

(D) We have already mentioned that *Almagro* was of obscure birth, and mean education, being ignorant of reading and writing; but he was an excellent officer and generous friend, an admirable citizen, seduced sometimes into unjustifiable acts, by the extent of his authority, by the opposition of *Pizarro*, or by ambition. He was the forger of his own for-

tune, and had by dint of merit alone ascended to a greater height of riches and power than any private person of the age, unless we except his colleague, and the conqueror of *Mexico*. His estate and power he left to an only son he had by an *Indian* woman; but young *Almagro* was not only dispossessed of his estate by the marquis, but sent a prisoner to *Lima*. *Geral. lib. ii.*

S E C T. X.

In which we give a succinct Relation of the Wars in Chili, and the several Rebellions raised in Peru, either by the Tyranny of the Governors, or the Ambition of the Spanish Planters.

THE barbarity of the *Pizarro* faction, far from producing the intended effect of gaining an unlimited authority, served only to augment the number of their enemies. After the victory, *Ferdinando* persecuted with unrelenting severity all the friends of *Almagro*, and drove them out of *Cuzco*, or confined them in dungeons, for fear they might endeavour to revenge the ignominious death of their leader. His friends, who had flattered themselves with sharing in the spoils of *Almagro*, and being appointed to the government of provinces, began to relax in their zeal, on finding their expectations disappointed. *Almagro's* treasures were retained in the hands of the *Pizarros*, under pretence that they must be accountable for them to the catholic king; and to obviate all inconveniences which might arise from their chagrin, *Ferdinando* was careful to employ them in distant conquests, which might gratify their ambition and avarice. Accordingly several of his own discontented officers, and also the most popular of *Almagro's* party, were sent with slender detachments upon different dangerous expeditions, to prevent their examining too curiously into his conduct. However, so general appeared the discontents, after the execution of *Almagro*, that *Ferdinando* found it necessary to visit the court of *Spain* in person; and, by a judicious application of the vast treasures which he now possessed, to screen himself against the bitter accusation of *Juán de Alvarado*, then guardian of young *Almagro*, who had lately gone over with a view of establishing the rights of the minor, and bringing the *Pizarros* to a severe account. He appeared at court with a brilliant retinue, distributed the gold and silver of *Peru* with the utmost liberality, pleaded the necessity of the measures he had taken with great address; and was, notwithstanding, conducted to the prison of *Medina del Campo*, in which he remained confined for the space of twenty-three years. It is generally believed that he must have atoned with his life for the injuries done to *Almagro*, had not the death of *Alvarado* stopped the prosecution; an event so sudden, that strong suspicions remained of his having been poisoned by the agents of *Pizarro*.

By the death of *Almagro*, and the imprisonment of *Perdinando Pizarro*, the whole weight of the government of *Peru* fell upon the shoulders of the marquis, at a critical time, when he most required the assistance of faithful friends and able counsellors. The *Indians* had again recourse to arms, either to revenge the death of *Almagro*, or to profit by the divisions among the *Spaniards*, who now found themselves more hardly pressed, even when their numbers were greatly increased, than when they first entered upon the conquest with a handful of men only. The *Indians* were animated with revenge; and had besides overcome the consternation and terror which had seized them on the first sight of fire-arms and horses. What they formerly conceived to be the thunder of heaven, they were sensible was no more than a contrivance of human genius; and they had taken several horses which they ventured to use against the *Spaniards*, demonstrating by this, and the improvements in the art of war they had made since the arrival of *Pizarro* in *Peru*, that they were extremely ingenious and imitative. In several encounters they defeated the *Spaniards*, fought them with their own weapons, and were not even afraid or ignorant of the use of muskets, some of which they had taken in different engagements. The relation given by the royal historian *De la Vaga*, of an action between some *Spanish* cavaliers, of whom *Gonzalo Pizarro* was one, all well mounted, armed, and cased in armour, and seven naked *Indians*, sufficiently evince the strict courage and activity of the latter. The *Peruvians* were indeed defeated, but it was after a gallant resistance, and wounding three of the enemy. This happened in the province of *Charcas*, where *Pizarro* commanded a considerable body of troops, and fought several bloody undecisive battles, until he was at length reduced to the necessity of sending for succour to the marquis. When the invaluable mines of *Potosi* were discovered, then such crowds of adventurers flocked to this province, that the natives were at last compelled to submit, after a most obstinate defence.

Fr. Xation
to Chili.

1540.

In *Chili* the *Spaniards* were still less successful, that brave people disputing every inch of ground. All the provinces subject to the inca of *Peru* had submitted to *Almagro*, who had likewise reduced some of the southern provinces, and was in a fair way of extending his conquests, when circumstances obliged him to return to *Cuzco*. *Valdivia*, who had learned the rudiments of war in *Italy*, and was deemed one of the best *Spanish* officers in *America*, was now sent thither by *Pizarro*. All the provinces which owned the sovereignty

reignty of the incas, submitted with little difficulty to the *Spaniards*, who took upon themselves the authority of the emperor, and acted in all respects as a regular legislature. As *Valdivia* advanced, the obstruction was greater; the confederated caziques gave him frequent battle, and displayed great courage and resolution; but they could not prevent his penetrating as far as the valley of *Mafiocha*, which he found St. Jago incredibly fruitful and populous. Here he founded the city de la Nueva *Estre-madura*. colony and security of the gold mines in the neighbourhood, in which he forced the natives to labour. The *Chilians*, greatly exasperated at this work of servitude, determined upon revenge; to accomplish which, it was resolved to attack the fort when the horse were gone out to forage; but the conspiracy being discovered, the ringleaders were capitally punished. This suspended the design of the *Chilians*, but did not break their resolution of reaking their vengeance the first opportunity that offered. *Valdivia* imagining himself perfectly secure, set out on his foraging expedition, and had scarce proceeded eight leagues when the *Chilians* took arms, attacked the castle commanded by *Alonzo de Menroy*, with great impetuosity, and continued the assault from morning until night, fortifying themselves within the enclosures and yards made by the *Spaniards* to their houses. On this occasion a *Spanish* lady exerted an extraordinary degree of brutal courage. Apprehending lest the *Indian* caziques imprisoned in the fort might recover their liberty, and render the insurrection more general, she seized a hatchet, and, with astonishing boldness and cruelty, hewed them in pieces with her own hand. Even this act of savage ferocity did not produce the effect; the *Spaniards* found themselves so hard pressed, that they were forced to abandon the fort, and march to a plain in the neighbourhood, skirted by a river. Here the few horse that remained had room to act, and performed wonders; although it was not possible to hinder the enemy from setting fire to all the outworks, by which the provisions and stores were consumed. *Valdivia* returned in the mean time, obtained a complete victory, began with the utmost diligence to repair his losses; but conceived so high an opinion of the free spirit and valour of the natives, that he immediately wrote to *Peru* for a reinforcement, and was soon joined by a body of troops under *Baptista Pastana*.

We shall pursue this subject, to avoid interruption in our account of the civil divisions in *Peru*. *Valdivia* had scarce reduced the enemy to obedience, when his life was endangered by his own troops, who murmured at the fatigue of

Mines of
Quilotta.

rebuilding the outworks, and the scarcity that prevailed. A plan had been formed for the murder of the general; but some information of it coming to the ears of *Valdivia*, he banished the ringleaders, and suppressed the commotion. After this he assumed the title of governor of *Chili*, and behaved with such gallantry, that, after many bloody skirmishes, the *Indians* of the vale submitted. Immediately he set them to work in the mines of *Quilotta*; and they proved so rich in gold, that for the security of the *Spaniards*, and to keep the *Indian* labourers in awe, he built a fort, in which he placed a strong garrison. Next he proposed to trade to *Peru* by sea, and likewise to open a communication by land; for which purpose, he built a frigate on the river, and detached a party of horse to the vale of *Guasco*, under *Menroy*, and another to the vale of *Copidpo*, to proceed from thence to *Peru*, which was an extremely difficult and arduous undertaking. As *Menroy* was preparing to pass the desert of *Atacama*, the *Indians* fell suddenly upon him, defeated his party, and obliged him and *Pedro de Meranda* to escape on their unfaded horses, covered with wounds. An entire ignorance of the country occasioned their afterwards falling into the hands of an *Indian* general, whose name was *Coteo*. They were carried prisoners to the chief cazique of the vale, whose lady commiserating their misfortunes, had them unbound and taken into favour; by which means they soon escaped to *Peru*, after suffering incredible hardships in the tedious journey. From thence he returned with a reinforcement of sixty men, and thereby enabled *Valdivia* to pursue his conquests.

Dis-
ensions
among the
Spaniards.

MEAN time the fortune of war was changeable; in general the *Spaniards* were successful in their expeditions, but they also sustained a variety of defeats and losses. At last the disturbances in *Peru* occasioned *Valdivia's* being recalled, with some of his officers and soldiers, and the care of pursuing the conquest was committed to *Francisco de Vellagea*, who was constituted his lieutenant. During his absence misunderstandings arose between his lieutenant and *Pedro Sanchez de Hoz*, who had procured a grant from the crown of *Spain*, of the government of the farther parts of *Peru* and *Chili*. *De Hoz*, in consequence of this grant, expected, with a good deal of reason, that he ought to succeed to the command of the forces, and have the chief direction in the absence of *Valdivia*. He had even a superior right to *Valdivia* himself; nor would he submit to this general, who held his commission only of *Pizarro*, except on condition that the richest provinces of *Chili* should be assigned to him; with

Which *Valdivia* was obliged to rest satisfied. However, upon his departure, *Vellagea* came to a rupture with *De Hoz*, seized, imprisoned, condemned, and put him to death, whether by his own authority or the orders of his superior, is uncertain. This only is related, that *Valdivia* appeared to be well pleased with the conduct of his lieutenant, and the removal of a person who could not help regarding him in the light of an usurper. The *Chilians* made their advantage of the civil divisions among the *Spaniards*, attacked the garrisons of *Copiapó* and *Coquimbo*, and after putting all the *Spaniards* to the sword, demolished the towns. *Vellagea* himself was extremely hard pressed in the town of *St. Jago*, and most probably have surrendered, had not *Valdivia* seasonably arrived to his assistance, with a strong reinforcement, appeased the *Indians* with great resolution, forced them to resign the siege, drove them out of the valleys of *Copiapó* and *Coquimbo*, rebuilt the towns they had destroyed, marched to the southward, and after crossing the river *M. po*, obliged the warlike provinces to receive the yoke, after they had withstood all the attempts of the incas of *Peru*, and of *Almagro*, the first *Spanish* general who had penetrated their frontier.

VALDIVIA had activity, resolution, and a genius turned to projects. He now entered upon a scheme of great extent and hazard, crossed the large rivers *Mauke* and *Hata*, traversed a vast space of country, and founded the city *La Concepcion*, on the South-sea coast. He had likewise erected several other towns and fortresses in different parts of *Chili*, in order to bridle the natives; which so enraged this brave people, that they assembled in crowds, fell upon the new city, harrassed the garrison with perpetual attacks, and were very near destroying the whole *Spanish* army. However, in despite of all their endeavours, *Valdivia* completed the fortifications of *La Concepcion*, put it in a posture to resist all the power of the enemy, and then advanced with all his forces towards the plains of *Angol*, and crossing the great river *Biobio*, founded the city called *Imperial*, on a hill, at the confluence of two rivers, about forty leagues to the southward of *Concepcion*. The *Spaniards* alledge that the neighbouring fertile valley contained above fourscore thousand *Indian* inhabitants, who gave them no molestation in building, being of a peaceable disposition. They were even so tame as to suffer *Valdivia* to parcel out their lands among the *Spaniards*, remaining themselves like slaves attached to the glebe. *Valdivia* was indefatigable in establishing the *Spanish* power, by founding colonies. About sixteen leagues to the eastward of the city *Imperial*, he laid the foundation

of *Villa Rica*, so called on account of the wealth of the gold mines found there; but he involved himself in difficulties, by extending his conquests beyond what his strength was capable of maintaining. By extending his forces over the face of so large a country, he weakened every part in such a manner as revived hope in a people who watched with the closest attention for the opportunity of recovering their liberties. However dreadful the fire-arms, horses, and armour of the *Spaniards*, appeared to naked, simple *Indians*, servitude proved still more intolerable; and the *Chileans* resolved to put all to hazard, rather than endure fetters so galling to their free spirit. In the course of war they discovered that the *Spaniards* were vulnerable and mortal men like themselves, which helped to confirm their courage; they assembled in great numbers, and doubt not but they should be able, by dint of perseverance and superior strength, to expel the usurping insolent stranger. Had all the natives of *Chili* joined in this opinion, they must have infallibly executed their project; but amidst such a variety of nations of different customs and sentiments, it was impossible to find them all in the same disposition. Some were tame and pacific, preferring the yoke of the *Spaniards* to the tumults of war; others were warlike and brave, regarding subjection to a foreign power as the most dreadful of all calamities. Full of these generous sentiments, the latter took arms. The *Aracceans* in particular, the most intrepid people in *Chili*, and who had given *Valdivia* the greatest trouble, all rose to a man, exasperated at the treatment of the *Spaniards*. When this people had submitted before, *Valdivia*, in the distribution of the lands, had reserved this valley to himself, on account of its extraordinary wealth and fertility. The natives were set to dig in the mines, and subjected to the stripes and abuse of the *Spaniards* who superintended the labour. Sensible how intolerable this usage must seem to a people unaccustomed to subjection, he erected three castles in the valley, to keep them in awe, and garrisoned them strongly, while he went upon another expedition, in search of mines which had a still higher reputation. Of this circumstance the *Aracceans* availed themselves, engaged the whole country in the conspiracy, and elected the celebrated and valiant *Cápaulican* for their leader and general.

It is seldom that the *Indians* conduct their scheme with the necessary secrecy. *Valdivia* received notice of the intended rebellion, he returned suddenly to the valley of *Araccea*, but before he appeared, fourteen thousand of the natives were assembled in arms, determined to shed the last drop of their blood.

blood. He attacked them with his cavalry, obliged them to retreat to the woods, but could not obtain a victory, for Capauli- they continued to fall out with fury, maintaining a kind can's con- of sunning fight, and harrassing the Spaniards with per- duct. petual fatigue and watching. The experience acquired from these skirmishes was improved by Capaulican in a manner which evinced his military genius. He observed that fighting with such a number of undisciplined troops, served only to disorder the whole, and contribute to his defeat, the confusion of the front communicating itself to the wings and rear, in such a manner that the first assault of the Spanish cavalry generally determined the fortune of the day. This inconvenience he determined to remedy, by dividing his forces into battalions of a thousand each, which should charge the enemy by turns, and thus support the engagement at pleasure, without fatigue or danger to the whole army. He represented to his countrymen, that the Spanish cavalry did not exceed a hundred and fifty men, against whom a battalion of the brave Chileans would be able to make a considerable stand, notwithstanding the superiority of their arms and horses; and that this corps relieved by another, and that by a third, would necessarily, in the end, fatigue, dishearten, and exhaust the Spaniards. He desired they would make trial of this new method; and the issue proved answerable to his wish. Capaulican was too prudent to expect that a single battalion could defeat the enemy; and he only required, that when the soldiers found themselves hard pressed, they would retire leisurely into the rear, and rally themselves behind cover, without disordering the rest of the forces, in order to renew, in their turn, the charge. Every thing was executed to his order; the first battalion engaged with great resolution, and a calmness that greatly astonished the Spaniards. After suffering the whole weight of the battle as long as was thought necessary, they retired with great deliberation, and were succeeded by another body; which having discharged the required duty, retreated in the same order, and made room for a third, in this manner keeping up an unintermitting engagement, for the space of seven or eight hours, until the Spaniards grew quite faint for want of refreshment, and retired precipitately. Valdivia ordered them to possess a pass at some taken and distance from the field, to stop the pursuit. The fruits of put to this order were blasted by the treachery of his page, a Chile- death. sian, who took this opportunity of deserting to his country- men, acquainted them with the Spanish general's design, and

^a L. 4. V. 16. lib. vii. cap. xxiii. p. 287.

directed them to gain the pass before the arrival of the enemy. "Make use, said he, of the advantage which the gods have put into your hands to recover the liberties of your country, try, and to rescue it from destruction, by shedding the blood of those thieves and traitors." When he had spoke these animating words, he took up a spear, placed himself at the head of a body of *Chileans*, charged the *Spaniards* with great fury, while another detachment seized upon the pass, agreeable to his directions. *Valdivia* and his troops were now enclosed on every side, and too much exhausted to make any considerable resistance. The *Indians* put all to death without pity or remorse, except *Valdivia* and a priest, whom they took prisoners, and bound to a tree, until they had slaughtered all the rest of the *Spaniards*. When they had fully satiated their revenge, and destroyed both men and horses, they carried *Valdivia* bound before their general *Capaulican*, who cruelly ordered him to be put to death. Writers differ in the relation of this event. According to *Garcilasso*, some alledge, that his treacherous page *Lauteru*, having first reviled and reproached him, then slew him with his own hand; others say he was bound to a tree, and his brains dashed out with a club, by order of the *Chilean* general; while others affirm, that the *Indians* poured melted gold down his throat, bidding him satiate himself with that metal, after which he thirsted so violently. *Garcilasso* speaks of the death of this brave and unfortunate commander in a manner still different, and more tragical. He relates, that *Francisco de Rios*, who was at that time an officer in *Chil*, affirmed on his return to *Peru*, that the *Indians* passed the night succeeding the victory, in mirth and festivity, dancing round a great fire, upon which they roasted pieces of *Valdivia's* flesh before his own eyes, and eat it luxuriously, until he at length expired with loss of blood, and the extremity of torture. All the *Spanish* writers agree, that they made flutes and other instruments of his bones, and preserved his skull as a monument of their victory, which they celebrated by an annual festival. As to *Lauteru*, his services were judged to be of such importance, that he was raised to the high station of lieutenant-general to *Capaulican*, in which capacity he displayed the vigour of his genius, and boldness of his courage, in divers engagements.

Farther
successes of
the Chile-
ans.

THE defeat and death of *Valdivia* spread consternation among all the *Spaniards* in *Chili*, who now apprehended that the revolt of the *Araucans* would become general. His lieutenant *Vellagea*, who was then at *Conception*, no sooner heard the news, than he assembled the troops dispersed in different provinces.

provinces, and being reinforced with several thousand of his *Indian* allies, set out for the valley of *Aracca*, to revenge the death of his general. *Capaulican* did not chuse to encounter so powerful an army in the open field; but he artfully retired by such gentle steps as convinced the *Spaniards* that he was too weak to support their weight, and drew them on gradually into rough, unequal ground, and a country covered with wood, and filled with defiles, where the horse was miserably entangled, and rendered entirely useless. Having occupied all the passes in such a manner as to prevent the *Spaniards* from extricating themselves, he boldly faced about, attacked *Vellagea* in front, flank, and rear, and ordered his people to come immediately to close battle, with a view of destroying the effects of the fire-arms. The event was similar to that of the preceding engagements. The *Spaniards* were routed with the loss of near three thousand men, including the auxiliary *Indians*, and the victors sent all their strength against the *Spanish* colonies. *Lauteru*, marched at the head of a great army to *La Conception*, which he destroyed upon finding it abandoned by the *Spaniards*. He then laid siege to the city *Imperial*; and after continuing for some weeks before the walls, was forced by the heavy rains to relinquish the enterprise; a fortunate accident, which the pious *Spaniards* ascribed to the interposition of the virgin *Mary*, who, they affirmed, made her appearance to the whole garrison; an assertion which we have the same reason to believe, as that the tutelary *Saint Jago* fought their battles against the *Indians* on horseback.

UNDISMAYED by the unfortunate issue of this undertaking, and the miracles wrought before his eyes in favour of the *Spaniards*, if one may credit their writers, the *Indian* general *Lauteru* resolved to frustrate the design of the enemy to rebuild *La Conception*. With this view he marched directly to that city, drove the *Spaniards* from their works, and again reduced the whole to ashes. After which he laid siege to *St. Jago*, with intention to demolish all the *Spanish* settlements in *Chili*, as these were the greatest obstacle to the recovery of public liberty. Here he was killed by an arrow, after he brought the garrison to extremities; upon which the *Chileans*, disheartened by the loss of their general, raised the siege and withdrew. Several other hostilities were committed on both sides; and the natives were in general so fortunate in their attempts, that the governor of *Peru*, fearing the loss of the whole conquest, unless the most vigorous measures were taken, determined upon sending his son *Don Garcia* to *Chile*. *Don Garcia* sent to *Chile* *Don Garcia*, with a powerful army, to suppress the rebellion.

From this circumstance we may judge of the tediousness of the war, and the difficulty of the conquest, it being now the space of ten years since *Valdivia's* first arrival in *Chili*. *Mendoza* pursued his instructions to reduce the *Araceans* with the utmost vigilance; he encountered the *Indians* upon divers occasions with various success, and was at last so fortunate as to make *Capaulican* prisoner, whom he put to death, in order to strike terror into his adherents. However, all the abilities of *Mendoza* were insufficient to bring the war to an issue. The *Chilefians*, though repeatedly defeated, were never dispirited; on the contrary, misfortune drove them to despair, and they determined to gratify their revenge at the expence of the last drop of their blood. They raised fresh forces, mounted cavalry, which they had taken from the *Spaniards*, fought with disciplined valour, ruined almost all the *Spanish* settlements, and, at the end of fifty years, remained unconquered.

Particulars of the war. As it would greatly exceed the limits of a general history to relate every minute circumstance of this long and bloody war, we shall touch only upon a few material particulars related by the royal historian *De la Vega*, which will convey a sufficient idea of the misery which the *Spaniards* sustained, and the obstinacy with which the *Chilefians* persisted in the defence of freedom. When *Garcilasso* was in *Spain* in the year 1600, he received the following advices from a correspondent then residing in the country; That, on the 29th day of November 1597, a body of *Chilefians*, amounting to five thousand horse and foot, two hundred of whom were clothed in armour taken from the *Spaniards*, took the city *Imperial* by surprise, put all the *Spaniards* to the sword, and reduced the place to ashes. On this occasion, near four hundred *Spaniards*, men, women, and children, were sacrificed to the fury of the conquerors. The same writer acquaints us, that four years after he received a letter, informing him, that of the thirteen different towns and cities built by the *Spaniards* in *Chili*, six were destroyed by the *Indians*; namely, *Valdivia*, *Imperial*, *Angel*, *Santa Cruz*, *Castro* in *Chiloe*, and *La Concepcion*. "They overthrew, consumed, and laid desolate the houses and habitations of the *Spaniards*, dishonoured and profaned the temples, obscured the brightness of that faith and devotion which shone in those parts, and so elated the spirits of the *Indians* by their success, that they grew bold and confident, omitting no opportunity of robbing and destroying the churches and monasteries with fire and sword! They also learned, adds the same writer, many arts and stratagems of war. When they besieged the city,

"city of *Osarno*, they so hemmed in the *Spaniards* with their
 "works, that they could receive no sustenance, except a few
 "bad vegetables, which they were obliged to procure at the
 "expense of desperate sallies. In the last siege which the
 "Indians laid to *Osarno*, they surprised and killed the centi-
 "nels, entered the town, butchered the children, chained
 "down the women, and exercised every act of barbarity; but
 "while they were thus employed, the *Spaniards* recovered from
 "their consternation, snatched the critical moment, fell upon
 "the *Indians*, and obliged them to fly with great precipitation,
 "leaving their booty behind." These are the words of the
 jesuit *Da Castro*, quoted by *La Vega*, who likewise adds to
 the same purpose, that the last victory obtained by the *Indians*
 was at *Villa Rica*, with great effusion of *Spanish* blood. They
 set fire to the four-quarters of the town, and killed all the
 friars of *Saint Dominique*, *Saint Francis*, and the *Marcedas*,
 with all the other clergy, carrying the women into captivity,
 many of whom were ladies of distinction and high quality.
 "These were judgments, says *La Vega*, which God permits
 "in his secret providence for the chastisement of mankind;"
 and were it allowable to judge of the dispensations of the
 divine will, they might be called just punishments on the
Spaniards, for the wanton oppressions, and unheard-of cruel-
 ties exercised upon the innocent and brave natives, whose
 country they invaded, whose treasures they plundered, and
 whose persons they enslaved, under the barefaced disguise of
 propagating the most humane and benevolent of all religious
 institutions.

BEFORE we quit this subject to return to the affairs of *Admiral*
Peru, it may be proper we should mention the plan formed *Brewer's*
 by the *Hollanders* for profiting by the losses of the *Spaniards*, *expedition*
 and establishing colonies in *Chili*, concluding they would be to *Chili*
 well received by the natives, if they declared themselves the
 foes of their inveterate and implacable enemies. In the
 year 1642, the *Dutch West-India* company equipped a squa-
 dron under admiral *Brewer*, which sailed from the *Texel* in
 the month of *November*, suffered considerably in doubling
Cape Horn, and arrived in the month of *May* following on
 the coast of *Chili*. A party of fifty soldiers being landed,
 encountered a troop of *Spanish* horse, defeated them, and
 then took possession of the town of *Cavelmappa*. Afterwards
 the fleet steered for the island of *Chilo*, and the appearance of
 the *Dutch* diffused such a panic among the inhabitants of
Castro, that they removed their effects, and set fire to the
 city. From the relation given by some *Spanish* and *Indian*
 prisoners they made, all the particulars above related of the
 war

war were confirmed, with a thousand circumstances that aggravated the cruelty and insolence of the *Spaniards*. We may credit the *Dutch* accounts, the *Chilefians* even at this time, expressed the utmost detestation of the *Spaniards*, and were contriving the means of throwing off the galling bondage. One of the natives came on board with the head of a *Spaniard*, whom he had just killed, and declared that his countrymen only waited the return of the dry season to gain their friends at *Osarno* and *Baldivia*, and begin a general insurrection. The *Dutch* commander *Brewer* died before any progress was made in the scheme concerted by the *West-India* company; and to this unfortunate event is the miscarriage of the expedition ascribed. He had formed an alliance with the *Chilefians*, five hundred of whom he had on board the fleet, with whom his successor set sail for *Baldivia*, carrying with him the body of the deceased admiral, as he had desired to be interred in that city. At *Baldivia* the *Dutch* found only a few monuments of its former grandeur, the place where the city stood being over-grown with weeds and bushes; they were every disappointed in their hopes of meeting with treasure. Here they extended the treaty with the *Chilefians*, a great number of caziques agreeing to join them against the *Spaniards*, on the promise made by the *Dutch* of supplying them with arms and military stores; but they refused to enter upon a written contract, declaring that a parole engagement and verbal promise was as obligatory as seals and written parchment. They suffered the *Dutch* to build a fort; but when a proposal was made of trafficking, and exchanging gold for arms, the caziques expressed their jealousy, and immediately declared there were no gold mines in their country. In a word, the *Dutch* found reason to apprehend, that whatever enmity the *Chilefians* entertained against the *Spaniards*, they would join with them to expel the strangers; and therefore they very prudently withdrew, and returned disappointed to *Europe*.

WE left the marquis *Pizarro* deeply engaged in reducing the distant provinces, and in extending the dominion of the *Spaniards* over countries till now entirely unknown. By the number of detachments which he made, his army was so much weakened, that the *Peruvians* again ventured to have recourse to arms, and would certainly have recovered their liberties, but for the aid furnished the *Spaniards* by *Chilian* Indian vassals, who discovered all the passes and strong places, and supplied them with provisions and intelligence. In the province of *Los Charcas*, the natives made violent struggles to preserve their liberties. *Gonzalo Pizarro* had been detached

to reduce that province, and, after repeated battles, was surrounded, and so distressed by the *Indians*, that the marquis found it necessary to march in person to his relief, with all his force. *Garcilasso* alleges that he only sent a reinforcement, saying out that he would go in person if necessary; *Pizarro's* but that *Gonzalo* was relieved by a miracle wrought in his expedition favour by *St. Jago* before the arrival of the succours: certain to *Caneta*. it is, that the province was reduced after much bloodshed, and that *Gonzalo* was then detached to the province of *Caneta*, to enter upon still more perilous adventures. The difficulties which he combated in this expedition, surpass description. After sustaining the united efforts of famine, fatigue, disease, and other calamities, he arrived on the banks of the river of *Amazons*, where he built a kind of ship, which he committed to the charge of *Orellana*, with intention to supply his forces with provision; but *Orellana* deserted his interest, and, to crown *Gonzalo's* misfortunes, not only left him destitute of every means of subsistence, but entertained the treacherous scheme of procuring a grant of the country for himself; with which purpose he set sail for *Spain*. *Gonzalo* having eat up all his provision and horses, was then reduced to feed upon roots, herbs, and the flesh of insects and reptiles, the very sight of which would nauseate a less craving appetite. Many of his people perished for hunger, all were almost starved with cold, the apparel with which they began the expedition being worn to tatters. The utmost difficulties were combated in marching along the side of the great river of *Amazons*, upon account of the impassable mountains and forests that fell in their way, and forced the *Spaniards* to make prodigious circuits, crossing marshes, bays, and rivers, with incredible fatigue and perseverance. The cheerful and undaunted resolution with which the general supported every misfortune, inspired his men with emulation and courage; and though they could not avoid feeling distress, they forbore repining. The *Indian auxiliaries* served them rather with the affection of children, and the nearest kindred, than the fidelity of allies; they even deprived themselves of the sustenance of loathsome food, in order to supply the *Spanish* soldiers. The distance of four hundred leagues of a country, barren, rough, and inhospitable, separated them from *Quito*; yet it was resolved to return thither, the design of the expedition was frustrated by untoward unforeseen accidents. Accordingly they kept on the north-side of the river, began their march over the summits of high mountains, and cut their way by dint of labour through rocks and thick woods, which might have been tolerable,

lerable, had the body been sustained and strengthened with a sufficient quantity of wholesome nutriment. The sick were carried on the shoulders of the healthy, in which ~~an~~ irritable employment no one was more indefatigable than *Gonzalo*; until hunger at length pressed with such violence, that the *Spaniards* were ready to devour not only their dead, but even the infirm and diseased. All their cloathing consisted of leaves, just sufficient to cover those parts which modesty required should be concealed. Above four thousand *Indians* and two hundred *Spaniards* perished already, without encountering an enemy; and those who remained at length entered a more open and plentiful country, which they regarded as the land of promise, and beheld as a miracle wrought by the finger of Providence to save them from destruction. Here they found abundance of deer, and other wild beasts, of which they not only made food but raiment, cloathing themselves with the skins of those animals. On their arrival on the frontiers of *Quito*, they kissed the earth in a kind of extacy, returning thanks to the Almighty, who had preserved them amidst such perils, and extricated them from so many dangers and difficulties. Notice was given to the inhabitants of *Quito* of their approach and needy situation, upon which all the apparel that could be collected in the city was sent to them, but this was far from answering the necessity of the sufferers. *Quito* had been so depopulated and impoverished by the civil wars, that not above six suits of cloaths could be spared by all the inhabitants of this great metropolis of a wealthy province, nor more than twelve horses sent to the relief of the exhausted and emaciated adventurers. There was something melancholy in the excessive joy expressed by *Gonzalo*, and his companions, at meeting with their countrymen, and the public entry they made into *Quito*, clad like savages, in the skins of deer, and wild beasts, their feet bare, and covered with wounds and sores, their swords naked without scabbards, and eat up with rust, and their countenances fallen, emaciated, and the most expressive picture of hunger and keen distress.

Discontent
of the Al-
magrains.

Two years had now elapsed since *Gonzalo* entered upon this unfortunate expedition, during which extraordinary changes and revolutions happened in *Peru*. The marquis *Pizarro* was chiefly intent on suppressing the party of *Almagro*, as the only means of confirming his own authority, the prosecution of which design he committed several cruelties that served only to increase the number of his enemies. *La Vega* is his professed apologist on this occasion, relating, contrary to the testimony of all other historians,

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that he suffered young *Almagro* to enjoy his paternal fortune at *Lima*, and relieve, by his bounty, all his distressed friends, whose estates had been confiscated, as if they were guilty of treason against his catholic majesty. Forgetting, a few lines after, that he admits this charge against the marquis, he affirms, that *Pizarro* used his utmost endeavours to gain the affections of the *Almagrians*, by considerable largesses and sums of money, procuring for them lucrative offices and honourable employments, which they obstinately refused, persevering in their malice and animosity, keeping up the breach, filling the mind of young *Almagro* with the most rancorous enmity, and rejecting all assistance and kindness from the marquis, notwithstanding the urgent and extreme necessity to which they were reduced. To this conduct he ascribes the marquis's future severity; his friends advising him to compel those persons into duty and obedience, who were too obstinate to be won by presents and caresses. In consequence, *Almagro's* estate, by which his adherents were supported, was now confiscated. This inflamed his resentment, and he immediately wrote to all his friends dispersed over *Peru*, to repair to *Lima*, and assist him in revenging the injuries he sustained. The truth is, *Almagro's* estate was confiscated, as we have related, immediately upon his father's execution, and he was now detained a kind of prisoner in *Lima*, and supported wholly at the expence of the marquis, while all those who bore any affection to his family were not only deprived of their estates, but excluded from all public employment, whereby they were reduced to extreme misery and wretchedness. A stigma was affixed on all who had served under *Almagro*; they were distinguished by the appellation of the *Chilimen*, and an edict was published, prohibiting any man to relieve them, under the severest penalties. Not satisfied with rendering their condition deplorable in *Peru*, effectual means were taken to prevent their return to their native country, lest their complaints might reach the ears of his Catholic majesty, and obtain compassion and redress. Necessity drove them into cabals and conspiracies; and being rendered quite desperate, they determined to revenge the murder of *Almagro*, the cruel usage of his son, and their own injuries, by spilling the blood of *Pizarro*. The marquis, sensible he had justly provoked them, now kept close in the city, never stirred abroad without a strong guard; and looked with so strict an eye over his enemies, that they found it

*They form
a conspi-
racy.*

no
of GARCILASSO, lib. iii. cap. v. GOMARA, CARATE,
ERRERA. *Assim.*

difficult

difficult to assemble in such numbers as to give any prospect of success to their designs. The greatest circumstance was necessary; they entered the city in the most formal manner in small parties of two and three together, and were concealed in the houses of some persons who approved of the meditated revolution. Such was the necessity to which the proscribed faction was reduced, that *Almagro* and seven of his friends possessed but one cloak, with which they made their appearance by turns, the rest staying half-naked at home, while one of their number was employed abroad in viewing the state of affairs, and forwarding their designs. This circumstance even *Garcilasso* acknowledges.

WHEN the *Almagrians* in *Lima* amounted to near three hundred men, they began then to imagine their strength sufficient to carry their projects into execution. Among them were several experienced officers and veteran soldiers, who had frequently manifested their courage on occasions of the most signal danger. To these young *Almagro* resigned his own judgment, suffering them to conduct the conspiracy in the manner they believed most adviseable. The first scheme was to fall upon the marquis, as he went upon *Midsummer* day to hear mass in the cathedral church of *Lima*; but this design being either discovered or suspected, *Pizarro*, under pretence of some indisposition, confined himself, and assembled his friends to consult on proper measures for recoiling the meditated blow on the heads of the conspirators. The disappointed conspirators now laid aside their hostile intentions, determining to wait the arrival of *Vaca de Castro*, who was sent over by the catholic king, to adjust all differences among the *Spaniards*, and examine the truth of *Alvarado's* allegations, at that time soliciting the court that justice should be done to young *Almagro*, and the murderers of his father called to a severe account. This new resolution was again soon dropped, upon advice that the marquis having received intelligence of their intentions, was now preparing measures of rigorous revenge. Fearing they might all be sacrificed to his fury, they now resumed their desperate designs, and rested all their future fortune upon the success of one bold attempt against his life. To the number of thirteen, they assembled at mid-day at the lodging of young *Almagro*, and proceeded with their swords drawn, through the market-place, directed to the marquis's palace, crying aloud, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant perish." They marched with no opposition until they entered the palace, notwithstanding their menacing cries had drawn together a crowd of people in the great square. A page gave the marquis the first notice.

the danger; upon which he ordered the hall-doors to be shut, and resolved to make a vigorous resistance; but his servants terrified at the danger, deserted him, and made their escape over the windows, leaving him with his brother-in-law *Martin*, and two pages, who bravely resolved to share his fortune. *François de The marquis Chaves* had gone upon the stair-case, imagining it was some *quis assassinated* among the servants, was met, and killed by the conspirators, who then forced themselves to the door of the marquis's apartment. Here he had posted himself with his three faithful friends, determined to sell his life at a high price; though the time would not admit of his casing himself in armour. He fought with the most desperate fury, slew four of the conspirators, wounded several; but at last being left alone, his brother and pages having fallen by the hand of the enemy, he was surrounded and killed, by a wound in the throat, after he had given proof of the most heroic courage, of vigour and strength almost incredible at his advanced age. Thus fell *Don Francisco Pizarro*, in the capital city of that vast conquest, which he had made by courage, prudence, and unparalleled perseverance, by the hands of those brave soldiers, the instruments of his victories, and now the chastisers of his insolence, injustice, and cruelty. The *Spanish* writers drew a parallel between his character, fortune, and tragical end, and those of his colleague and rival *Almagro*; and it must be confessed there was a striking resemblance, as the reader will perceive from what we have related of both. After so minutely specifying facts, it is almost unnecessary to draw a formal picture of this conqueror, who was liberal, undaunted, generous, until prosperity intoxicated his mind, and rendered him jealous, ambitious, and rapacious. We may date his misfortunes with the death of his colleague, from which time his character never shone with lustre; and, indeed, it suffered an eclipse, by the perfidious murder of the inca *Atabualapa*, although that action was rather permitted than promoted by *Pizarro* (A).

(A) The marquis *Pizarro* had completed his sixty-third year, and in despite of the fatigues he had undergone in prosecution of this arduous conquest, was healthy and robust. No man ever pursued a project with more intense application, or better understood how to improve the advantages he gained, to his own and the publick benefit; if

we except errors owing to pride, avarice, and ambition. He was diligent in building towns, planting colonies, and introducing the fruits, the industry, and the manufactures of *Europe*, into *Peru*, as the only means of reconciling the natives to the *Spanish* government, by demonstrating its utility. To him the *Spaniards* owe their chief settlements

Almagro
proclaimed
governor
of Peru.

As soon as the conspirators had effected their purpose in the palace, they sallied forth into the market-place, declaring the tyrant was dead, and were saluted and congratulated by their friends and associates, who had taken care that no assistance should be carried to the marquis before their return. They also secured all the arms and horses in the city, commanding the inhabitants not to stir abroad without leave. They plundered the marquis's palace, and the houses of his brother-in-law *Martin de Alcantara*, and secretary *Pizado*, in which they found immense treasures in gold and silver. As to the furniture of the palace, they left it untouched for the use of young *Almagro*, whom they now proclaimed governor of all Peru. *Lima*, *Cuzco*, and most of the principal cities and colonies, acknowledged his authority; some, however, resolved not to declare themselves before the arrival of *Vaca de Castro*. The joy of success rendered every thing tumultuous at first in *Lima*; but the spirits of the people soon subsided into more regular measures. *Almagro* was sworn by the corporation of this city to govern Peru agreeable to the laws, and conform himself to the king's pleasure. The late ministers were all removed, others more attached to the new governor being appointed to their employments, as the reward of their services. The rich and powerful of *Pizarro's* faction, were imprisoned, and their estates and goods confiscated, to make good the losses sustained by the *Almagrians* during the late proscription. *Juan de Rada*, who was chiefly instrumental in the death of the marquis, was raised to the high dignity of a general of the forces, on account of the spirit and activity he had exerted as a conspirator. Others were promoted to other offices and employments, according to the degree of their zeal for the new governor, and animosity to the opposite party, without regard to any other qualifications; whence it followed that these preferments could not possibly afford universal satisfaction. The insolence of *Rada*, intoxicated with his sudden prosperity, contributed to augment the publick discontents. This officer issued out all commissions in the name of *Almagro*, without consulting his friends, or seeming to regard them as of any consequence. Here were laid the seeds of fresh civil divisions and cabals, against the life of the imperious and arbitrary minion. *Francisco de Chaves*, kinsman to the gentle-

lements in South America, *Pizarro* having either laid the foundation of their most flourishing cities, or at least rebuilt them in the European manner, and established a regular police, and settled administration.

man of that name, slain in the marquis's service, was at the bottom of the conspiracy, for which he suffered death upon the rack.

GARCIA de Alvarado, another officer high in *Almagro's* esteem, was no less cruel and insolent than *Rada*. *Alvarado* was employed by the governor to take possession of towns and plantations in his name, to seize treasures, levy soldiers, and disarm the *Pizarrists*, and all who expressed a dislike to the new government; which commission he executed with great severity. He went to *Truxillo*, and immediately dispossessed *Diego de Tlora* of the office of judge of that place, notwithstanding he had been appointed by old *Almagro*, and reinstated by his son, on his first accession to the administration. At the city of *St. Miguel* he put several gentlemen to death upon frivolous pretences, only because he knew them ~~averse to the present measures~~. Other officers employed in different provinces proceeded with equal rigour; but at *Cuzco* the commissioners were forced to some degree of moderation, knowing that the principal persons in that city were determined to acknowledge *Vaca de Castro*, if they were not gained over by lenity; and they were not only too numerous of themselves, but had too great sway with the *Indians*, to suffer themselves to be used harshly. *Gonz de Tortoya*, a leading man in that capital, and the particular friend of the marquis *Pizarro*, had even declared his resolution of revenging his death; notwithstanding which, the majority of *Spaniards* and *Indians* submitted to the authority of young *Almagro*, merely because his interest happened to prevail. *Tortoya* dispatched messengers secretly to all his friends in the adjacent provinces who were attached to the *Pizarro* interest, acquainting them with the late tragical event, and requiring them to assemble the *Spaniards* in their neighbourhood in arms, to oppose the usurpation of the assassins, and revenge the death of their governor, and the king's representative. *Nuno de Castro*, *Garcinasso de la Vega*, and others, accordingly repaired to *Cuzco*, while *Tortoya* went in search of *Alvarez Holguin*, who, with a hundred men, had just set out upon an expedition to *Callao* before the late revolution. His application to this officer was successful. At his desire *Holguin* declared himself the enemy of the new administration, and took upon him, at the request of *Tortoya*, the dignity of captain-general of the league now forming against *Almagro*. He erected his standard, sent manifestos to *Charcas* and *Arequibas*, augmented his forces to two hundred men, directed his march to *Cuzco*, and so terrified the *Almagrian* party with the news of his approach, that they quitted the city with

the utmost precipitation; but were pursued and brought back prisoners by *Nuno de Castro*, assisted by twenty harque-busiers. On *Holguin's* arrival at *Cuzco*, the party augmented astonishingly; the gentry flocked in from their plantations, and some of them aspired at the chief command; but were soon over-ruled by the sentiments of the majority, which declared in favour of *Holguin*, now confirmed in the post of captain-general by the suffrages of the party.

WAR was now openly declared against the *Almagrians*, the citizens of *Cuzco* obliging themselves to repay to the king whatever sums of money *Holguin* might expend from the royal treasury, in prosecution of the hostile measures intended. The news that *Alonso de Alvarado* had erected his standard in the same camp in the *Chachapuyas*, arrived about this time, and augmented the confidence of the *Pizarrists* to such a degree, that they were very little disturbed with advice of *Almagro's* advancing at the head of eight hundred men to give them battle, though it was resolved in a council of war to march by the way of the mountains to join *Alvarado*. With this design they left *Cuzco*, using every possible precaution to avoid being surprised by parties of the enemy. In the mean time *Almagro* receiving minute intelligence of all that was transacting in *Cuzco*, determined by the advice of his officers to intercept *Holguin*, first securing his interest in *Lima*, and carrying off the children and friends of the late marquis, to prevent insurrections in his absence. One piece of barbarity exerted upon this occasion proved advantageous to the cause of his enemies. *Almagro*, out of personal pique, and in hopes of recovering the secreted treasures of *Pizarro*, ordered the secretary *Picado* to be tortured, and then put to death, because he resisted all the cruel measures to extort a confession.

SUCH was the situation of the Spaniards in Peru when *Vaca de Castro* arrived at *Quito*, with a commission from the king to succeed to the government of the kingdom, in case of the decease of *Pizarro*; otherwise his commission extended no farther than examining into the differences between the marquis and *Almagro*, and the circumstances of the death of the latter. From *Quito* he issued commissions to the different Spanish cities and settlements, constituting such magistrates as he thought proper, and in every respect exercising the prerogatives of governor; in which quality he was immediately received by a variety of provinces. He also received letters from *Holguin* and *Alonso de Alvarado*, who had now joined forces, assuring him of their obedience to the king's pleasure, and requesting him to repair to take charge

of the army at *Truxillo*. Among other exertions of power, he abhorished *Barionovo* and *Almagro* to take upon them the government of *Lima*; to whom the *Indians* immediately submitted, *Almagro* being at this time absent on his way to *Cuzco*. *De Castro* then set out for *Truxillo*, and was joined on the road by crowds of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who determined upon implicit obedience to the royal mandate; and although they were no friends to the tyranny of *Pizarro*, detested the violent measures of the *Almagrians*. His army was now very considerable, all the officers bound themselves by a sealed instrument to obey his authority, and, as the first proof of their sincerity, resigned their commissions into his hands, either to be renewed or revoked at the governor's pleasure. From hence he marched to *Lima*, where he was received with the honours due to the viceroy of *Peru*, and joined by all the inhabitants able to carry arms.

EVERY thing succeeded in this manner to the wish of *Vaca de Castro*; while *Almagro*, disappointed in his designs on *Holguin*, directed his march to *Cuzco*, took possession of that capital, and new-modelled the magistracy, replacing all those who had absented themselves on the declaration of the opposite party. His next care was to provide a train of artillery, in which he found no difficulty, copper being plentiful at *Cuzco*, and his troops furnished with persons skilled in casting cannon. He was busied in the most vigorous preparations, when the death of his general *Rada*, and certain appointments that took place in consequence, gave breath to the expiring embers of faction, and again lighted up the flames of dissention, to the great prejudice of his affairs. *Christopher de Sotelo*, and *Garcia de Alvarado*, became now his chief counsellors, and had the whole direction of the army jointly, which each aspired to separately. Rivals in ambition and the favour of *Almagro*, their resentment was soon inflamed to the most rancorous animosity, which terminated in the death of *Sotelo*, slain in the market-place. The friends of the deceased resolved to revenge the injury, and every thing conspired to produce a civil war, when *Almagro* interposed his influence and authority, and effected a temporary reconciliation, dissembling his sentiments of the conduct of *Alvarado* to a more reasonable opportunity. However it was not possible to remain long in this moderate and politic disposition; the violence of *Alvarado's* temper obliged him to come to extremities. That officer apprehending *Almagro's* vengeance, thought he could not render himself secure without shedding the blood of his general and benefactor; for which purpose he contrived to invite him to an

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entertainment, where he proposed executing his horrible project; but *Almagro*, who had some advice of the conspiracy, excused himself by pretending indisposition, and thus secured himself, and concealed the discovery, in order to draw *Alvarado* into his own snare. He confined himself in his bed, concealed some friends in the adjacent apartments, and feigned real illness with so much address, that *Alvarado* made him a visit, was seized, and immediately put to death.

HAVING by this spirited and seasonable punishment quieted the tumult, he drew out his forces, amounting to seven hundred *Spaniards* and several thousand *Indians*, and began his march, with intention either to give battle to the governor, or procure advantageous terms by treaty for himself and his friends. As his troops were almost all veterans, who had served under his father, and his train of artillery greatly superior to that of the enemy, he made himself perfectly confident of victory, should it prove necessary to come to a hostile decision; but his intention was not to refuse the opportunity of compromising matters amicably. When he advanced within a few leagues of *De Castro's* army, he dispatched messengers with pacific proposals. They were ordered to represent to the governor, that *Almagro's* father had performed eminent services for the court of *Spain*; that he had always proved himself loyal and faithful to his sovereign, that he had been barbarously murdered by the marquis *Pizarro*; that the revenge taken was just, and that his son now only demanded to be restored to the government of *Cuzco* and *New Toledo*, agreeable to the grant of the crown to his father. They also represented, that young *Almagro* resolved to obey his majesty's command implicitly; though he hoped the governor would not show his partiality for the *Pizarros*, by approving of their notorious tyranny and oppression. Letters to a similar purpose were sent by the superior officers of the army, who complained that their services were rejected, as if they opposed the royal mandate, notwithstanding the king had not more faithful subjects in *Peru*. *La Vega* omits this circumstance, authenticated by the testimony of all other *Spanish* writers, and evidently shews himself prejudiced in favour of *De Castro*. Nor does he take any notice of the governor's endeavours to seduce *Almagro's* officers to betray him at the very time they were negotiating a treaty; on the contrary, he affirms, that *De Castro* sent the first messengers to *Almagro*, with the most equitable overtures, and a promise of general pardon for himself and his associates, if he would now lay down his arms; which the other refused, until he should be confirmed in

in the government of *Cuzco*, and all the jurisdiction included in the grant to his father^a. *Herrera* asserts, that *Caspe* sent a *Spaniard*, disguised like an *Indian*, to examine the situation of *Almagro's* camp, with intention to surprise him while his mind was occupied with the result of the negotiation, and that the spy was discovered and hanged. The same writer also asserts, that he found means to corrupt *Pedro de Candia*, who had charge of *Almagro's* artillery. Suspecting the governor's insincerity, *Almagro* resolved to come to action, and accordingly drew up his forces in the vale of *Chapas*, rousing their valour by an animating speech, in which he reminds them of the virtues of his father, the cruel murder of that brave officer, and all the injuries they had sustained from the tyranny, insolence, and oppression of the *Pizarros*. Both armies were composed of veterans; that of *De Castro* was superior in number, but *Almagro's* better supplied with musquetry and artillery. *De Castro* harrangued his army likewise, and thereby quieted some unseasonable discontents expressed by the soldiers; which circumstance we have from *La Vega*, though he forgets to acquaint the reader with the occasion of those murmurs. *Almagro's* camp was well fortified, the cannon being every way pointed in such a manner as to render him inaccessible, had he been served with fidelity. It was likewise situated upon a hill, which determined him to wait the attack of the enemy, who appeared eager to engage: as they advanced up the ascent, he ordered his artillery to pour grape-shot upon their ranks; but astonished to observe that several discharges produced no effect, he suspected the treachery of *Candia*, taxed him with infidelity, and receiving no satisfactory answer, slew him with his own hand. He then pointed a piece of cannon so judiciously, *He is de-* that he cut off a whole troop of *De Castro's* soldiers at a *feated and* single discharge; but they were now approached too close *put to* to suffer him to play his artillery. Both sides had recourse *death.* to the musquetry, cross-bows, lances, and swords: they fought with great bitterness for several hours: when at length *Almagro*, finding himself deserted by some of his troops, and overpowered by numbers, retired with the *inca Manco Capac*, and some general officers, out of the field, intending to seek a retreat in the mountains, until a more favourable opportunity offered for trying his fortune in the field, and recovering his government (A). Unhappily he thought of stopping

^a LA VEGA, lib. iii. cap. xv. HERRERA, dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. ii. CARATE, cap. xvii. GOMAR, cap. cl.

(A) The *Spanish* writers, and the occurrences of this civil war, with so much partiality to

at *Cuzco* to secure his treasures, where he no sooner arrived than those treacherous friends, whom he had replaced in the magistracy, hearing of his defeat, resolved to purchase the governor's favour by the most atrocious perfidy. They seized their benefactor, sent him to *De Castro*, and met with the contempt which their villainy merited. In this action more than half the troops on both sides were killed or wounded; the victors shedding the blood of those who had thrown down their arms, and implored mercy. Both sides fought with the utmost obstinacy and intrepidity; and *Almagro*, who was then but twenty years of age, distinguished himself in such a manner as gained the admiration of his adversary, altho' he entirely forgot his extraordinary merit as soon as he had it in his power to satiate his revenge. Upon advice that he was seized, he posted to *Cuzco*, and without scarce any formality of trial, ordered young *Almagro* to be executed agreeable to the sentence he had pronounced before the battle. These were the direful effects of the civil divisions of the *Spaniards*; neither youth, age, infirmity, nor valour, could excite compassion in the breasts of the unfeeling victors. All gratified the dictates of bloody relentment, as often as fortune furnished the opportunity, thereby exposing themselves to a similar fate, and cherishing the seeds of faction, which a prudent administration would try every expedient to suppress. The party of *Almagro* was entirely extirpated, those who escaped in the field, being hanged up or tortured to death by order of the governor.

DE CASTRO having fully established himself in the government by acts of cruelty which disgrace his memory, however necessary they might appear to the tranquillity of *Peru*, applied his attention with the most intense diligence to the civil administration of his government. He began with public institutions, which equally regarded the welfare of *Spaniards* and natives. All perceived the utility of his reformations, and the *Indians* paid the same respect to his edicts, as if they had proceeded from the lips of their adored incas. Divisions of land were made, and colonies of *Indians* and *Spaniards* transplanted from barren spots to countries more fruitful, but unpeopled. That his laws might be agreeable to the genius of the nation, *Castro* informed him-

self or other of the parties, that it is next to impossible to ascertain truth. We have therefore selected such circumstances from each, as appeared to us the most

probable, and the best attested; particularly with respect to the dispute between the *Pizarrists* and *Almagrians*.

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self from the caracas and caziques, concerning the institutions of the incas, their method of administering justice, and other particulars; to which he conformed himself as nearly as the design he formed of establishing a more regular polity, and the doctrines of Christianity, would admit. He erected schools in several towns, ordering the children of the principal *Indians* to be educated in the principles of the Christian religion, and of rational morality. He restrained the *Spaniards* by laws, from using the natives with their accustomed barbarity; he restored their lands to many of the caziques, and gave them a kind of civil limited jurisdiction. He imposed restraints on the licentiousness of the soldiers, and disposed their minds, by proper encouragement, to marriage, industry, and labour. Those who appeared dissatisfied with their lot, turbulent in their humour, or unfit to promote the ends of civil government, he sent into distant unconquered provinces, in imitation of the policy of the marquis *Pizarro*. He inquired into the conduct of the king's officers, who amassed vast fortunes by rapine and oppression, whence he raised himself a great number of enemies among the *Spaniards*, while he engaged the affections and confidence of the *Indians*. In a word, he formed tombos, or places of refreshment, on all the roads for the benefit of travellers, and the convenience of commerce, and pursued every other measure which could render *Peru* great and flourishing in itself, and advantageous to the mother country (B.)

C c 4

ABOUT

(B) While *Castro*, in quality of governor, was passing such edicts, and establishing such ordinances, as he thought essential to the welfare of the people under his care, the friar *Bartolomeu de la Casas* was laying before the court of *Spain*, a scheme of civil and ecclesiastical polity for the *Indian* colonies, which had been first proposed as early as the year 1530, by the cardinal of *Seville*, then president of the supreme council of the *Indies*. The emperor now proposed this scheme to his council; and it was embraced, notwithstanding the cardinal, and several other members, protested against it, as no way congenial to the temper and

disposition of the *Indians*. This scheme contained forty laws, the principal of which we shall relate, as they occasioned universal discontent in *Peru* and *Mexico*. It was ordained, that all estates should be held of the king, and revert to him after the decease of the possessors, without respect to the right of inheritance. That no *Indian* should pay taxes who gave an equivalent in personal labour, nor obliged to work in the mines or fish for pearls. That none of the king's officers should be allowed to keep *Indian* slaves. That all persons concerned in the late disputes between *Almagro* and *Pizarro*, should lose all jurisdiction

ABOUT the time when *De Castro* arrived in *Papa, Gonzalo Pizarro* returned from the dangerous expedition we have related, to *Quito*. He thought himself injured by *Castro's* taking upon him a government which he claimed for himself, as the brother, and legitimate successor of the marquis. The misfortunes he underwent in the conquest of *Concha*, instead of extinguishing the sparks of ambition in his mind, rather inflamed him, to seize the opportunity of repairing all his losses, at the hazard of overturning the government,

jurisdiction over the *Indians*, by which the *Spaniards* in general, except a few new comers, were divested of power and property, all having taken part on one side or the other. That a grant should be made in favour of the immediate conquerors, whereby they might enjoy their possessions for the space of two lives, then to revert to the king in the same manner as other estates, after making competent provision for the children and widow. That all persons arrived at a certain age, whether *Spaniards* or *Indians*, should marry. That, to encourage matrimony, the wife should have power to enter into possession of the estate, at the decease of her husband, in case no children survived, and to enjoy it with another husband during her natural life (1).

La Vega makes several judicious remarks upon these ordinances, which he very justly observes could not answer the ends proposed. With respect to that law which exempted the *Indians* from taxes, he says it was founded upon the presumption of their inability, owing to their not being paid for their labour by the *Spaniards*. If this was really the case, he thinks the grievance might be more effectually re-

dressed, by ordaining that severe punishments should be inflicted on all *Spaniards* who refused payment to the *Indians*, after they had performed their engagements, and finished their labour. The law ordering that the *Indians* should not be compelled to labour in the mines, or fish for pearls, was really calculated, he alleges, to indulge their natural indolence, and deprive the crown of the immense revenues arising from the mines of *Potosi*, *Huanca*, and other places. It is, indeed, manifest, that all the other laws which we have quoted, had evidently the interest of the crown, rather than of the subject, in view; and as to this, its apparent tendency was to secure the natural liberty of the *Indians*, and restrain the tyranny of the *Spaniards*, although the effect was no other than cherishing a habit of indolence and laziness, more powerful among this people than any other. Upon the whole, we cannot think so hardly of this scheme, as our author would seem to insinuate; as it evidently had a humane tendency, notwithstanding it was attended with inconveniences, from which no human institutions are exempted.

(1) *La Vega*, lib. iii. cap. xx.

and throwing into confusion a kingdom, in which order was at length established, after a long series of bloody wars, rebellions, and conspiracies. The discontents of the officers and magistrates, over whom the governor kept a strict eye, furnished *Gonzalo* with the means of carrying on his designs. He improved their murmurs to his own views, and had *Gonzalo* usually formed a very considerable party, when the sagacity and vigilance of *De Castro* penetrating into his remotest secrets, frustrated all the effects of his machinations, without bloodshed, or any violent exertion of authority. He no sooner perceived what was in agitation, and had undeniable evidence of the plot which was formed to assassinate him, and seize upon the government, than he sent privately for *Gonzalo*, and without betraying any symptoms of indignation, or even of the discovery he had made, ordered him to repair immediately to his estate in the province of *Las Charcas*, and to remain there until his farther pleasure was known: a punishment so mild, that we may infer, the governor's persecution of the *Almagrians* arose from private pique, from necessity, and from a wrong system of policy, which he had then adopted, and not from the cruelty of his own disposition. *Pizarro*, who was in no condition to dispute the governor's commands, obeyed, with seeming cheerfulness, in order to remove the suspicions *De Castro* probably entertained; and as he understood, that rich silver mines had lately been discovered in that quarter, he employed himself in working and improving them, until a more favourable occasion should offer for pursuing the dictates of his ambition.

WHEN *De Castro* had broke this impending storm, he again turned his mind towards the civil policy of the country in his charge, and laboured chiefly to ease the natives from the galling yoke of oppression imposed on them by the *Spaniards*; but his endeavours proved so ineffectual, that daily complaints were transmitted to the court of *Spain* of the severity with which the *Indians* were treated, of their being employed in the mines, of the death of thousands by the removal from their native air and climate, and of the misery and wretchedness of incredible numbers of women and children, whose husbands perished under the rigorous usage of the *Spaniards*, too great for human nature to support. This is confessed by *Spanish* writers in general, and therefore the truth of it cannot be questioned; especially as the laws, just quoted in the margin, had their origin in those complaints, and were calculated to redress the evils, which in time must necessarily tend to the ruin of the country, and, perhaps,

perhaps, the extirpation of the conquerors. To these we have specified, the following were added, in order to prevent all equivocation, and convince the *Spaniards*, that, by exempting the *Indians* from compulsive labour, his catholic majesty included every species of bodily labour, as well as digging in the mines. Accordingly it was enjoined, under severe penalties, that the *Indians* should not be compelled to carry burthens, or employed against their will in buildings, or removed from one province into another, even though they were born slaves. Particular privileges were bestowed on the *Indian* freemen. To prevent subjecting the *Indians* to unjust servitude, it was enacted, that all masters should be obliged to have their servants examined before a magistrate, in order to ascertain, whether they had been tied to the glebe, now become the property of the master. It was also ordained, that the *Indians* might be proprietors of gold and silver mines, as well as the *Spaniards*; and should have liberty to carry the produce to market, and dispose of it to the best advantage. Every *Spanish* proprietor of lands was obliged, under certain penalties, to see that the *Indians*, in his jurisdiction, were instructed in the christian religion: and it was farther enacted, that the visitors, appointed to redress the grievances of the natives, should perform their duty in person, repairing to the several towns appointed for their courts, without intrusting the business to deputies, except in cases of sickness, and extreme necessity.

Velas,
sent in
quality of
viceroy to
Peru.

1543.

DE CASTRO had certainly acquitted himself like an able and honest minister, ever since the suppression of the *Almagrian* faction; nevertheless, his conduct was misrepresented to the emperor, by those persons who suffered by his strict integrity: it was therefore resolved at the court of *Spain*, to appoint another governor, who should punctually enforce the new system of laws, to which he could have no reluctance, because they had no retrospect to his conduct, and could imply no restriction on his administration. Accordingly, the emperor Charles V. nominated *Blasco Nunez Vela*, survivor of the ports of *Castile*, to the dignity of president and viceroy of the kingdoms and provinces of *Peru*. He had gained the highest opinion of this gentleman's capacity, from the zeal and courage with which he had served him in divers inferior employments. In the month of *November* the viceroy embarked at *St. Lucar*, accompanied by don *Francisco Tello de Sandoval*, with a fleet of fifty-two sail. *Sandoval*, with a part of the fleet, steered directly to *Mexico*, while the viceroy held on his course to *Peru*, arriving at *Nombre de Dios* on the 10th of *January* following, whence he travelled to

Peru.

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Panama, where he released great numbers of *Indians*, and *Hispanics*, relieved them from the bondage imposed by the *Spaniards*, forcing the obliging their masters to send them back to *Peru* at their new laws, expence. Several remonstrances were made to him upon the injury which religion and the *Spaniards* must necessarily receive from this conduct. It was represented, that the lands would lie uncultivated, the mines unimproved, and that the *Indians* instructed in the principles of christianity, would relapse into their former errors, as soon as restraint was removed, and they returned to their caracas: but *Vela's* constant answer was, that the *Spaniards* had no right to encroach on their natural liberty; and the truth of christianity was not to be enforced by violence. After remaining twenty days in *Panama*, obliging those who had made great estates by the sale of *Peruvian* slaves to refund, and making several other alterations, he set out for his government, loaded with the execrations of the *Spaniards*, and the blessings of the *Indians*. He set an example of the conduct which he required to be observed, ordering that his baggage might be carried by mules; and if any *Indians* were employed, that they should be men who voluntarily offered their service for hire, which he saw punctually paid. *Carate*, who was then governor of *Panama*, exhorted him, at his departure, to use less impetuosity in establishing a system of laws so odious to the *Spaniards*; alledging, that reformations were to be wrought gradually and gently, in such a manner as to slide imperceptibly into practice: but *Vela*, disregarding this wholesome admonition, proceeded, on his arrival in *Peru*, to enforce them with the utmost rigour. Immediately the *Spaniards* took fire, and a spirit of mutiny appeared among all degrees of men. The report of the governor's proceeding diffused through every quarter with great rapidity. He had promulgated the laws, and required their punctual execution on his journey from *Tumbiz*, through *Pinna* and *Truxillo*; and was consequently received not only with coldness, but aversion, in all the cities. The manner in which he notified his arrival and commission, and superseded *De Castro*, like a grave offence. The viceroy was taxed with insolence, and those who before exclaimed against *De Castro*, united against *Vela*, and offered their services to the late governor, in vindication of his honour; endeavouring, by all possible means, to effect a rupture between those two great personages, and throw into confusion the government which they determined not to obey. All was kindled into a flame, the humours of the people were raised to the highest degree of fermentation, by the artful practices of those persons who were

were most interested in opposing the new mode of legislation, and the viceroy's imprudent zeal. *Vela* had imposed taxes on all the *Spaniards*, as he advanced in the country, proportioned to their property; and they refused to pay them, on pretence that they held them upon a different tenure from the governor *De Castro*, who enjoyed the same power with him, at the time he made the grants.

To apply a remedy to those evils, *De Castro* set out from *Cuzco*, attended by a numerous train of the citizens, and principal inhabitants, to meet the viceroy; and was presented, on his journey, with a letter from *Vela*, acquainting him, that from that instant his authority ceased; and all acts made by him, since the arrival of the new governor, were annulled. *Castro* obeyed, and resisted all the temptations thrown in his way by the enemies of *Vela*, to disturb his government, and become the head of a faction. Immediately he dismissed the greater part of his attendants, and requested, that such as remained might go unarmed, in order to avoid every appearance of designing hostilities, notwithstanding he was admonished to the contrary. His arrival at *Lima* was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy, which all the endeavours of *Castro* could not suppress: however, to prevent their giving offence, he dispatched his secretary to the viceroy, to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and assure him of his perfect obedience to the will of his sovereign. His message was well received, he was invited to meet the viceroy at *Kimac*; he accepted the invitation, was caressed for some time, and then imprisoned, on occasion of a tumult, which *Vela* ascribed to his intrigues. This augmented the publick discontents. The inhabitants of *Kimac*, who had before resented the viceroy's refusal to confirm them in all the rights and privileges they enjoyed, became now outrageous. It was here, and not at *Lima*, as some writers alledge, that a piece of writing was found under a dish, upon the viceroy's table, to the following purpose: "He who deprives me of my property, I will deprive of life." For did *Vela's* behaviour to the incendiary at all quiet the clamours of the people. He pardoned the criminal, and then justified his lenity to his fears, which rendered them more daring and insolent. On the viceroy's coming to *Lima*, the prisoner was removed thither, and committed to the common jail. Upon which the inhabitants went in a body to *Vela*, and petitioned, with great boldness, against such an insult upon a person of *Castro's* rank; desiring that he might be removed to the town-house, and they would bail his appearance at the risque of a hundred thousand pieces of eight: a request

De Castro
imprisoned.

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request with which the governor complied, from the apprehension of a general insurrection. Still, however, *Vela* persisted in his vigorous measures, and the people continued to plot and cabal. The judges and magistrates interfered. They advised *Vela* to a more moderate conduct; but he was inflexible, and treated their admonitions with so much contempt, that they began to enter into the sentiments of the malcontents. In a short time the resentment of both parties broke out in open violence, the judges setting at liberty one *Antonio Sohr*, whom the viceroy had imprisoned and condemned to death, after he had before granted him a pardon for the same crime.

THESE disturbances were not confined to *Lima*, where Gonzalo the viceroy resided; they extended themselves over all the Pizarro towns in *Peru*, inhabited by *Spaniards*. This was a fit opportunity for *Gonzalo Pizarro* to resume his ambitious projects; accordingly he practised secretly with the malcontents with so much address, that he soon was invited to protect his countrymen against the tyranny of the viceroy. To give sanction to his measures, and the appearance of moderation to his designs, he artfully exhorted the malcontents to reflect on the consequences of opposing regal authority; and pretending to be convinced by their arguments, accepted of the dignity of procurator and agent-general of *Peru*; a title that intimated his being a mediator between the viceroy and people. His intentions, however, were quite different. *Gonzalo's* great scheme was to procure the government into his own hands, without regard to the means. With this view he amassed all the treasure he could find in *Potosi*, assembled his friends, and set out for *Cuzco*, where he erected his standard, was joined by two or three hundred *Spanish* volunteers, and regarded as the head of the party forming against the viceroy. Under pretence of petitioning *Vela*, in behalf of the colonies, to suspend the execution of the new laws, he directed his march towards *Lima*, after constituting *Francisco de Carvajal* his major general, and being proclaimed by the magistrates of *Cuzco* chief justice, and supreme in civil affairs.

GONZALO was aware that he was now in a direct state of rebellion against his sovereign, by opposing his ordinances, and taking up arms against his representative. He resolved, therefore, to give some colour to his proceeding, by alleging, he took arms against the inca, who, he pretended, was assembling an army to besiege *Cuzco*. This pretext, however false, was specious at this juncture, as *Manco Capac*, the inveterate enemy of the *Pizarros*, sent to acquaint the

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The inca's death.

viceroi, that he was ready to take the field against *Gonzalo*, and to serve the court of *Spain* with the last drop of his blood. The inca was actually assembling forces, when an accident put an end to his life, and the wretched subjection in which he was held by the *Spaniards*. A quarrel arose between him and a refugee *Spaniard*, who had sought his protection in the mountains, as they were playing at bowls. In the heat of passion, the *Spaniard* forgot his obligations to the inca, and the respect due to his character. He seized the bowl, and flung it with such violence, as fractured the skull of this unfortunate prince, and laid him dead on the spot^b; by which accident, all the viceroy's sanguine expectations, from so powerful an ally, were disappointed, and *Gonzalo's* hopes elated. To this unlucky circumstance was superadded, the unseasonable progress of the mutual animosity subsisting between *Vela* and the judges; who, in a manner, openly espoused the interest of *Pizarro*; or at least obstructed, by every method in their power, all his measures, whether offensive or defensive.

Preparations for war.

SUCH was the state of the viceroy's affairs, while *Gonzalo*, with an army of five hundred well armed *Spaniards*, twenty thousand *Indians*, and a train of artillery, set out for *Lima*; having first stopped all intercourse between *Cuzco* and the principal cities, seized upon the king's treasures, a train of artillery sent from *Luananca*, and also the estates and effects of persons deceased, appropriated by the magistrates to the crown. The inca's death was the occasion of those open declarations; for he could now pretend danger from the *Indians* no longer, and was compelled, in some degree, to avow the motives of his conduct. It was some time before the viceroy had intelligence of these proceedings. When advices arrived that *Gonzalo* was at the head of a formidable army, he was thrown into great perplexity, on account of the bad terms upon which he stood with the inhabitants of *Lima*. However, he resolved not to be wanting in his duty, and accordingly set on foot the most vigorous preparations for suppressing this bold and unexpected rebellion. He beat up recruits, seized upon a large sum of money belonging to *De Leiva*, and shipped it for *Spain*, nominated officers in whom he believed he could repose confidence, and assembled an army, composed of six hundred *Spaniards*, and several thousand *Indians*. Orders were given to make fire-arms of iron and bell-metal; to which purpose he appropriated all the bells in the churches. To try the affections of the people, he directed that several false alarms should be raised; and to prevent any danger

^b LA VEGA, lib. iv. cap. vii.

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from *Castro*, whose fidelity he suspected, notwithstanding he had lately consented to his being set at liberty, he seized and confined him on board a ship that lay in the harbour.

MEAN time *Pizarro* was not idle; while he was marching in a hostile manner to *Lima*, he was taking measures to justify his conduct to the court of *Spain*; for which purpose he commissioned *Tedeja*, the judge most devoted to his interest, to pass immediately to *Europe*, and represent to the emperor, the necessity he was under of seizing upon the government, to prevent the general desertion of the natives and *Spaniards*, in consequence of the viceroy's mal-administration. He proceeded also to seize upon all the shipping on the coast, whereby he commanded the navigation of the *South-sea*; to appoint new governors and magistrates in the towns; to punish with death all the friends of the government, and to exert every civil prerogative of absolute dominion, obliging them to bend to the military power. That he might be able to maintain his army, he exacted from the *Spaniards* a third of all the rents or tributes they received from the natives; seized every thing belonging to the crown, and, by his conduct, evidently demonstrated his intention of throwing off his dependence on *Spain*, and rendering himself the absolute sovereign of *Peru*; a scheme by no means difficult in the execution at that juncture, had *Cenzalo* acted with more prudence and discretion, his punishments been less rigorous, and his behaviour more amiable and popular. Had he made the proper use of the universal dislike to the new regulations, and convinced the people, that he sought their good more than the gratification of his own ambition, he might, undoubtedly, have become the greatest *Spaniard* in *America*. We may be satisfied of this truth, from the detestation in which these ordinances were held. *Pedro de Puelles*, who had been deputy-governor for *Vaca de Castro*, in the town of *Guano*, was a person of considerable influence, and consequently well received by the viceroy, when he came to *Lima* to pay his compliments. His commission was now recalled, and he was desired to have all his friends in readiness to take the field, completely armed, at an hour's warning. *Pedro* exerted himself, upon this occasion, with diligence, and assembled a considerable body of forces, with which he was marching, in obedience to fresh orders, against *Pizarro*; but they had not advanced far, when some discourse arising about the consequences of the viceroy's being successful, it was unanimously agreed, that, if he proved victorious, he would endeavour, with all his power, to establish the new scheme of legislation; whence it was inferred, that their

Revol of
the vice-
roy's troops
to Gon-
zalo.

their most politic course would be to join *Pizarro*, in order to preserve their liberties and property, and oppose the dangerous innovations intended. This resolution was no sooner formed than it was executed, *Puelles*, and all his people, marching directly to reinforce the rebels. The same resolution was taken by a body of horse detached by the governor, under *Vela Nunez*, to intercept *Puelles*, upon the advice he had received of his defection. The soldiers had conspired to kill their commander, and follow the fortune of *Pizarro*. Their intention was discovered to *Nunez*; he made his escape in the night, and all his troops went over to *Pizarro*, whom he joined at *Guamanga*. From these instances it appears, how general was the dislike to *Vela*, and what *Gonzalo* might have effected, had he known how to profit by circumstances.

BESIDES the land-forces which *Pizarro* had collected, he was absolute master of the ocean, in consequence of the seizure of the shipping. His admiral *Hernando Bachiaco* had a powerful squadron, with which he distressed the enemy by every possible method. He attacked the city of *Panama*, and took all the ships in the bay; by this means augmenting his fleet to twenty-six sail. He had also a number of land-forces on board, which he debarked occasionally, plundering and harassing the coast, although the governor had assembled a little army for their protection. From *Panama* he sailed for the island of *Pearls*, where he broke his faith to the inhabitants, committed dreadful ravages, imposed tribute, and levied contributions, rather agreeable to the measure of his wants and avarice, than the ability of the people. The naval armament, therefore, upon the whole, injured the cause of *Pizarro*, more than it promoted it. Provisions, money, and warlike stores, were procured indeed by means of the fleet in great abundance; but the tyranny of the admiral raised a great number of enemies to his party.

NOTWITHSTANDING the misconduct of the *Pizarrists*, such was the dread conceived by the bulk of the *Spaniards* of the new regulations, that the viceroy's affairs were in a very unpromising aspect. All the methods he had tried to pacify the jealousies of the people, contributed only to inflame them, and the troops he assembled deserted as fast as they were raised. He had fortified *Lima* in the best manner suggested by his knowledge in the art of war; but still he did not chuse to trust to walls, when the people and garrison were disaffected. It was his intention to retreat to *Truxillo*, which he communicated to the magistrates, after he had first fully digested his

his plan of operations. The judges opposed his designs with heat, and every thing was again thrown into confusion, just as *Vela* imagined that he had conciliated the minds of the inhabitants, by the proofs he had exhibited of his vigilance and care for their preservation. A council was held, it broke up in disorder; and the viceroy determined to embark in some vessels in the harbour, with the children of the marquis *Pizarro*, while his brother *Vela Nunez* conducted the forces by land. This measure occasioned fresh disputes, the citizens remonstrated against putting the lady *Franciscan* the hands of rude sailors, and the judges gave orders to *one Robles* to seize the person of the viceroy. They granted a warrant for this purpose, and *Robles* executed it with punctuality, though with some difficulty, as *Vela* had assembled a body of soldiers, to the number of four hundred men; who, however, laid down their arms, when they perceived the citizens in open rebellion. The judges now required the king's admiral to surrender the fleet, and the children of *Pizarro*, into their hands; threatening, in case of refusal, to put the viceroy to death. *Gerónimo Curbano* complied with the latter part of the demand; but he determined to run all hazards, rather than resign the only means of defence now remaining. Disappointed in the expected effects of these menaces, the judges contrived divers stratagems to surprise the fleet, and succeeded so well, that they made *Vela Nunez*, the viceroy's brother, prisoner; and then repeated their demand, with the most positive assurances, that neither brother should meet with mercy, in case the admiral continued obstinate. Nevertheless *Curbano* persevered in his sentiments; but he was deserted by the vice-admiral, and all the rest of the shipping, who went over to the judges, obliging *Curbano* to put to sea with the single vessel he commanded in person.

1544.
The fact
declare
for Pizarro.

THESE circumstances tended evidently to promote the interest of *Pizarro*. Thus far the judges and he seemed to act in concert against the viceroy, tho' it now appeared, that this was the single point in which they were agreed. The judges were no sooner in possession of the viceroy's person and fleet, than they prepared a process against *Vela*, whom they intended to send back to Spain, to receive sentence, and sent orders to *Pizarro* to disband his forces; telling him, that the viceroy's misconduct had devolved the whole power upon them, by virtue of the king's commission. *Augustine Carate* was deputed with this message; which proved so unwelcome to *Pizarro*, that he seized *Carate*, and treated

^c GOMARA, cap. cxxii.

CARATE, cap. xi. lib. i.

Pizarro
reduces Li-
ma.

him with great severity. The answer returned to the judges was, that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was now constituted governor-general; in which quality, if they refused to obey, the city of *Lima* should be destroyed with fire and sword. To give weight to this answer, he proceeded on his march towards that capital of the *Spanish* colonies, and encamped within a quarter of a league of the city. A fresh summons was sent to the judges; and finding it was disregarded, *Gonzalo* began to erect batteries, with intention of laying siege to *Lima*, which produced the desired effect, the whole city declaring against the judges, and most of the inhabitants deserting to the camp. A party of twenty men, sent out to reconnoitre the works of the besiegers, was taken; and *Gonzalo's* army now became so numerous, that he dispatched *Carvajal* with a summons, declaring, if any farther delay was made, the city must suffer all the consequences of his vengeance, and the judges ascribe to their obstinacy the bloodshed of their fellow citizens. Even this menace could not move them, until *Carvajal* ordered some of the chief prisoners he had taken the preceding day to be hanged up in sight of the besieged. This staggered the judges; who at length yielded to the remonstrances of the citizens, and their dread of the consequences of their refusal to admit *Pizarro*. Accordingly his army was drawn up in order of battle, and he made his entry in triumph in the month of *October*. The rivals were appointed to celebrate this event, and *Lima* blazed with bonfires, and rung with rejoicings. From this period *Gonzalo* dated his authority, in virtue of the royal commission granted to his brother, which he declared was intended to descend to his heirs. Besides, this commission was corroborated by the authority of the judges, whom he forced into a compliance with all the new appointments and alterations he made in the government. *Gonzalo* procured their countenance to letters he thought fit to dispatch into *Spain*, to solicit the emperor, that he might be confirmed in the government which he had so boldly usurped, as the only means of restoring the public tranquillity.

The vice-
roy assem-
bles an
army.

THIS flow of prosperity was interrupted by some accidents, that gave great disquiet to *Gonzalo*. *Vasco de Castro*, though the person most injured by the viceroy, not only declared his resolution of implicitly obeying the royal mandate, but escaped from *Panama*, on advice that the rebel admiral *Bachicao* was on his way thither. He intimated his design of opposing *Gonzalo*; and this accident became of more importance, because the viceroy had found means to effect his

escape, and was now raising an army with great diligence. Before his arrival at *Quito*, he had collected above one hundred and fifty men, and was there joined by two hundred more, who had not yet been infected with the contagious spirit of rebellion. He took courage from the misconduct of his adversary, and entertained hopes that *Gonzalo's* insolence would soon turn the stream of popular affection, and once more reduce the humours of the people into their natural channel. He dispatched his son-in-law into *Spain*, to acquaint his imperial majesty with the state of affairs in *Peru*, and request that speedy succours might be sent against the rebels. A party of his men had been defeated in a skirmish with some of *Pizarro's* marauders; but he soon revenged this disgrace in person, by falling suddenly upon the victorious enemy, whom he entirely overthrew; however, the loss on the side of *Pizarro* was inconsiderable, and the effects of these skirmishes were only to animate the combatants to more bloody hostilities.

GONZALO had now determined to attack the viceroy with all his forces, before he should become more formidable. In consequence of this resolution, he bent his march to *Quito*, and sustained great hardships in crossing the deserts; but his soldiers being veterans, instead of action, they conquered all difficulties, and advanced to the enemy, that *Vela* thought proper to decline battle and retire to *Quito*. *Pizarro* had found means to excite disturbances in his camp, by transmitting letters to his principal officers, with promises not only of pardon, but of great rewards. The viceroy imprudently suspected all who had received those offers, and punished them as if they had actually embraced the proposals. Hence arose a mutinous spirit, which, united to the fatigue and hunger sustained in his retreat, brought his affairs to the greatest extremity. Vexation and trouble had soured his temper, and he now added to unavoidable evils, by venting that indignation against his own people, which he was unable to pour down upon the heads of his enemies. Some of his best officers he put to death on the most groundless suspicion of treachery; by which means he again alienated the minds of all the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, just as they were coming to a proper sense of their duty.

MEAN time *Pizarro* kept up the pursuit from *St. Miguel*. He is pursued to *Quito* so hotly, that the armies were frequently in sight of each other, and the royalists forced to keep constantly in *Pizarro's* arms, during a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues, in the course of which they were chiefly nourished by herbs, roots, and other vegetables. The approach of the rebels to

Quito obliged the viceroy to quit that defenceless city, and retreat forty leagues beyond it; hoping that *Pizarro* would stop the pursuit, in order to refresh his men in a place abounding with necessaries; but he was mistaken; the rebels scarce halted at *Quito*, but pushed on with so much ardor and perseverance, as drove *Vela* to despair. When he saw a party of rebels descending a hill near his camp, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "Shall it be credited in future ages, that *Spaniards* can pursue the standard of their King with such obstinacy, as to endure every possible hardship for the space of four hundred leagues?" meaning from *Lima* to the place where he was then encamped, on the farther extremity of *Peru*. Still, however, he proceeded on his retreat; which at length determined *Gonzalo* to return to *Quito*, where he employed his time in mirth and festivity, as if the viceroy was already conquered.

VELA being thus suffered to rest in quiet in the province of *Popayan*, he set to work in procuring more complete arms for his troops, and calling in all the detachments employed in distant conquests. He recovered his spirits considerably, that *Diego Centeno* had revolted from *Pizarro*, and was now making a powerful diversion on the opposite side of *Peru*; and notwithstanding his other *Villaz* was taken prisoner in his passage to *Parana*, yet he had once escaped out of the hands of his enemies, he entertained hopes of a favourable issue to the war. He was joined about this time by *Juan Catreras*, with an hundred men; which reinforcement encouraged him to face the enemy, weakened by the detachment sent against *Centeno*; however, all his expectations were blasted by a stratagem of *Pizarro's*. That officer gave out, that he would go in person with the greater part of his army, to *Charcas*, against *Centeno*, who was plundering his lands in that country, and leave *Puelles* with three hundred men for the defence of the frontier. He appointed his lieutenant, begun his journey for *Quito*, corrupted a spy maintained by the viceroy in the city, whom he had discovered, and charged with false intelligence for his master, procuring from him the cypher used in his letters to *Vela*. At the same time he ordered *Puelles* to write an invitation to his friends in the viceroy's army in a cypher, which he took care to have explained to the spy, that they would spend some time at *Quito* in the absence of *Gonzalo*, where they might depend on being treated with the utmost cordiality, notwithstanding any differences of opinion in matters relating to the government; but care was taken to have these letters fall into the viceroy's hands, without affording suspicion of design. So many

many circumstances, the public report, the intelligence of his spy, and the intercepted letters, all convinced *Vela* of what *Gonzalo* desired to have believed. Immediately he assembled his troops on the first advices that *Gonzalo* had set out for *Los Charcas*, and began his march for *Quito* with the utmost privacy and celerity. His forces amounted to eight hundred men, but raw, undisciplined, and very indifferently accoutred; while *Gonzalo* had notice of every motion, directed his measures accordingly, privately joined *Puelles*, and upon a general muster found his troops to consist of two hundred musqueteers, three hundred pike men, and an hundred and fifty horse, all approved hardy veterans. He encamped without the city in such narrow bounds as carried all the appearance of very slender numbers. *Vela* approached within two leagues of the entrenchments, without entertaining the slightest suspicion, upon advice of which *Gonzalo* decamped in the night without beat of drum, intending to surprise him; but the viceroy had taken the resolution of gaining possession of *Quito* before he hazarded a battle, and had on purpose begun his march in the middle of the night, over steep mountains and rugged precipices. He entered the city without opposition, and there first had intimation of the stratagem, which threw him into the utmost consternation. He communicated this piece of intelligence, the necessary measures were debated in a council of war, and it was resolved, that as a retreat was now become impracticable, that the whole should rest upon the fortune of a battle, for which all the officers made the most vigorous preparations.

On the other hand, *Gonzalo* was no less surprised and disappointed to find that the viceroy had quitted his course; but when he was told by the *Indians* that he had taken the road of *Quito*, he pursued him with great rapidity, and soon came within sight of the royal army, drawn up in battalia before the city. A skirmishing immediately commenced between the advanced posts, which terminated to the advantage of the rebels, and brought on a more general and bloody engagement between the horse, who fought with great courage and obstinacy. The infantry had not yet come to blows, and seemed to wait with anxious expectation in what manner victory would declare on the side of the cavalry; when at length the impetuosity and stubborn valour of *Gonzalo's* veterans turned the scale, and made room for the foot to join in close engagement; for such was the extraordinary disposition of both armies, that the horse occupied almost the entire front. The royal infantry in the rear were somewhat disconcerted by the precipitate tumultuous retreat of the van-

The vic-
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quished cavalry; but they soon rallied, and sustained the at-
tack of the enemy with firmness and intrepidity, until per-
ceiving the superior strength of *Gonzalo's* powder, and exe-
cution of his musquetry, they were seized with a panic, and
routed with great slaughter. The viceroy fought like a pri-
vate soldier, at the same time that he displayed all the quali-
ties of an excellent general, animating, exhorting, sooth-
ing, and menacing his troops to perform their duty. He en-
gaged *Montalto*, a brave rebel officer, hand to hand, and dis-
mounted him, after an obstinate contest. He might now
have escaped, had not his own courage carried him into the
middle of the enemy, as an *Indian* coat which he wore over
his armour hindered his being known. A soldier fell upon
him with great fury, and laid him dead with the stroke of a
battle-axe, little imagining that he was spilling the blood
of the king's representative. It is affirmed by *La Vega*,
that his intention was not to survive his power and honour,
or subject himself to the mortification of becoming the pris-
oner of the conqueror. His head was cut off, and sent in
triumph to *Quito*, to induce the inhabitants to receive *Gon-
zalo* as governor, while his body was interred with all the ho-
nours due to his quality.

IN consequence of this decisive victory, *Gonzalo* came into
immediate possession of the whole authority. He disposed of
every thing at his pleasure, punished his enemies, and pro-
moted his friends with controul. Whatever his insolence
might have been on former occasions, he certainly acted up-
on this with prudence and discretion. Assembling the pri-
soners, he represented the power which heaven had put into
his hands, the designs he had to support and protect public
liberty, the necessary consequences which must have resulted
from the establishment of the new regulations, and the crimes
committed by those persons who supported *Vela's* tyranny;
after which he dismissed them with a general pardon, except
a few of the ringleaders, whom he banished to *Chili* and the
distant provinces, admonishing them not to incur his igno-
mination by any attempts against his authority, or opposition to
his measures. *Vera Nunez*, brother to the deceased viceroy,
was permitted to live in *Quito*, on his promise to submit
quietly to the present government, and to avoid all plots,
cabals, and intrigues. He even allowed *Nunez* afterwards
to accompany him to *Lima*, and treated him in the whole
journey with the utmost familiarity; more perhaps than was
justifiable in strict policy to a person who must certainly en-

tain a private animosity, however carefully he might disguise his behaviour.

WHEN the troops were sufficiently refreshed after the fatigues of a long march and a bloody engagement, Gonzalo dispatched his lieutenant *Carvajal* with a strong party to the southward against *Centeno*, who commanded a little army of royalists, after having slain *Almeidas*, and eluded all the endeavours of *Alonso de Toro*, who opposed him with superior forces, both gentlemen of influence, and strenuous friends of the viceroy. Near *Callao* an attempt was made by *Centeno* to surprise *Carvajal* in his quarters; but he was disappointed, having found that officer ready to receive him, at the head of a superior army. *Carvajal* even pursued *Centeno* over mountains and deserts, but could never bring him to a general action, notwithstanding every day was productive of bloody skirmishes. At length he seized upon a pass, where he was of opinion the enemy must necessarily be surrounded; and forced to lay down their arms; but *Centeno's* vigilance extricated him out of this difficulty likewise, and forced *Carvajal* to confess, that in the course of forty campaigns made in *Italy* and other countries, he had never beheld so extraordinary a retreat as that performed by *Centeno*, over a desert country of two hundred leagues in extent, in the face of a superior enemy. It was impossible, however, he could long maintain himself in this distressed condition; he directed his march to *Arequiba*, where he determined to embark his troops, and proceed to *Chili*, if shipping could be provided, for which purpose he sent an officer before him. A vessel bound to *Chili* was hired; but just as he was ready to embark, *Carvajal* appeared; upon which *Centeno* told his men that providence was against them, that they must now disperse in small bodies, and shift for themselves, until some change happened; after which he took an affectionate leave, retired into the mountains, and concealed himself until the arrival of a new viceroy from *Spain*.

The royalists entirely reduced

ALL opposition being now removed by the reduction of the last army of the royalists, the rebels used all their endeavour to persuade *Gonzalo* to assume the titles and honours of sovereign of *Peru*, independent of the emperor and court of *Spain*. *Carvajal* wrote him a letter, in which he observes, that, after having opposed the royal edict, cut off the head of the king's representative, and waged open war against his forces, there remained no other means of security than persevering in rebellion, assuming the crown, gaining the

affections of the Spaniards by the most liberal actions, and conciliating himself in the best manner possible with the Indians; by which means he might bid defiance to all the power of Spain, it being improbable that his imperial majesty could transport a number of forces to so distant a region sufficient to conquer Peru. Whether it was that the vastness of the project struck Gonzalo, or that he deferred gratifying his ambition until he had first established the government, and tried the effects of his remonstrances to the court, we cannot determine; but certain it is, that he resisted all the temptations thrown in his way by his flattering officers. La Vega ascribes this moderation to the firm belief he entertained that he would be confirmed in the government from a principle of policy, and restored by the court to all the employments held by his brother. His public entry into Truxillo and Lima was triumphant: but he assumed no regal honours, and even refused to walk under a canopy, as had been proposed. He entirely altered his conduct, and proceeded from insolence and pride, to the other extreme of affability, in order, by this means, probably to lay a foundation for the great designs projected by his adherents. He made Nuno de Guzman high admiral of the seas, ordering him to sail to Panama, and detach Ferdinand Mexia across the Isthmus to surprise Nombre de Dios, which he accomplished without scarce any resistance; so that he now commanded the north and south seas, and could obstruct any supplies from being sent either from Old or New Spain to the assistance of those who might prove inclinable to join the royal party, and again light up the sparks of dissention. Nor did he think these measures altogether sufficient for his security. Apprehensive of some turn of fortune, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to conciliate the court of Spain to his conduct, which he pretended only to justify by the extreme necessity of affairs. Accordingly Aldano was commissioned to go to Old Spain, relate all the late transactions in the most favourable light, assure his majesty of the zeal and loyalty of Gonzalo, and solicit the government for him, rather with a seeming view to promote the public interest, than recompense his services, or gratify his ambition. Aldano was further directed to promise repaying whatever had been expended of the king's treasure, provided Gonzalo's request and a general pardon were granted. To enforce this application, it was intimated that a considerable sum of money should immediately be remitted from

Peru, which it was expected would produce a good effect in the present necessitous circumstances of the *Spanish* court.

The disturbances in *Peru* had now been of so long a duration, that every thing was known in *Spain* before *Aldano's* arrival, and that conquest given up as lost. It had been proposed in council to reduce *Conzales* by force of arms, and bring the bold usurper to condign punishment; yet the difficulty of transporting an army sufficient for that purpose, to so distant a quarter, occasioned the ministry to regard the enterprise as impracticable, until the misconduct of *Pizarro* brought about some favourable turn for assisting the royalists. However, the solicitations of *Aldano* now ushered a beam of hope: the ministry perceived that the usurper thought his situation ticklish before he would stoop to make concessions, or require any ratification and sanction of his conduct. A person who had ventured upon such gross violation of law, and evident rebellion, must have been misconcerted in his schemes, before he would throw himself upon the mercy of a prince whom he had so heinously offended. In this manner the *Spanish* ministry reasoned; in consequence of which *Pedro Gasca* is sent in
they resolved to send the licenciado *Pedro Gasca*, a man of quality of
sense and probity, to take upon him the government of *Peru*, with the title of president only. A commission to this
purpose was signed at *Plencia*, where the emperor then resided, in the year 1546, and *Gasca* was dispatched with a slender convoy, both to save charge to the court, and avoid all appearance of pomp and ostentation to the inhabitants of *Peru*, which it was apprehended might give disgust. On his arrival at *Nombre de Dios*, he concealed the real purport of his commission, giving out that he had a message from the emperor to *Pizarro*, with which, if he refused to comply, he was to return directly to *Spain*, as he formed no pretensions to be a warrior, and consequently had no design of enforcing obedience by dint of arms. He farther intimated, that his chief business was to revoke the new regulations which had created such uneasiness, and to preside in the council. In fact, *Gasca's* power was unlimited; but this he prudently concealed, until he had founded the affections of the *Peruvians*: and it is alleged, that in case he found matters could not be otherwise adjusted, he was empowered to grant the pardon required, recall the new ordinances, and constitute *Pizarro* viceroy of *Peru*, it being less culpable, as was observed in council, to allow the devil should be governor, than for *Spain* to lose the inestimable mines of *Potosi*, so much value did the court of *Spain* place on the silver of *Peru*, which
expence
He gains the fleet.

experience hath evinced to be a ruinous and fatal acquisition.

THE first action which confirmed the opinion entertained of *Gasca's* policy, was the artful manner in which he insinuated himself into the esteem of *Mexia*, who had been appointed governor of *Nombre de Dios* by *Pizarro*. To this gentleman the president addressed himself with such irresistible blandishments, that, with his whole garrison, he deserted the usurper, and soon after assisted *Gasca* in prevailing upon the admiral *Nonofofa* to declare with his whole fleet for his imperial majesty.

THESE important negotiations succeeding happily, *Gasca* determined to know how *Gonzalo* relished the news of his arrival; for which purpose he dispatched *Paniagua*, a gentleman of great penetration and address, to *Lima*, with a letter from the emperor, and another from himself, to *Pizarro*.

The emperor's letter to Pizarro.

In the former of these his imperial majesty condescended to cajole this usurper, acquainting him, that, being informed of the disturbances excited in *Peru* by the viceroy's too rigorous execution of the new regulations, and persuading himself that whatever *Pizarro* and his party had done, was intended to promote the public benefit, and support the honour and interest of the crown, he had dispatched the licenciado *Gasca*, in quality of president, with full powers and instructions to terminate all differences, redress all grievances, and do whatever might contribute to the improvement of this valuable conquest, and the welfare of his subjects, whether *Spaniards* or natives; in which he required *Pizarro* to assist him with his advice and influence, assuring him, that the important services performed by himself and his family should be held in grateful remembrance. Nor was the president's letter less respectful. He blamed the severity and inflexibility of the viceroy for all the disturbances and effusion of blood. He declared his belief, that his imperial majesty did not ascribe the late civil commotions to their disobedience or disloyalty, but to the necessity of circumstances which obliged *Pizarro* and his friends to act on a principle of self-preservation. He appeared to be not at all surprised at their opposition to the new laws, on account of the rigour with which the viceroy required they should be executed. "The most wholesome nourishment, said he, may be converted to poison, by being improperly administered. His majesty hath now sent me to quiet the minds of the people, by a revocation of those laws, according to the prayer of your petition, with power to publish a general pardon of all crimes and misdemeanors already committed. I am en-

The president's letter to Pizarro.

joined

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“joined to consult the people, and be guided by their opinion, with respect to the proper measures for promoting the interests of religion, and the welfare of the inhabitants.” He then exhorted *Pizarro* to take these matters into serious consideration, and shew his gratitude to his sovereign for restoring him to the enjoyment of all his estates and possessions, after an act which another prince would have thought deserving of severe punishment. So favourable an interpretation of a conduct which would have admitted of a different construction, demonstrated the clemency of the monarch, and ought to insure the loyalty of the subject; a duty incumbent not only by the laws of nature, but explicitly enforced by those of revelation. “Your ancestors, said the president, have distinguished themselves by their services, they have rendered themselves illustrious by their loyalty; it will be your part to imitate this example in the largest characters, and not tarnish their lustre and lineage by your defection from their virtues.” Next to the salvation of our souls, our next care ought to be the preservation of our honour, the smallest blemish on which is perceivable in lucid bodies, moving in your sphere, and reflecting light on all things around them. The foulest spot, next to disobedience to the God of heaven, is treason against your country, and rebellion against your earthly sovereign. He is God’s viceroy, and appointed by him to preserve order and good government in society. Let me advise you, therefore, to weigh those things with impartiality and prudence, and reflect upon the power of your king, whose force you are very unable to withstand; but lest your inexperience in his court, not having viewed the strength and numbers of his armies, should betray you into an unjust estimate of your comparative powers, figure to yourself the puissance of the *Great Turk*, who marched in person at the head of three hundred thousand fighting men, came within sight of the imperial army, and retreated with precipitation without daring to give battle.”

THESE letters occasioned warm debates in *Gonzalo’s* councils. They were read several times, and still the hearers were divided about the answer which ought to be returned. *Carvajal* was for accepting the offers of his majesty, and returning to their duty and obedience. *Capeda* was of a directly contrary opinion; alledging, that all the promises were insidious, in order to prevail on them to lay down their arms, and then fall upon them defenceless. He represented, that if the president were once admitted, he would insinuate himself into the affections of the people, and dispose of them

Debates in Pizarro's council.

The president's agent and gains the

inhabi-
tants of
Lima.

and their fortunes at pleasure. *Pizarro* declined giving his opinion until he had maturely deliberated a point of such importance; and in the mean time *Paniagua*, the president's agent, practised so artfully with the principal citizens of *Lima*, that they were ready to desert the usurper when the first opportunity offered, and they were sure of being protected from his vengeance. Although his late conduct had been unexceptionable, they ripped up old grievances, and complained that he had put several persons of distinction to death; that he had usurped their property, and violated their wives and children, as if these crimes had been recently committed. They embraced the general pardon offered, and *Paniagua* persevered in alienating their affections from *Pizarro*, and reclaiming them to their duty, in contempt of the menaces of the usurper, to put him to death if he discovered him tampering with the citizens. He was now encouraged to proceed with boldness by the declaration of the fleet; and this likewise contrived to make the inhabitants of *Lima* lend a more willing ear to his persuasions. However, all possible care was taken to keep their designs secret; and yet it was universally known, except to *Pizarro*, who had just resolved upon embracing the opinion of *Capeda*, not to admit the president, with which view he had dispatched orders to his admiral to provide a ship for his return to *Spain*. He had not yet received advice of that officer's defection, which had also been kept private, the more to disconcert the usurper, who would thereby be deprived of helps on which he depended. Having formed these measures, he thought proper to give *Paniagua* his final answer, in a letter directed to the president. Here he complimented the president's learning and good sense. He besought him to consider him as a person extremely devoted to his majesty, and to remember the incessant labours of the *Pizarro* family for the space of sixteen years to augment the territories and revenues of the crown of *Spain*. They had subdued countries of vast extent, abounding with more gold and silver than the united kingdoms of the world, at their own private risk, without putting the king to the expence of a single crown, and without any other reward than the consciousness of having served their prince and country with fidelity and success. They had indeed acquired treasures, but these were liberally expended in settling colonies, and supporting their conquests. They had not the inheritance of a single acre of land, the court of *Spain* granting only a kind of leases during life to the adventurers, which reverted to the crown upon their decease; and notwithstanding these cruel neglects, they remained fixed

Pizarro's
answer to
the presi-
dent's let-
ter.

fixed in their loyalty, and required no arguments to remind them of their duty, by setting forth his majesty's power, and the success of his arms, against his enemies. Towards the close of his letter he endeavours to demonstrate, that, to the imprudence and inflexibility of the viceroy, ought to be ascribed all those unhappy commotions sincerely lamented by every friend to society; and he justifies his own usurpation, by observing, that he was chosen agent general by all the cities and corporations of *Peru*, and empowered by them to oppose the violences of the viceroy, having transacted nothing without their concurrence.

THIS was the varnish with which *Pizarro* coloured over his own rebellious conduct, although it was known to the whole world that he had used violence in obliging the judges to surrender *Lima*, which alone evinced that he had not acted by their authority. To shew the proper respect to the imperial letter, with which he had been honoured, he dispatched several agents, men of quality and consideration, to represent his conduct in the most favourably light, and procure a ratification of the authority he had usurped; but these deserted him, went to *Panama*, and accepted employments, to which they were appointed by the president. This encouraged the royalists more and more to appear. *Centeno* and divers *Centeno* others descended from the mountains, and emerged out of and several those caves in which they had been long concealed. A party of others was forming against *Pizarro*, and every thing boded the revival of the civil war. The president, after issuing orders to the royal party the governors of *St. Martha*, *Carthagena*, *Granada*, and *Panama*, to levy forces with all expedition, ventured to leave *Panama*, and set sail for the frontiers of *Peru*, arriving safely at *Tumbes*. The vice-admiral *Aldana* sailing to the coast of *Peru* with a squadron of four men of war, was joined by a great number of deserters, whom he immediately formed into companies, appointing officers agreeable to the powers vested in him by *Gasca*. *Jago de Nara* was induced, by the presence of the vice-admiral, the persuasion of *Centeno*, and suspicions which he entertained of *Pizarro's* farther designs, to declare for the president, after he had assembled a corps of five hundred men, and appointed the general rendezvous of the king's forces at *Canamalia*.

— ADVICE of these transactions soon reaching *Pizarro*, he saw the necessity of taking vigorous measures for his own defence. The revolt of his fleet, the constant desertion of those he had deemed his friends, and the daily increase of his enemies, filled him with reasonable apprehensions that his usurpation would meet with farther opposition, and set him upon

Gonzalo
raises an
army.

upon levying troops with the utmost diligence. In the space of a few days, he mustered near a thousand men in the city of *Lima*, all veterans, well armed, and provided with horses and slaves for conveying the baggage; so that this body might be regarded either as cavalry or infantry, just as occasion required, and had the advantage of marching with great celerity, without fatigue, to whatever part they were destined. Nor was this his whole strength; he sent detachments to *Cuzco*, *La Plata*, and other places, ordering it to be published in all places, that the president had exceeded the king's orders in raising forces against him, and attempting to embroil in civil war a country which had just begun to taste the blessings of peace and tranquillity. He affirmed that the royal commission did not extend so far as to empower *Gasca* to supplant him in his authority; it only constituted him president of the council, with instructions to pursue the most pacific measures. As he had exceeded the bounds of his authority, *Gonzalo* alledged that the people were no less concerned than himself to check a growing ambition; for if the president came off successful in his undertakings, they must expect to be plundered and dispossessed of those riches they had acquired with so much toil and bloodshed, and perhaps meet imprisonment, tortures, and capital punishments, as the rewards of their services.

He com-
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To give sanction to these hostile preparations, it was thought necessary to have recourse to reason and arguments; for which purpose the lieutenant *Capeda* drew up a formal indictment, and began process against the president in the courts of law. The same was done against the admiral *Ninojosa* for betraying the fleet, and all the other officers who had deserted from *Pizarro*. To give the appearance of rigid justice to these proceedings, evidences were examined, and the crimes of treachery, breach of the peace, and robbery, were proved on oath against the captains. It was also proved, that *Gasca* had received these effects illegally, knowing them to have been *Pizarro's*, and appropriated them to his own use; upon which the president and all the officers were condemned to death, and declared traitors by the judges at *Lima*. This sentence, however, was ridiculed even by the parties concerned, as it was well known that the sword, and not the forms and judgment of courts, must determine the fate of the supposed criminals. In effect, the desertion continued, numbers went over daily to *Gasca*, the people were sufficiently sensible of the legality of his powers, they were weary of the usurpation of *Gonzalo*, and, like the multitude in every country, they embraced with eagerness what-

ever.

ever carried the appearance of change and novelty. *Gasca's* conduct besides was full of affability, lenity, and complacency; he won their affections by the most insinuating carriage. Without seeming to cajole, he caressed, as proceeding rather from the friendship of his nature than policy. He was continually expressing his dislike to those regulations which had given offence, and expressing his satisfaction at the power vested in him of obliging the people by a revocation of the ordinances, and general pardon of offences.

MEAN time the arrival of *Aldana* in the port of *Callao* Desertion greatly alarmed *Pizarro*, and obliged him to encamp in the *in* Gonfields, not only for the preservation of *Lima*, but to prevent *zalo's*, *ar-* desertion, which would become more difficult when the sol-*my*-diers were exposed to public view. A message was sent from the fleet to acquaint *Pizarro* of the extent of the president's commission, and request him to resign an usurped authority, which he could no longer claim without direct rebellion and effusion of blood. *Pantoja*, one of the naval captains, had brought this unwelcome message, which he endeavoured to enforce by all his eloquence; but could procure no other answer than violent exclamations against the treachery of *Nonojosa* and *Aldana*. However, he performed excellent services to the royal interest, by making known in the camp the tenor of the president's commission, the revocation of the new laws, and the general pardon granted; in consequence of which desertion became so frequent, that *Pizarro* was soon reduced to six hundred men, the rest having ~~been~~ *with Aldana*. Among these were the licenciado *Carvajal*, and several persons of considerable property, which persuaded *Gonzalo* of the disaffection of the city of *Lima*, and determined him to march to the southward as far as *Araqueba*. This march was not performed without great losses and disappointments. The soldiers found such frequent opportunities to desert, that the whole army was reduced to two hundred men, upon half of whom there could be no dependance. *Antonio Ribera* was left behind in quality of *Lima de-* governor; but the usurper had scarce marched fifteen leagues, *clares for* before the magistrates declared for the king, displayed the *the king* city standard, assembled the people, published the revocation of the late edicts, the general pardon granted, and obedience to the president. Upon this *Aldana* debarked his troops, took possession of the city in the king's name, and was received with great demonstrations of joy. Not long after, the president advancing farther along the coast with the remainder of the fleet, and a considerable body of land forces, constituted *Nonojosa* general by land; but he did not think it

it advisable to take the field until he had assembled an army so much superior to the enemy as to insure success; and render certain the reduction of the empire. Indeed, he chiefly relied upon policy, which he thought in the present juncture of affairs not only more secure, but also more serviceable to the general interest, although it dazzled with inferior lustre in the eyes of the people.

AFTER Pizarro had quitted Lima, he received intelligence that Diego Centeno had raised eight hundred men for the crown in the province of Churcas, and possessed himself of the cities of La Plata and Cuzco. Upon this the resolution was formed of attacking him, and recovering those cities; with provision that, if the enterprize failed, the army should march into Chili, assist in the reduction of that obstinate warlike people, and by so important a service induce the court to grant a pardon for all past transgressions. This was the plan of operations settled upon leaving Arequeba. Centeno heard of his motions, and suspecting his design, advanced to give battle, burning the bridge over the channel of the lake Titicaca to stop the enemy, and prevent their taking another course. Upon this Gonzalo wrote to him, reminding him of their ancient friendship, and endeavouring, by the most soothing expressions, to gain him to his interest. He proposed a treaty, in which they would adjust all differences to their mutual advantage, Gonzalo declaring that he would accede to any reasonable propositions with as much satisfaction as if the parties had been brothers. Centeno answered the letter in similar terms; but, instead of complying with the contents, earnestly exhorted Pizarro to embrace the general pardon offered, promising to use all his influence with the president to bury in oblivion all past transactions, and secure to him not only his life, but his estates and honours, which he held legally, and by the authority of his sovereign; more he would not undertake, and refused to render even this impossible. He delivered himself with specious air, that even Pizarro's messenger deserted him, and offered his service to carry some letters from Centeno to the president, which he performed with great fidelity. In these Centeno gave an account of the flourishing state of his own affairs, the decline of Pizarro, the continual desertion of his troops, his march towards Cuzco, and lastly of the proposals which he made to him, together with the answer he returned; intelligence which gave the highest delight to the president, and encouraged him to proceed boldly from Truxillo to Lima. But the scene was soon changed on this side. Pizarro and his officers, incensed, not only that their proposals

negotiate were rejected, but their messenger corrupted, determined to give *Centeno* battle, and either force a passage to *Cusco*, or perish in the attempt. He directed his march directly to *Huaina*, giving out that he had other intentions; but *Centeno*, by means of the *Indians*, was informed of his true course, and took his measures accordingly. *Pizarro* determined to avoid battle until he had advanced farther, *Centeno* resolved to come to action immediately; and with such diligence did both pursue their designs, that the armies came very unexpectedly in sight, and were in danger of joining battle before either had made the necessary preparations. *Pizarro* no sooner received intelligence of the enemy by his scouts, than he projected a scheme to alarm them; and as *Centeno* was no stranger to his activity, he exerted himself to prevent being surprised. Centinels were placed in all the proper stations; notwithstanding which, *Alfista* with a detachment of twenty musqueteers beat up one of the quarters, and spread consternation over the whole camp: had his efforts been seconded, a complete victory might have ensued. Next day the two armies advanced within three hundred yards of each other in the plain of *Huaina*, and then halted. They were drawn up with great military skill, especially *Pizarro's*, that important business devolving upon *Francisco de Carvajal*, one of the best and most experienced officers in *America*. His orders were to stand the enemy's attack firmly, until they advanced within sure reach of his shot, and then to pour in his fire with the utmost vigour. To provoke the enemy, he sent *Alfista* with a party of musqueteers to insult their ranks, and gave orders that he should keep up a retreating fight, which was executed so punctually, that *Centeno* was drawn into an engagement, and seduced to expend his shot before it could take effect. It was this finesse that more than counterbalanced the difference of numbers. *Centeno's* army consisted of near twelve hundred men fit to bear arms, that of *Pizarro's* did not exceed one-third of the number: but the soldiers timed their fire so judiciously, that near a hundred and fifty of the enemy fell at the first discharge. The second put all in confusion and dismay, most of *Centeno's* officers were killed or wounded, and the infantry was in less than half an hour entirely defeated. It was otherwise with the cavalry. Here the weight and superiority of numbers proved more than an equivalent to good order and discipline. *Pizarro's* horse were borne down with the torrent, and himself in imminent danger of being killed or taken prisoner, had not the victorious infantry come speedily to his assistance, attacked the enemy in front and both flanks,

Centeno
defeated.

October
1547.

and destroyed them almost to a man. We may venture to affirm, that in this battle was exhibited one of the first instances of the superiority of foot over horse, although it is passed over by writers as a more skirmish that could prove nothing decisive with respect to large armies; whereas we are of opinion, that the skill of a general, the judgment of disposition, and the power of arms, are as conspicuous in small as in great bodies, and frequently more so, because the fortune of the day depends less on unforeseen accidents.

Pizarro
enters
Cuzco.

PIZARRO did not obtain this victory without bloodshed; near one hundred of his men were killed upon the spot; nevertheless, it was of the utmost consequence, as the hostile army was almost entirely destroyed, those who escaped the sword having been taken, and then incorporated with the other troops. Besides, a road was now opened to the heart of the empire, a happy turn was given to the spirits of his people, and he had a wide field opened, not only for recruiting his army, but amassing prodigious treasures. He now advanced to *Cuzco*, made his triumphal entry into that city, detachments were sent upon different expeditions, the king's treasures to an immense value were seized at *La Plata*; while the unfortunate *Centeno* was making the best of his way to *Lima*, over rugged mountains and barren deserts, attended only by a priest, who had faithfully shared in his calamities, and assisted in his escape.

The president
goes
in quest of
Pizarro.

THE president was encamped with his army in the valley of *Sausa*, rejoicing at the advices sent him by *Centeno*, when intelligence arrived of this sudden turn of fortune, and cast a gloom upon the festivity and mirth of the royalists, though, from their great superiority of numbers, it could not throw them into despair. A few days only before, most of the officers were of opinion that *Gasca* had no occasion to encrease his forces, since those under *Centeno* were quite sufficient to bring matters to a happy issue; fortunately, however, for the royal party, this opinion was not embraced, the president thinking it advisable to provide against all possible accidents. Some went even so far as to advise him to disband the army; but *Gasca* always replied, that the point in dispute was of too much consequence to leave any doubt upon the mind with respect to the issue, only to save the court a little money, and himself and friends some trouble. The event shewed how justly he determined. Had this army been disbanded, it would have been impossible to have raised another with the requisite dispatch; the people would have embraced the prosperous side, and then *Pizarro* would have poured down from *Cuzco* upon the lower settlements with an irresistible torrent.

Gasca.

Gasca now exerted all his powers to animate the drooping spirits of his people. He told them, that *Centeno's* defeat was the more fortunate of war, and a ray of prosperity darted upon the usurper's affairs, only to render his adversity more insupportable. He exhorted both officers and soldiers to the punctual discharge of their duty, and, with a kind of prophetic spirit, gave them the strongest assurances of speedy victory. Next he called in his detachments, collected a fine train of artillery, and then began his march to *Cuzco*, at the head of nineteen hundred men, on the 29th day of *December*. On his march he was joined by great numbers of officers and soldiers, among whom was *Valdivia*, whose actions in *Chili* we have already related. The appearance of this officer diffused universal satisfaction. His valour was acknowledged, and now the royalists doubted not but they had a captain whom they might safely oppose to *Carvajal*. Many difficulties occurred on the march, which were conquered by the courage of the soldiers, and the good conduct and perseverance of *Gasca*, who displayed great genius in the different contrivances for crossing rivers. The passage of the river *Amancaes* was the most celebrated, as here the enemy opposed him, and he had to combat not only with the natural difficulty of the attempt, but to disconcert all the schemes to disappoint him, formed by the celebrated *Carvajal*; which he at last effected by mere dint of superior fertility of invention.

MEAN time *Pizarro* remained with the main army at *Pizarro's Cuzco*, felicitating himself on his late victory, and seeming to regard it as a decisive blow. *Carvajal* perceived the bad effects of *infatuated conduct* which security must necessarily produce, and laboured with all his influence to prevail upon him to seize on the strong posts in the enemy's way, evacuate *Cuzco*, and take the field with spirit and activity. When advices arrived of the president's approach, he redoubled his instances; but the infatuated *Pizarro* was wrapped in a fatal security, and rejected almost every proposal made to him by this prudent and discerning officer. However, he permitted *Carvajal* with a detachment to attempt the defence of the river, and then triumphed in his disappointment, as if it were a proof of the rectitude of his own opinion. *Carvajal* still insisted upon his taking the field, upon his dismissing the prisoners he had incorporated in his army, and relying rather upon a handful of certain friends, than a number of doubtful soldiers, upon distressing the enemy by marches and countermarches, dividing their forces, and then attacking them separately, when no opportunity offered of assisting each other. This proposal

The armies meet
in the
valley of
Sacsahu-
nuah.

proposal evinced the military knowledge of *Carvajal*; but it was rejected by *Gonzalo*, as injurious to his honour. He thought that avoiding battle with a defeated army would tarnish the glory of his late victory, without reflecting that it was the issue of the operations that must establish his character. He resolved to come to an engagement, and for that purpose gave orders that the army should be ready to march at beat of drum to the valley of *Sacsahuenuah*, about four leagues from the city. *Carvajal's* remonstrance were fruitless; that if he was determined to hazard a battle, he would wait at *Orcas*, on the opposite side of the city, for the enemy, in order to fatigue them the more, or at least introduce confusion in their army as they passed through *Cuzco*. When he quitted this city his army amounted to nine hundred men, a third of whom were persons in whose fidelity *Carvajal* had no reliance, which made him the more averse to the general's resolution; however, he complied, and endeavoured all he could to conciliate the minds of the soldiers to a measure now unavoidable. When he reached the valley, *Pizarro* drew up the forces in a place inaccessible in the flanks and rear, an attack on the front being likewise attended with difficulties. Hither the enemy arrived in three days after, the three following days passing in slight skirmishes, until the main body of the royalists had occupied the proper posts, when they faced about, and offered an engagement. It was now only that *Pizarro* began to distrust his soldiers; the vicinity of the danger made him inspect their conduct more narrowly: but it was too late; desertion had already begun, several were seized in the attempt to escape, they were put to death, and their punishment appeared to have no other effect than to alienate the minds of the remainder.

IN this situation was *Pizarro*, when it was determined in a council of war held by the president, to give battle next day, on account of the scarcity of water that prevailed, and the incommodiousness of the situation. Different reasons prevailed on *Pizarro* to come to the same resolution, after he had first sent to the president to demand a sight of his commission, and the powers whereby he insisted upon his resigning the government, declaring that his refusal would be regarded as a signal for hostilities, and that he must be answerable for all the consequences. Two priests had been sent with this commission, and instructions to try all in their power to alienate the minds of *Gasca's* soldiers; which being discovered, the president ordered them to be seized, then published the general pardon granted to all who should now quit the interest of *Pizarro*, gained their affections, and sent them

them back to cherish the seeds of disaffection in the usurper's army.

MEAN time Pizarro had given orders to Acosta to alarm the enemy's camp in the night; and he was preparing to execute his instructions, when the desertion of a soldier ruined the design, by carrying intelligence to the president; however it was attended with this advantage, that the royal army stood upon their arms the whole night, and suffered so much from the cold as almost rendered them unfit for action the next day when they were drawn out in the plain in order of battle. To Céspedes was entrusted the care of ranging the troops, Carvajal being so much offended that his advice had been rejected upon so many occasions, as to refuse taking any concern, protesting that he gave all up for lost. As the armies were fronting each other, Garcilasso's father to the historian, deserted, and was received with open arms by the president. His example was so loved by Céspedes, the very officer in whose fidelity Pizarro reposed his chief confidence. Under pretence of examining a more convenient ground for drawing up the army, he gave spur to his horse, and joined the enemy, after he had been pursued and wounded by another of the rebel officers; who suspected his design. The desertion of two persons so considerable gave birth to a shoal of imitators; the royal camp was crowded with Pizarro's soldiers, all of whom declared they had seized the first opportunity of escaping and testifying their loyalty. The whole left wing of mulqueteers, pretending to more fidelity than the rest, desired to be posted in such a manner as to obstruct the deserters, and embraced that opportunity of going over to the president. So uncommon a desertion rendered fighting unnecessary; the president therefore laid aside the design of giving battle, either because he had no great confidence in troops that had already betrayed their general, that he expected Pizarro's forces to come over, or that he did not chuse to risque a battle with a handful of men now driven to despair, whose resistance might at least occasion considerable effusion of blood.

WITH Pizarro there now only remained the pike-men, who had likewise given symptoms of their inconstancy. Carvajal seeing the desperate state of the usurper's affairs, exerted his utmost diligence to retrieve them, but in vain; all the soldiers deserted, and left him almost alone with his general. The pike-men finding there was no possibility of eluding Carvajal's vigilance, threw down their arms, declared their resolution not to fight against the king, and then made off for the royal camp; upon which Pizarro resolved to

April 9,
1548.
Pizarro
deserted by
his troops.

He surrenders.

surrender himself. He went up to *Pedro Vilamiracis*, who commanded one of the enemy's out-posts, and told him his name and intention, at the same time delivering his sword as a mark of his submission. *Pedro*, rejoiced at the importance of his prisoner, returned *Gonzalo* thanks for the honour done him, returned his sword, and offered to conduct him to the president's quarters: on their way to which *Pizarro* was met by *Centeno*, who condoling with him on his change of fortune, was answered by the prisoner, "Captain *Centeno*, to-day there is nothing to be said upon this subject, but to-morrow you and the rest who have occasioned my fate will have reason to repent your conduct." Even in his adversity he maintained his spirit and dignity. When brought into *Gasca's* presence, he vindicated his measures with becoming boldness, claimed all that he aspired to as his undoubted right, hinted at the ingratitude of the court to his family, and the conquerors of *Peru*, but never dropped a disrespectful expression of his imperial majesty. His freedom, however, highly offended *Gasca*, who ordered him to be removed and taken into custody. At the same time *Carvajal* was taken prisoner, & he was endeavouring, at the age of eighty-four, to make his escape by the swiftness of his horse, and used with great insolence and cruelty by the soldiers, who ought to have respected his advanced age, and extraordinary military talents. They applied lighted matches to his neck, threw squibs in his face, and were severely punished for insulting the unfortunate, by the generous *Centeno*, the prisoner's bitterest enemy, who, upon this occasion, displayed the greatest magnanimity. He conducted him in person to *Gasca's* presence, where *Carvajal* maintained a contemptuous silence, and then brought him back to his own tent, where he treated this old warrior with the most profound respect and humanity. Nothing could be more extraordinary than the whole carriage of this hoary soldier, from the time of his imprisonment to his execution. He was visited by all degrees of people; some came from motives of curiosity, others to demand restitution of what they alleged his soldiers had plundered them of; while others visited him merely to turn him into derision, and insult his misfortunes: but *Carvajal* was superior to their dastardly triumph; he beheld them with scorn, and, by the severity of his replies, dismissed them in admiration of his wit and fortitude.

Next day *Gonzalo Pizarro*, *Carvajal*, and other captains, were formally tried and condemned to be executed as

Carvajal
is taken
prisoner.

traitors to their king and country. The sentence passed on the former was, that he should be beheaded, his head fixed in the most public place in the empire, his house demolished, the ground sowed with salt, and a pillar erected with the following inscription, "These were the dwellings of the traitorous Pizarro." He was carried by a mule to the place of execution; where he spoke to the soldiers and other spectators in these terms, "Gentlemen, you are no strangers to the services performed by our family. My brothers and myself were the conquerors of this country. Many of you are possessed of estates and lands confirmed to you by the marquis and myself. Many of you likewise owe me pecuniary and other obligations, which I need not specify. For my part, I die poor and destitute. Even the cloaths I wear are not mine, they are the perquisite of the executioner for this bloody service, and his reward for depriving me of life: I beseech you therefore, gentlemen, that you will shew the gratitude you owe me, to the Almighty, the author of all good things, that you will pray for my soul, and shew that mercy to the spirit, which is denied to the flesh. I have strong assurances, that, through the mediation of my Redeemer, and the intercession of your prayers, my sons shall be forgiven, and myself made a partaker in that felicity in heaven, which I could never obtain on earth." Saying this, he laid his head with great composure on the block, and the executioner severed it with one stroke from his body. His faults were forgot, and his virtues recited, when popularity could do him no farther service; and compassion soon turned the stream of violent hatred to respect and admiration of himself and family, who were considered only as the conquerors of *Peru*, and the authors of those immense riches which flowed in upon the *Spaniards*. As to *Carvajal*, he was executed in the same manner, and to the last gasp sustained that heroism which had distinguished his whole life. *Garcilasso* employs several pages in describing his behaviour and witty sayings in adversity; but as many of these favour of levity, we shall omit them in honour to his memory, and as unfit to be inserted in a general history.

Both are executed.

^a *Ibid.*

HERRERA, dec. v. lib. iv. cap. 2.

S E C T. X.

Containing a Relation of the Rebellions of Sebastian Godinez and Giron, with other Transactions.

*Distribution
of lands,
and consequent
contents.*

WHEN the chiefs of this rebellion were removed, and the due punishment was inflicted on the delinquents, the president began to make regulations for restoring the public tranquillity, rewarding those who had assisted him in suppressing the rebellion, and making divisions of lands, with all possible regard to equity and expectation. On *Valdivia* he bestowed the government of *Chili*, which he before possessed without a formal commission. Others who had signally distinguished their valour and loyalty, were gratified with other preferments; and all had the thanks of the governor, and a promise to be rewarded as soon as opportunity offered. The point which gave the greatest uneasiness was the distribution of lands. It was impossible to answer the expectations of every man, who rated his services far beyond his merit; the following letter was calculated, therefore, to silence the murmurs of disappointment. In this the president declared the number of estates which he had already bestowed upon the faithful subjects of his majesty. "I have, said he, made repartition of an hundred and fifty commanderies, agreeable to the justest notions I could acquire of merit and long faithful services; and I shall, in the same manner, bestow whatever shall become vacant, during my government, upon the inhabitants of the country, taking special care that no interlopers shall run away with the rewards of your toil and blood. Those that are not now gratified, may depend on my favour." "I beseech you, therefore, to consider not what you would wish to enjoy, but what I have in my power to bestow. I have omitted nothing to serve you, immense donations have been made, many more will fall to my lot to make; rest satisfied, therefore, in my gratitude, and believe that I am sensible it is the duty of a christian to repay obligations, and the interest of a governor to secure the affections of the people by acts of justice and liberality." The distribution of lands was then published in *Cuzco*, agreeable to the governor's appointment; and, to avoid importunity, he quitted the city, and retired to *Guayanima*, where he waited to observe the effects it would produce. Estates, to the yearly value of 150,000 pistoles, were already

already given away; yet the large promises made to the officers and soldiers, who had just assisted to resist *Pizarro*, were not yet fulfilled. It was expected that the estates of *Gonzalo* and his officers would now be confiscated, and assigned to them who had always firmly adhered to the government; but as secret promises were made to those who should desert the usurper, it was found impracticable to gratify both parties. The one insisted on the promise of maintaining what they already possessed; the other was no less positive in being rewarded at the expence of those whose rebellion rendered their services needful. In consequence, murmurs and factions arose; which *Gasca*, with all his prudence, could not appease, because they were fomented by certain persons who meditated their own elevation on the ruins of their country.

Of all the malcontents, the most bold and dangerous was *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, notwithstanding he enjoyed to the yearly value of ten thousand pieces of eight out of the estate of *Gonzalo Pizarro*. This he deemed a very inadequate reward of his services; and highly resented, that any other should have received a superior gratification. He spoke with disrespect of the president's candour and discernment in the most public manner, and was reprov'd for his seditious behaviour by the archbishop of *Cuzco*, which served rather to irritate than amend *Giron*. He now set out for *Lima*, in order, as he pretended, to avoid the seditious storm which he saw impended over *Gasca's* injudicious measures, and keep aloof from the solicitations of the soldiers and people to head their factions. This very apology was in itself of such dangerous tendency, that *Giron* was committed to prison; but afterwards released, upon his making submission, and promising to proceed directly to *Lima*, where *Gasca* now resided, to implore his pardon. Here he insinuated himself so far with *Gasca*, that he permitted him to levy forces in *Lima* and *Cuzco*, in order to reduce the province of *Charcas*, and suppress a band of robbers, who daily infested the kingdom of *Peru*, and rendered travelling upon the highways extremely dangerous. Some writers alledge, that the president was compelled to this measure, to gratify the ambition of a person whose influence he found very considerable among the discontented *Spaniards*; but certainly the remedy was inconsistent with his former caution and prudence. The effects soon appeared; all the malcontents flocked immediately to the standard erected by *Giron*, and before he reached *Cuzco* his army was considerable; when he left it, it was formidable. He had published his commission to make

make new conquests with great solemnity; and was no sooner at the head of his army, than he artfully accused, in every conversation, the late measures of the president, which obliged some of the more moderate persons in the magistracy to signify to him the necessity of quitting the city. The soldiers behaved with the greatest insolence, and refused all submission to the civil power, affirming, that they acknowledged only the authority of their leader. When it was known that the magistrates had warned *Giron* of the necessity of leaving *Cuzco*, they assembled at his quarters in a tumultuous manner; and, on the other side, the citizens began to arm in their own defence. Just as matters were ripe for hostilities, both sides began to reflect on the consequences; and a treaty was concluded between the citizens and soldiers, whereby *Giron* consented to remove his forces, and deliver up six of the most insolent of his followers to be reprimanded.

Gasca resigns.

In this situation was *Peru*, when the president, perceiving that new troubles were raising, and the orders which he received from *Spain* to release all the *Indians* from bondage, would serve only to aggravate the evil, determined to resign his government, for which he had provided some months before, by desiring to be recalled. His petition was granted by the ministry, and *Don Antonio Mendoza* appointed to govern in his room, with the title and ensigns of viceroy. This intention was no sooner known in *Peru*, than all the discontented drew up complaints to the administration against *Gasca*; who thought the most effectual method of eluding their clamours, would be to return with a large sum of money for the use of the necessitous *Spanish* government. For this purpose he enforced heavy taxes, fleeced the people without mercy; and having amassed the sum of three millions, he set sail for *Panama*, on the first notice that the new viceroy had touched the *American* coast. Here he made scarce any stay, setting out across the isthmus to *Nombro de Dios*, and ordering the treasure to be brought after, under a guard. At this time *Pedro* and *Ferdinando de Centenos* had taken arms, to revenge the injustice done them, in being dispossessed of the province of *Veraguas* subdued by their father, and granted to him and his posterity. This action they ascribed to *Gasca* forming the resolution to invade *Peru* before he quitted that government, and for this purpose seizing upon several ships in the *South-sea*, and assembling a body of forces. When they heard of the president's departure for *Nombro de Dios*, they fell upon *Panama*, took the city, and seized the royal treasure; with which not resting satisfied, they detached a party

Insurrection at Panama; that city taken, and Gasca's treasure seized and again recovered.

party after *Gasca* to take him prisoner, and in the mean time lost all their booty. In the absence of this party, the inhabitants of *Panama* recovered from their consternation; and finding themselves more numerous than the rebels, took to arms, fell upon the rebels, drove them out of the town, and recovered all the treasure. The party sent after *Gasca* receiving intelligence of the misfortune of their associates, dispersed themselves; but many of them were taken and executed, together with the two *Centenos*, their leaders, who were hanged upon a gibbet of extraordinary height. Nothing could be more fortunate than this event, which suppressed, in embryo, a conspiracy that threatened the loss of all *Peru* and *Terra Firma*; for it was the scheme of the rebels, after they had made themselves masters of both sides the isthmus, to obstruct all relief from *Old Spain* or the *West Indies*; to join the malecontents of *Peru*, whereby they might easily have reduced that kingdom, and possibly laid the foundation of a new and independent empire.

As soon as *Gasca* retired to *Panama*, the judges published the second partition of lands which he had made; but deferred making known, for private reasons, before his departure. In their hands the partition was lodged till the arrival of *Mendoza*; they determined to make the full use of their short lived-power; they put in execution the new edict, which the president had prudently suppressed, with respect to releasing the *Indians* from personal service, and that rigid bondage in which they were held by the *Spaniards*. They required that the natives should no longer be compelled to work in the mines, to carry burdens, or do any laborious work; and insisted that their service should not only be voluntary, but that they should be paid a daily stated price. This edict, though undoubtedly humane and necessary, was, however, unseasonable at a juncture when the bulk of the *Spaniards* wanted only a specious pretext to rebel against the government. An insurrection immediately appeared in *Cuzco*; the disaffected immediately chose *Giron* for their leader, and augmented his numbers to so extraordinary a pitch, that the tumult was suppressed with the utmost difficulty. *Giron* being taken prisoner, was sent to receive judgment at *Lima*; but the judges knowing his popularity, and the universality of the discontents, would not presume to pass sentence, or even to call him to his trial. He was therefore dismissed, and rendered more insolent by this proof of their fear to correct him. The admiral *Norjosa* appeared in his favour; and was supposed to foment these disorders, because the new regulations, with respect to the *Indians*, affected him deeply.

His

An insur-
rection in
Cuzco.

His estate in the *Charcas*, where *Potosi* and the richest silver mines are, amounting to the annual sum of two hundred thousand crowns, would be reduced to half that value, were wages paid to the labourers. It was private interest, therefore, and not any other dislike to the edict, or the measures of the government, that stirred this officer up to faction and sedition. The rebellion of the *Centeno's* in *Panama* contributed to blow up the embers of discontent in different parts of *Peru*, and that country began again to groan under all the miseries of civil dissension. Altho' the intelligence of the defeat of the two brothers arrived soon after the news of their being in arms, yet were the humours of the people in too great agitation to be appeased, except by evacuation. The soldiers boldly declared their sentiments of the weakness of the government, for which they had of late years been taught, by numberless insurrections, to entertain but little respect. They had chosen leaders out of their own number, *Giron* not having yet returned from *Lima*; and their outrageousness proceeded to so great a length, that the magistrates of *Cuzco* applied to the royal court, but could obtain no redress, the corregidor, *Juan de S. Viedra*, being of opinion, that gentle means alone ought to be tried, where the effects of force were doubtful. Hence new disturbances rose daily to a greater height. Some were terrified with the apprehensions of the dreadful consequences of civil commotions; others wished for rebellion, in hopes of gaining some private advantage from the public confusion. With this view they propagated false news, slandered the government, hinted that the principal persons in the kingdom encouraged the insurrection, and affirmed, that only the spirit of the people could prevent their being reduced to indigence and misery, by the various practices of the judges to raise taxes and tributes. Those who still remained well affected to the government, pressed the corregidor to exert himself with spirit, and make examples of some of the most seditious; but he excused himself, saying, that the sentence he had passed on *Giron* was reversed by the royal court, and an injury by that means done to his honour, and the prerogative of his office.

The vice-roy Mendoza arrives at Lima.

In this situation of affairs the viceroy *Mendoza* arrived at *Lima*, where he was received with great rejoicing, and extraordinary marks of esteem. The archbishop and magistrates endeavoured to prevail on him to make a triumphal entry under a canopy of state; but this he constantly refused. His bad state of health preventing his visiting the different cities of his government, he charged his son, don *Francisco*, with that business; who accordingly set out for *Cuzco*, to examine

examine into the discontents which prevailed in that city, and proceed from thence to *Charcas*, and the more distant provinces. By his vigilance, and the activity of the magistrates, the tumult was at that time suppressed, and *Peru* delivered from one of the greatest dangers which had threatened it since the establishment of the *Spanish* government. After this he set out for *Charcas*, where he examined every thing with the most curious eye, took plans of the towns, made draughts of the mines of *Potosi*, in which all the silver mines were accurately delineated, established several necessary regulations in the different provinces, formed an exact estimate of the revenue deducible from the new conquest, and returned to his father at *Lima*, with an account of his progress and transactions. Thence he was dispatched in the month of *May* 1552, with all his draughts and plans, to give a relation to his imperial majesty of the present state of *Peru*; and soon after his absence the viceroy died, exceedingly regretted by all who regarded the interest of their country, and knew the value of a moderate, wise, and honest governor. By this unfortunate accident, the government devolved on the judges of the royal court; who no sooner were in possession of power, than they revived the decree for releasing the *Indians* from personal service, which was rather suspended than abolished during the late administration. However unpopular this regulation appeared, the judges always endeavoured to enforce it, as often as the administration came into their hands. They now required the execution with unusual rigour; which raised a ferment in all the provinces, especially in *Charcas*, where the service of the *Indians* was indispensable. To pay them would greatly diminish the profits of the proprietors of land, and private interest affected them more nearly than any impulse of humanity. Crowds of discontented *Spanish* inhabitants, and disbanded soldiers, assembled, upon a supposition they would receive countenance from the governor *Nonojola*, who they imagined intended to act independently, and claim the power formerly usurped by *Gonzalo Pizarro*. There were some reasons for this opinion, founded upon certain dubious expressions which he had uttered at *Lima*; but *Nonojola's* ambition being now gratified by the government of *Charcas*, where he possessed an immense estate, he altered his sentiments, and determined to support the government, agreeable to the duty of his employment, without risking so large a fortune in pursuit of dangerous ideal projects. The malcontents soon discovered they would be disappointed in their sanguine expectations from the governor; they resolved, therefore, to turn

turn their plot into another channel, and execute their schemes without his assistance. To obviate any difficulties he might throw in their way, it was agreed to put him to death, and set up *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, the most popular person in the province, for their commander. The malcontents spoke publickly of their designs; but *Nonojosa* obstinately refused to listen to the informations daily lodged, of a conspiracy against his life. His friends exhorted him to provide for his security; but *Nonojosa* could not persuade himself, that soldiers, among whom he was so popular, and who had hitherto appeared devoted to his service, could so suddenly alter their affections, as to assassinate the leader they had lately adored. His temper was open and unsuspicious, and this deluded him into a fatal carelessness; or perhaps he thought, like *Julius Cæsar*, that it was better to die once, than live in perpetual terror; and that when a man was deserted by his friends, life was of no longer value. Certain it is, that he never provided guards, or in the least altered his former conduct with respect to himself, tho' he was extremely industrious in what regarded the public. The conspirators went on without interruption, and entered *Nonojosa's* palace without resistance, rushed into his chamber, and loaded him with wounds; after which, they run into the streets, called out that the tyrant was dead, and wished long life to the king, to testify they were enemies only to the governors of the country, and not traitors to their sovereign.

Nonojosa
murdered.

HAVING finished this important business, the conspirators fell upon some of the principal citizens, whom they massacred, then plundering their houses, and committing the most shocking barbarities. The success which attended their measures rendered them fearless; by beat of drum they assembled all the inhabitants in the market-place, proclaimed their leader *Don Sebastian* governor, and chief justice of the province, appointed officers both civil and military, and disguised their treason under the thin varnish of doing every thing for the public good, and in the name of the sovereign. In a few days they gained possession of the town and mines of *Potosi*, where they found near two millions of pieces of eight, the property of the king, of the late governor, or of private persons. They also detached a party to seize upon *Puna Paz*, and murder the marshal *Alvarado*, who commanded in that city; but before their scheme was accomplished, fortune took a sudden turn, and divided the conspirators against themselves. Part of *Nonojosa's* soldiers began to reflect on the

consequences of such violent proceedings, and even to repent of the murder of their general; a horrible action, which *Don Sebastian* they resolved to expiate by shedding the blood of *Don Sebastian*, to whose ambition they now ascribed their own villainy. *assassinated*, and they were besides in hopes, that this action would prove to be acceptable to the government, as to cancel all their former offences. They set about their bloody work, therefore, with the utmost confidence; chose *Basco Godinez* for their leader, and assassinated the general whom they had so lately proclaimed, with much ostentation, appointing *Godinez* to all his employments. *made general of the rebels.*

A military government now prevailed in this part of the empire. The soldiers massacred and set up leaders at pleasure, imitating the example of the *Romans* towards the decline of the constitution, when the same person was invested with the purple, and torn in pieces by the mob in the space of a week; now the idol of the army, next day their detestation; just as fancy, caprice, ambition, and interest happened to prevail. *Godinez* obliged the magistrates to give sanction to the appointment of the soldiers, and confirm him not only in the dignity of general, but chief justice of the province of *Charcas*. By virtue of this authority, he acted with uncontrouled power; put all to death who were the objects of his resentment, or jealousy; caused several of the conspirators, engaged in the murder of *Nonojosa*, to be executed; and put on the appearance of extraordinary zeal for the king's service, as if he had been forced into the rebellion, and thrust into those employments, which he held with no other view, than serving his imperial majesty. Even his intimate acquaintance, his accomplices in the death of *Sebastian*, and dearest friends, felt the rod of power, and were assassinated, to prevent their discovering his complicated treasons, and disappointing him of those rewards which he expected for his vigilance in behalf of the government. He seized upon the estate of *Don Sebastian*, feared lest his accomplices might demand a share, and expected the government would confirm this usurpation, in consideration of the service he had performed in removing that tyrant and traitor. The inability of the royal court to cope with *Godinez* in the field, obliged the judges to have recourse to artifice, and seize the usurper by his own machinations. Pretending that they were convinced of his services, in taking off the rebellious *Sebastian*, and declaring for the king, they caused it to be signified to him, that they designed constituting him general of their forces, and assigning him a large estate in the province, which his public spirit had rescued from destruction; advising him to unite his forces with

Godinez
executed.

with the marshal *Alvarado*, in order strenuously to subdue the rebels, and suppress the intrigues of the discontented. When they had sufficiently deceived him, they privately appointed *Alvarado* governor of *Charcas*, ordering him to march with all his forces into the province, and surprise *Godinez*, who expected him as an auxiliary. Every thing succeeded to their wish; the deluded *Godinez* received *Alvarado* as his friend, and was seized, condemned, and executed, with most of his officers. As he was led to the place of execution, the following proclamation was made by the hangman: "This man, for treason to his God, his king and his country, is condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered."

Giron's
rebellion,
its origin.

So many persons were involved in the rebellion of *Godinez*, that scarce a day passed without the dreadful spectacle of men executed, and severed limb from limb. The justices enforced the laws with more regard to justice than policy and prudence. This severity raised many enemies to the government, and gave birth to the revolt of *Cuzco*, headed by *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, which put a stop to executions, and obliged the royal court to apply their whole attention to the means of suppressing so dangerous an insurrection. The *Indians* prognosticated the consequences of such rigorous punishments, and openly declared their apprehensions that another rebellion would rise out of the ruins of the former, and real cause of disaffection be given by the excessive severity of the judges. Every corner of *Peru* was filled with discontents, and resounded with clamours, of the cruel proceedings against the rebels. No man thought himself secure, because the same laws by which the accomplices of *Sebastian* and *Godinez* were punished, might be extended to all who had served under *Gonzalo Pizarro*, or been engaged in the factions of *Almagro*, and the marquis *Pizarro*. The two last rebellions had been formed by the principal citizens of *Cuzco*, who possessed large shares in the mines of *Potosi*, now lying unwrought on account of the new edict, which required that no compulsion should be used with the *Indians*. They resented the strict obedience required to this law, the violent proceedings against the rebels, and also feared, lest, in course of the processes and punishments every day set on foot, their own secret practices might be discovered. To anticipate the evil they dreaded, four of the citizens drew up a petition to the governor, requesting that the edict might be recalled, and a stop put to the violent criminal processes, which were seen with horror by every man who felt for humanity. When this petition was presented, the governor perused it, and then tore it in pieces with indignation; which gave so much offence

to the persons concerned, that they immediately laid the foundation of a general revolt. They engaged *Giron* in their schemes; and he soon became the most active, and, indeed, the leading person of the conspiracy. He had, for some time, watched the opportunity of gratifying an insatiable ambition, not at all impaired by repeated disappointment, and waited, before he declared himself, the issue of the revolt in the province of *Charcas*. Informed that *Alvarado* maintained a correspondence with *Ramirez*, the governor of *Cuzco*, and was concerting measures for destroying him and his friends, he resolved to anticipate their designs, and break out into open rebellion. For this purpose *Giron* assembled his friends, acquainted them with the danger, revealed all the intelligence he received concerning the schemes carried on by *Alvarado* and *Ramirez*, aggravated every circumstance, and affirmed that *Alvarado's* design was to strike at *Cuzco*, the root of all the evils of which he complained, as soon as he had lopped off the branches of *Charcas*. He exhorted them, therefore, to enter upon vigorous measures for their own preservation, and not tamely suffer unjust punishments like their friends in *Charcas*, under colour of law. The cause was general to all the *Spanish* planters; all were interested in opposing an edict which rendered their mines useless, and their estates a mere incumbrance, if they were deprived of the services of the *Indians*; and he assured them, they would soon be joined by great numbers as soon as it was known they had taken up arms to redress a grievance so general and important.

THIS assembly consisting chiefly of citizens, who were proprietors of mines or estates, or of soldiers of desperate fortune, whose only resource was in some new disturbance, was not difficult of belief; little persuasion was necessary to engage them to what they were before disposed. They closed with *Giron's* proposal, and offered their services in executing any plan for the preservation of liberty, which he should think fit to offer. A happy occasion now presented itself for putting their desperate schemes in practice. The daughter of a rich *Spaniard* was to be married at *Cuzco*, on the 15th day of *November*, and the nuptials were to be celebrated with great magnificence. The great flocking to this exhibition would render easy their project to seize on the governor and principal magistrates, who were invited to the wedding. When the day came, *Giron*, with twelve of the most desperate of the conspirators, rushed into the bridegroom's house, while the company were at supper. Observing some of them were making off, he desired they would fear nothing, for they were all engaged in the same measures; upon which he

seized upon the governor and magistrates, killing two or three of the number who offered to make resistance, and suffering the rest of the company to go away unmolested. This gave suspicion that all were concerned; and it was a refined stroke of policy in *Giron*, who, by this means, drew to his party several persons, before ignorant of the plot, who thought their being suspected would be equally punishable with the actual commission of the crime. They joined in, therefore, with *Giron*, hoping to increase the conspirators to such a number, as would be able to subvert the government; and, by getting the laws into their own hands, obviate the punishments inflicted on rebellion, and even the suspicion of disloyalty.

WHEN *Giron* accomplished his designs on the governor and magistrates, he committed them to prison, and then joined his party drawn up in the market-place, making proclamation for all the friends of liberty to assemble in arms. He then seized upon the royal treasure and the arsenal, beat up for recruits in the most public manner, and declared that all he had undertaken was for the service of his king and country. He complained, that all remonstrances made to the royal court were contemptuously rejected, and that nothing remained but to rely upon the supreme authority, until the situation of affairs could be properly presented to his catholic majesty. When he had assembled a considerable force, he required of the magistrates to constitute him chief justice; and such was his influence, or their pusillanimity, that his demand met with no refusal. The magistrates nominated him not only chief justice, but captain-general; and several other towns congratulated him on his elevation, and offered to support him in his measures with all their power.

ADVICE of this revolt no sooner reached the royal court, than orders were issued immediately to suspend the execution of the new ordinance, to which they chiefly attributed the commotion. At the same time *Alvarado* was constituted general of the forces in the southern provinces, who were ordered to march towards *Cuzco*; and a resolution was taken, to assemble an army in the neighbourhood of *Lima*, which was to join that of *Alvarado*. To prevent those who dreaded punishment for being engaged in the late rebellion, from throwing themselves into the arms of the magistrates, pardon was proclaimed to all who had fought under the ensigns of *Pizarro*, *Sebastian*, and *Godinez*, provided they would immediately enlist in the royal army, and serve against the enemies of their king and country; but by this time *Giron* was so strong, that he marched to *Rachabamac*, on his way

to *Lima*, to give battle to the royalists. Here he received intelligence that the enemy was approaching, and was making preparations to bring matters to a speedy issue, when the desertion in his army constrained him to retire to a greater distance. In his retreat he was pursued by *Paolo de Meneses*, who had orders to harass his rear with a considerable detachment; but this officer was drawn into a snare, and defeated with great loss, before the main body of the royal army could come to his relief. Defeats a royal detachment.

THIS victory was no way decisive; but it was of the utmost consequence to *Giron*, giving him not only leisure to augment his army, but enabling him to put a stop to the desertion, by infusing new spirits into his soldiers. He formed a complete regiment of well disciplined negroes, besides a number of *Spaniards*, who embraced his cause, the moment it appeared that fortune declared herself in his favour, although they were ready to join the opposite party. With this force he advanced to the plains of *Nasca*, on the sea-coast, about three score leagues to the northward of *Lima*; while *Alvarado*, having assembled a thousand *Spaniards*, and ten thousand *Indians*, began his march from *Charcas*, and took possession of *Cuzco*, for the king, in the absence of *Giron*. Here, being joined by several detachments, he thought himself in a condition to cope with the rebels; he set out in quest of *Giron*, who then seemed to despise the enemy. Flushed with their late victory, so easily obtained, they imagined every thing must yield to them; but *Giron* judged otherwise, recommended caution as well as valour, and bid them fight as men whose future happiness depended on their courage, and who had their fortunes to shape with their swords. He assured them, that, besides a numerous body of *Indians*, there were a thousand well disciplined *Spaniards*, veterans inured to fatigue and action, advancing against them from *Lima*, besides the still more powerful forces marching from *Cuzco*, under the conduct of *Alvarado*. "However," added he, "if I had but four hundred men, on whose fidelity I could depend, I should make no doubt of victory; since the battle is not to the strong and numerous, but to the unanimous and valiant, to them who obey their general, and not to those who each of them aspire at commanding." When he had taken off the rash confidence of his soldiers, without damping their spirits, or blunting the edge of their courage, he marched and took possession of an advantageous post near *Chugninca*, on the road the enemy must pass, wishing for nothing more than to be attacked, in this situation, by the royalists, rocks, woods, and precipices, made his

F f 2

army

*Gains a
complete
victory over the
royalists.*

army inaccessible on every side ; but *Giron* artfully concealed the strength of the post, the more readily to seduce *Alvarado* into an engagement : however, the stratagem failed. *Alvarado* knew the ground, and surrounded it with intention, cut off all supplies of provision from the rebels, and reduce them to the necessity of engaging on less advantageous terms, or surrendering at discretion, to avoid being famished. This measure was conducted with so much address, that *Giron's* troops were soon brought to great extremity, of which *Alvarado* received notice by an officer who deserted to him, and gave him further information, that the rebels intended to decamp in the night, and force their way through his lines. The deserter further alledged, that *Giron's* camp might easily be forced, as all his troops were discontented with the hardships they suffered, and so sickly as scarce to be able to bear arms : upon which *Alvarado*, changing his resolution, gave orders to prepare for an attack. This was precisely what *Giron* wished for. He drew up his men to receive the enemy, and animated them with the certain prospect of victory, and a speedy issue to their sufferings. There were only two accessible posts in his camp, and for their defence he chose those soldiers in whom he had the greatest confidence. Here the assault began. In one place the royalists were obliged to cross a river, up to the neck ; and, in another, to march along a defile encumbered with rocks and bushes, and so narrow, that scarce three men could walk a-breast. They were cut off as fast as they advanced, by repeated well directed discharges of fire-arms. The cannon made dreadful havoc ; yet the marshal persevered, leading his men on to successive assaults, and renewing the charge with such obstinacy, that had not a panic seized the soldiers, the whole army must have infallibly perished. Already two-thirds of his men were killed or taken prisoners ; and *Alvarado*, in despair, was marching up with the last division, when the soldiers, perceiving the fate of their companions, and the dreadful carnage made by the rebel artillery, turned their backs, fled with great precipitation, and carried off *Alvarado* in the crowd of fugitives, in despite of his utmost endeavours, rather to perish than survive the shame of his disgrace. Above four hundred and fifty of the royalists were killed or taken ; while this important victory cost *Giron* no more than seventeen of his soldiers, who were soon replaced by the prisoners, who insisted themselves, and embraced the side for which fortune seemed to declare. The booty was immense, and even exceeding any thing ever before seen even in that rich country. The richest planters in *Peru* served in *Alvarado's* army, and

had arms and equipages suitable to their wealth and overgrown fortunes. Every thing was adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones; the horse furniture and arms were particularly splendid; and so certain were they of victory, that some preparations had actually been made for a magnificent triumphal entry into *Lima*.

THE confusion occasioned by this defeat among the royalists would have given the enemy the greatest advantages, had *Giron* known as well how to pursue as to gain a victory. Many insisted that the marshal was betrayed, without which he could not possibly have been defeated; and so far had this opinion prevailed, that suspicion fell upon particular persons. The judges met in council to pass judgment on the supposed criminals; and they were just preparing to consign to capital punishment the justice *Santillon*, when letters arrived from *Alvarado*, and his officers, which fully cleared that gentleman, by reciting the real causes of this misfortune. The marshal laid the blame on the disobedience of his soldiers; but his officers charged him with rashness, and injudiciously attacking the enemy in an impregnable situation, when he might have forced them to surrender without shedding a drop of blood. *Lorenzo de Aldena* even ventured to reflect on his courage; for he added at the close of his letter, "They say the marshal is wounded, but I am sure it was neither with fighting, or giving encouragement to his soldiers." Whereas the enemy, and almost all the rest of his own officers, do him ample justice in this respect, and affirm, that the impetuosity of his courage must have occasioned the entire destruction of his soldiers, but for the reasons we have mentioned. Nothing was wanting to complete *Giron's* success, but to improve the advantage he obtained by his valour, and pursue the enemy with vigour, while they were disheartened and divided. The bench of judges fell into warm disputes, whether they ought to accompany the army, to give the general more authority, and prevent the murmurings of the soldiers? And this affair was warmly debated in the town-house of *Lima*, while the army ought to be employed in the field, to prevent such consequences as might naturally have been expected from a defeat. Happily for the royalists, *Giron* remained five or six weeks inactive in his impregnable camp; contenting himself with sending detachments to *Cuzco*, *Arequipa*, *La Paz*, and other cities, to plunder and despoil without limitation or restriction. Endeavours at the same time were used to augment the army, which, by means of the prisoners that insisted, and the volunteers that every day flocked to *Giron's* victorious banners, soon increased to a

Offends
the citi-
zens of
Cuzco.

thousand *Spaniards*, exclusive of the detachments, *Indians* and *Negroes*. To complete his train of artillery, which was much inferior to that of the enemy, he ordered the great bells of *Cuzco* to be cast into cannon, and inscribed with the motto "Liberty;" the cant term used by all seditious persons to conceal ambition, and disguise rebellion against their king and country. The royalists made a proper use of this circumstance; they exclaimed against it as a piece of impiety and sacrilege, which the Almighty would not fail to punish. The citizens of *Cuzco* echoed the cry, because they resented the cruel pillage made by *Giron's* detachment, which had entirely alienated their minds from his interest.

WRETCHED was the condition of both parties; *Spaniards* and *Indians* were equally sufferers by these dreadful civil wars and frequent rebellions. It was but lately that the royalists were shedding the blood of their countrymen by the legal forms of courts; and plundering and massacring the adherents of *Giron*, who now retaliated the injury with a vengeance on the heads of all those who had declared themselves enemies to his cause, or even kept aloof with design of joining the stronger side. Many citizens, in *Cuzco*, were not only stripped of their estates, but deprived of their lives. Scarce a house escaped the fury of the soldiers, and the citizens were no less incensed at *Giron's* avarice than the clergy at his sacrilege. Both united against him, and composed so formidable a body, that he was forced to fend for his wife and children, not chusing to trust his family in a city which had now openly declared its enmity. All this we may ascribe to *Giron's* own imprudence, for he might easily have secured the friendship of the capital, could he only have moderated his revenge and avarice. The inhabitants of *Cuzco* favoured his cause, were enemies to the new edict, and strongly prejudiced against the judges, for the severe punishments inflicted on all who opposed its establishment; but now they perceived that *Giron's* aim was not to defend the property and rights of the *Spaniards*, but to acquire the power of plundering and executing his countrymen with impunity. It was this change in the sentiments of the citizens, which determined *Giron* to march to the pleasant vale of *Tuca*, where he refreshed his troops, and gave himself up to rural sports, until advice arrived that the royalists augmented to two thousand men, were marching directly to *Cuzco*, with a fine train of artillery, and numerous army of confederate *Indians*. He then retired to a strong pass, about forty leagues south of the capital, where he

he posted his army in such a manner as rendered an attack extremely dangerous, if not impracticable. This was the peculiar province of *Giron*; no general was ever more judicious or fortunate in the choice of ground for encampments. His wings and front were inaccessible by rivers, woods, rocks, or morasses, and behind he was secured by a deep rapid stream, which, however, did not obstruct his communication with the adjacent country. Besides, he commanded the province of *Charcas* by this pass, and thereby rendered himself absolutely master of the treasures of *Potosi*. His troops were not only regularly paid, but such a fund was laid up as might enable him to prosecute the war for a series of years, were money the only requisite.

MEAN time the royal army passed the rivers *Amenay* and *Aperimac*, in their way to *Cuzco*, and met with considerable resistance from parties detached by *Giron* to dispute their passage. The artillery was carried with great labour, and employed no less than ten thousand *Indians*, every piece of cannon being fixed to a long beam, longitudinally supported by transverse beams laid upon the shoulders of the natives. In this manner the royalists arrived within a few leagues of *Cuzco*, when they received the unfortunate news, that a detachment of their forces, under *Gomez de Solis*, was defeated at *Arequepa* by *Piedrabita*; immediately they pursued their march to *Pacava*, the strong post in which *Giron* was encamped. *Giron* was in hopes the enemy's superiority in numbers would prompt them to attack him as they had done at *Sibuquenza*; but they prudently resisted all the baits he threw out, and plainly evinced that they were grown wiser by experience. They encamped within sight of the rebels, in an open plain, where the cavalry might act with freedom, and maintained perpetual skirmishes, in which it was observable the enemy had generally the advantage; notwithstanding *Garcilasso* affirms their artillery was of no use, "Providence forbidding that the sacred metal, of which the churches were despoiled, should be employed in the destruction of mankind." For several days the two armies watched each other, without any attempts on either side to come to a general engagement; however, *Giron* was at length encouraged to attack the royalists by the constant superiority he had in skirmishing, and certain reports that the caution of the judges proceeded from their apprehensions with respect to the fidelity of their soldiers. It was, besides, rumoured, that the enemy were in great want of powder, matches, and all kinds of ammunition; and this report, though artfully propagated by the judges, was so easily

Is repul-
sed,

fly credited by *Giron*, that he laid aside his usual caution, and resolved to act offensively. He called a council of his officers, in which it was resolved to make an assault in the night, upon a certain quarter of the enemy's camp. His officers had in a manner been forced into a concession by the earnestness with which he urged the proposal; for it was the unanimous opinion, that he should hold himself close in his quarters, maintain all the advantages of his situation, and thereby compel the enemy to decamp for want of necessities, or fight at a great disadvantage. In compliance, however, to him, they submitted, and *Giron* regarded their obedience as a proof of their being convinced by the force of his arguments, which served to confirm him the more in his resolution. Accordingly a muster of his army was made in the evening, whence it appeared that several had deserted, and probably apprised the royalists of his intention. Yet could not this unfortunate circumstance divert his resolution; on the contrary, fearing lest the desertion might continue, and thinking it probable that the enemy would soon be reinforced, he hastened to put his project in execution, and concerted his plan with so much prudence and ability as merited success. About two o'clock in the morning, when the moon was down, he sallied out of his camp at the head of six hundred musketeers, two hundred pikemen, a regiment of negroes, and about thirty horse. The black regiment had orders to advance with all possible silence to the front of the enemy, and there to make a diversion; while, with the bulk of his army, he fell upon the rear. That his men should be able to distinguish each other in the dark, they were clothed in white; and had, besides, a word of battle, to prevent confusion, and enable them to rally, in case they should happen to fall in disorder: every thing was executed with the utmost punctuality; but the enemy had entirely altered their position upon the intelligence of the deserters, and marching out of their intrenchments, drew up in order of battle on the plain, planting their artillery in such a manner as to take the assailants in flank, according to the advices they heard of their intended disposition. The negro regiment, meeting with no resistance on the front, entered the camp, killed several *Indians* and mules, and were returning in astonishment at what had become of the enemy, when they were saluted by a volley of grape-shot, poured from the mouths of eleven pieces of cannon, which almost cut off the whole corps. *Giron*, at this time, was firing with great fury upon the rear of the enemy's camp; when, to his great surprise, a shower of bullets came upon him from another

quarter, which gave him the first notice of his disappointment, and determined him to make the best retreat in his power, although he sustained but little damage. Yet he could not prevent two hundred of his men from deserting him, notwithstanding his disposition was so good that he regained his camp without any loss from the enemy. The conduct of the justices was no less admirable. When they observed the rebels retiring, an attempt was made to pursue, lest Giron might face about, and by this sudden motion alarm the troops, as if they had been drawn into an ambuscade. Every man was ordered to keep within the works, on pain of death, and the pursuit wholly entrusted to a detachment of horse, that made some unsuccessful attacks on the enemy's rear.

SUCH was the issue of the battle of *Pucera*, in which not above twenty men were slain on both sides, unless we except the loss sustained by the negroe regiment, of which the Spaniards never made any account, regarding the death of a slave, and of a brute, in much the same light. Giron found himself still in a condition to maintain his post against all the power of the royalists. The three following days he kept the judges in perpetual alarm, obliging them every night to draw up in battalia. Next day he drew out his army, as if to decide matters by an equal battle in the open field, or rather to draw the enemy on to attack him in his strong situation; but this motion was attended with a consequence very unfortunate to him, by furnishing *Vasquez*, with twelve more ~~units~~, in whom Giron had great confidence, with an opportunity of deserting. *Vasquez* had brought with him a silver helmet belonging to the lieutenant-general *Piedrahita*, in token of his resolution to come over to the judges, as soon as a fair occasion offered. The intelligence was extremely acceptable to the judges, who, till now, entertained only faint hopes of reducing Giron with his handful of soldiers; they, therefore, issued immediate orders for the troops to keep within their quarters, and avoid skirmishing, only sending out parties to facilitate the desertion.

GIRON was confounded with the infidelity of *Vasquez*; still, however, he did not despair. He endeavoured, by the most soothing and animating expressions, to secure the affections, and sustain the spirits of his soldiers. To prevent their being affected with the departure of the traitor *Vasquez*, he laid before them the reasons that induced him to enter upon the enterprise, which was nothing less than the defence of their rights, properties, and lives, and acquainted

quainted them with what they must expect, if they followed the example of their perfidious companions. "Be not troubled, said he, for the loss of *Vasquez*; he is but a man, and we can do without his assistance. Let me dissuade you from trusting to the pardon which he imagined he has secured by his treachery. No enemy ever yet rewarded a traitor, or encouraged him longer than while he was necessary to their purposes. You may be satisfied, that, however they may care for *Vasquez* for the present, his life will be the price of his treachery, the moment I am subdued, and that he at present owes his safety to our resistance, and not to their esteem or regard. I have no value for my own life, but as it may contribute to your safety; for I am confident of the punishment in wait for all those who trust to the promises of the judges, who will make no scruple of hanging up a deserter with his pardon about his neck. It is valour alone that can place you beyond the power of our enemies, and secure you against an ignominious death. Our situation is by no means desperate; if we are unanimous, we shall still be victorious; at least we still have this satisfaction, that we die with our swords in our hands, in the defence of freedom, and have escaped that ignominious punishment due to the credulity and perfidy of our associates."

A RAY of hope seemed to dart into the soul of *Giron* from the effect this speech produced on his soldiers. Every sentence was echoed with applause; but scarce had the day passed before a third of the whole number deserted. This threw him into despair; he every moment expected to be betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and could devise no other means of warding off the danger, than by taking refuge in the mountains; which resolution he put in practice the same night, without communicating his design to one individual, leaving the few remaining troops to shift for themselves. *Giron's* flight was no sooner known in his camp, than *Alvarado*, who acted in quality of lieutenant-general, went in search of him, with a hundred men, devoted to his service; but taking a different rout, were all surprised and taken by one of the king's generals, detached by the judges in pursuit of the rebels, of whose flight they were informed by several deserters. Nine of the principal officers were executed on the spot, and the rest of the prisoners sent to *Cuzco* under a strong guard, there to receive, agreeable to legal forms, the punishment due to their crimes. Another of the rebel generals had the good fortune to go over to the royal army, with great part of the forces, before *Giron's* flight

was

was known, and for some time enjoyed the benefit of the pardon that was published; but he was hanged up afterwards for this rebellion, by order of the next viceroy, who paid no regard to the pardon granted by the judges. As for the unhappy *Giron*, he wandered alone for several days through pathless, desert mountains, hiding himself in woods and caverns. At last he was discovered by some of his faithful soldiers, who resolved to participate in his misfortunes. They comforted each other for some days in their affliction, and then fell into the baits laid by their enemies. *Giron* was taken prisoner, sent to *Lima*, and publickly executed, his head being fixed up over those of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and *Francisco Carvajal*. Thus ended the rebellion and life of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, who had distinguished himself by actions truly glorious, had they been performed in the service of his king and country.

ON the arrival of the marquis *Canneta*, who was appointed by *Philip II.* to succeed *Mendoza*, most of the rebel officers, even those who had deserted before their affairs became desperate, were executed. The viceroy made his publick entry into *Lima*, in the month of *July* 1557, and was received with all the respect due to his exalted dignity and high quality. Immediately he placed guards on all the roads leading to the great cities, with orders strictly to examine all passengers, and seize any papers found upon them, the better to discover the plots and conspiracies which might be in agitation. Even *Spaniards* were required to make use of passports in travelling from one town or province to another. All the cannon, small arms, and ammunition, in the different cities, were carefully collected, and lodged in magazines and arsenals, to be opened only with leave from the viceroy, and every possible step was taken to suppress any forming rebellions, and extinguish the latent sparks of the late conspiracy. Several of the principal officers engaged in the revolts of *Pizarro*, *Sebastián*, *Godínez*, and now of *Giron*, were banished, and their estates confiscated, or sent into the galleys. All the commissions granted by the judges were revoked, and new appointments made. To silence at one stroke all murmurs against these arbitrary proceedings, he ordered several persons who had expressed their disapprobation of his measures, to be seized and sent to *Spain*, under pretence of commending them to the king for rewards which he could not bestow. These were the steps taken by the new viceroy to enforce obedience to the laws, and impress a favourable opinion of the vigour of his administration. Hitherto only the *Spaniards* were considered as objects of his policy; he

One of the
inca
princes
prevailed
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cept a pen-
sion.

he now turned his attention towards the natives, and laboured to attach them to the government by acts of mildness and liberality. His first endeavour was to prevail on *Sayri Tapa*, a prince the nearest in blood to the late inca *Manco Capac*, and regarded by the *Indians* as the legitimate sovereign of the empire, to quit the woods and mountains in which he concealed himself, accept of the friendly offers of the *Spaniards*, and a yearly appointment sufficient to maintain the splendor of his exalted rank and quality. To render the negotiation less difficult, he applied to *Donna Beatriz Corja*, aunt to the young prince, to use her influence with his guardians, and assure them that no deceit was intended, the proposal resulting entirely from the viceroy's sincere desire of seeing *Spaniards* and *Indians* united in the strongest bonds of amity, and all enjoying equal happiness under his government. Accordingly this lady dispatched a messenger of the blood-royal to the mountains of *Vilca Pompa*, where the court resided. After encountering manifold difficulties, the messenger was admitted into the presence of the prince, his guardians, counsellors, and captains, who directed his affairs during his minority, and the viceroy's proposal was taken into consideration. Tho' it was brought by a kinsman from a lady, whom they knew to be strongly attached to the royal family; yet they could not help suspecting the sincerity of the *Spaniards*, and regarding the overture as a stratagem to get the young prince into their hands, possibly to treat him in the same manner they had done the inca *Atahualpa*. That no precaution might be omitted, this lithe fugitive court dispatched an express to *Cuzco*, with instructions to sound the real sentiments of the *Spaniards*, and examine narrowly whether they had not deluded *Donna Beatriz* by specious appearances. As these mutual embassies took up more time than the viceroy expected, he grew impatient; and thinking to accelerate matters, he charged a friar, who had gained some reputation as a politician, with a commission immediately to the prince; but so cautious were the *Indians*, that they seized all the passes, and forbid the friar access to the court. However, *Donna Beatriz* at last finished the business, by going in person to the mountains of *Vilca Pompa*, presenting the prince with certain proofs of the sincerity of the *Spaniards*, and demonstrating that the proposals made by the marquis were perfectly consistent with policy, and that rule of administration which he adopted, of uniting the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in one common interest. After warm debates in the council, the proposal was at length accepted, and an instrument made out, whereby the inca consented to

quit the mountains, and live among the *Spaniards*, in consideration of the annual revenue of seventeen thousand pieces of eight; to secure the payment of which the estate of *Francisco Hernandez*, part of the valley of *Yuy*, together with lands and *Indians* in the jurisdiction of *Cuzco*, were settled upon him for life, and during his peaceable conduct. He, besides, enjoyed the title of lord of the valley of *Yuy*; a poor equivalent for his empire, which he, however, willingly accepted, as soon as he was made sensible that the viceroy was serious in the offer. *Garcilasso*, indeed, alledges, that when the instrument was presented to him in gilt paper by the archbishop, he took up the fringed velvet covering upon the table, and folding a corner of it in his hand, exclaimed, "All this table and fringe formerly belonged to me; but now the *Spaniards* repay me with a single thread for the support of my dignity, my household, friends, and family."

THE reconciling the inca to the *Spanish* government was certainly a masterly stroke; but the marquis *Canneta* punished those who had ever appeared in arms against the king with so much rigour, that he raised a great number of enemies to his administration. Complaints were daily pouring in upon the ministry of king *Philip*, which rendered it necessary to appoint a new viceroy, as the only means of appeasing the murmurs. Accordingly *Don Diego Azevedo* was nominated to that quality; but he dying on his voyage, the government devolved upon the *Conde de Nueva*; and he again was in a little time succeeded by *Don Francisco de Toledo*, under whom the persecution of the royal blood of the incas was revived. It was now discovered that *Sayri Tapac* had an elder brother, the grandson of *Mancó Capac*, who kept his court in the mountains, in order to avoid the slavish bondage imposed on the rest of the *Indians*. The title to sovereignty, it would appear, was disputed by the friends of the young prince, and each of them maintained a little court, which just served to remind them of their birth-right. By this time *Sayri Tapac* was dead; and indeed removed, as some imagine, by poison, to ease the *Spanish* government of the load of his maintenance; so that *Tapac Amaru* had an undisputed claim to the throne of his ancestors. The viceroy was desirous of drawing this prince from his retirement, either upon the same principle with his predecessor the marquis *Canneta*, or to prevent the disturbances which might possibly arise from his pretensions. With this intention he sent messengers to him, and offered to support his royal dignity with some revenue settled upon his brother, if he would

would consent like him to live among the *Spaniards*, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the catholic king. The proposal met with many difficulties, either upon account of the suspicions entertained of the viceroy's real intention, or the reports propagated of the violent death of the prince's brother. His friends strongly admonished him to continue rather in his present retirement, where he enjoyed freedom and independency, till a proper opportunity offered of asserting his right, than to trust his life and liberty in the hands of such perfidious allies, whose generosity was only a masque to their ambition and avarice. This advice the prince followed, and returned a suitable answer to the viceroy's message; upon which a council was held at *Lima*, to deliberate upon the means of reducing the inca to the terms required. The result was, that as the prince refused to accept the equitable conditions offered him, he should be regarded as an enemy, and compelled into such measures as were necessary for the security of the *Spaniards*. It was added, as an additional reason for taking up arms, that he had posted himself in such a manner, as to obstruct all intercourse between *Cuzco*, *Humanca*, and *Rimac*, on the roads to which his *Indian* subjects pillaged and robbed all the *Spanish* travellers. What truth there might be in this allegation, we cannot positively determine; certain we are, that the grievance was never mentioned before the *Spaniards* found it their interest to quarrel with the inca; and the truth is rendered very suspicious by the following argument, which was used in council for coming to hostilities; namely, that insurrections might be raised in the empire by this claimant to the imperial dignity, countenanced and supported both by *Indians* and *Spaniards* descended from *Indian* mothers, unless timely precautions were used. *Garcilasso*, indeed, positively denies the fact of the robberies, affirming that the inca's friends supplied him with provision brought from the flat country; but never once used violence to a *Spaniard* or even to an *Indian*, unless carrying off some cattle to answer the necessities of nature, to which, however, the inca had a just title, could be construed into rapine and plunder.

The inca
Tapac
Atiaru
taken.

THE viceroy, swayed by the opinion of his council, and in great expectation of recovering the hidden treasures of the late incas, ordered a body of troops to be raised under pretence of completing the conquest of *Chili*. *Garcia Lopez* had the command of this corps, which was no sooner formed than he began his march to the mountains of *Vilca-umpu*. Upon the news of his approach, the prince, with his court, fled twenty leagues farther into this desert country, and was

closely

closely pursued by the *Spaniards*. Upon this he began to reflect, that being neither able to resist their power by open force of arms, nor to elude their search for any considerable time, his best method would be to surrender himself before they were too much irritated, as he was conscious to himself of no crime which should make him dread their vengeance. Accordingly he put himself into the hands of *Loyola*, in full confidence that the *Spaniards* would take pity on a prince whom they found naked and half famished: little did he imagine the cruel persecution that was intended. The attorney-general was immediately directed to make out an impeachment, in which was set forth a number of the most notorious falsities. He was accused of having ordered his servants to plunder the *Spanish* merchants and travellers; of entering into a confederacy with the caziques, who lived under the protection of the *Spaniards*, and had lands and lordships assigned them; and of forming a conspiracy to overthrow the present government, and expel the conquerors of *Peru*. Similar processes were formed against divers caziques, and *Spaniards* born of *Indian* mothers, as if they were concerned in the inca's designs of recovering the imperial dignity. In consequence they were all closely imprisoned, many were put to the torture to confess crimes of which they had never been guilty, and give false evidence against their friends and relations, and the most shocking spectacles of tyranny and barbarity were daily exhibited. All the kindred of the inca were banished to *Lima*, where, in the space of two years, they all perished with famine, hard labour, or diseases incident to the moisture of that climate; while the unhappy prince himself was condemned to suffer an ignominious death, merely to remove the fears, quiet the suspicions, and gratify the avarice or ambition of the oppressive conquerors. When sentence was passed, his supposed crime was proclaimed by the common cryer, to give the colour of justice to the most iniquitous proceedings. When his fate was signified to the inca, his reply was, that he knew of no crime he had committed. If the viceroy entertained any jealousy of him or his people, he might easily quiet those apprehensions by sending him to *Spain*, where he should rejoice to kiss the hands of the king: but it was impossible, he said, that the viceroy could harbour any jealousy; for if his ancestors, with an army of two hundred thousand men, could not resist two hundred *Spaniards*, entire strangers in the country, how could it be conceived that he would attempt recovering his dominions with a handful of men against the conquerors, now so greatly multiplied and dispersed.

The inca
put to
death.

dispersed in all the provinces? He urged the improbability of his surrendering himself, had he been conscious of any guilt: he was sensible of his innocence; and he, therefore, gave himself up to the *Spaniards*, in hopes they would settle upon him the same revenue assigned to his brother. He appealed to the king, and the great *Pachacamac*, from the sentence passed by the viceroy, who, not content with enjoying his empire, must likewise deprive him of his life, without the least colour of offence. "This, said he, is the price which the perfidious *Spaniard* pays for my empire; this is the return for my confidence. I am injured, and I am therefore to suffer an ignominious death; but the gods cannot behold such injustice with impunity; remorse at least will torture the breast of the tyrant!" A prediction which was verified soon after. In such pathetic terms did this unfortunate prince bewail his situation, and exclaim against the cruelty of the viceroy, that all who heard him were deeply affected. The *Spaniards* themselves presented a petition to the viceroy in his behalf, exhorting him not to sully his administration with so inhuman an action, as the murder of a prince deprived of his inheritance, and thrown upon his compassion; but *Don Francisco de Toledo* was inflexible. He either believed that the inca's death was essential to the security of the empire, or he had proceeded to such a length that he was ashamed to retract. A scaffold was therefore erected in the most public part of the city, the prince was brought forth from his dungeon, mounted upon a mule, a halter round his neck, with a cryer before him, proclaiming that he was a traitor and rebel to the catholic king. When he ascended the scaffold, he desired to know what the cryer said; and being informed, he exclaimed in a kind of phrensy, "Let it be published to all the world, that I am falsely accused, and that I now die, only because it is the pleasure of the tyrant." With these words he stretched forth his neck to the executioner, his head was severed with one stroke from his body, and the air was immediately filled with the lamentable cries of the *Indians*, and the moans of *Spaniards* themselves, who could not behold this act of barbarity unmoved. Thus ended the male race of the royal blood; and the troubles of *Peru*. *Toledo* was recalled soon after, severely reprimanded by the king for his cruelty, his estate sequestered to the crown, and himself confined to his house, where he died of grief, remorse, and chagrin.

S E C T. XI.

which the Reader will meet with an Account of the Origin, Kings, Laws, Religion, Learning, &c. of the ancient Mexicans.

WE proceed now to give a concise view of the ancient history of *Mexico*, which, according to the order observed in the preceding volumes of our labours, should have gone before the conquest; but we presumed to make this alteration in the disposition of the work, for reasons extremely obvious. *America* was discovered gradually, in consequence of a series of expeditions made by the *Spaniards*. It would have been improper to enter upon the history and description of the country, before we recited those expeditions, the natural order being to give first an account of the means by which the *Europeans* acquired their knowledge of the *Indians*, and then relate the effects. Had we presented these particulars to our readers, after the manner of the *Spanish* writers, in the order in which they became known to the *Spaniards*, the ancient history must not only have interrupted our narrative of the conquest, but the description of the customs, manners, and provinces of the several kingdoms, would have been dispersed in broken unconnected scraps, which for want of method would afford neither pleasure nor instruction. Yet this is the disposition of *Herrera*, and the best *Spanish* authors; the bad effects of which we experienced in course of the numberless occasions we had to consult these writers. Agreeable to this plan, it is proper we should enquire into the ancient history and manners of the *Mexicans*, before we describe the modern government of this people, and enter upon the description of the country.

If we may give any credit to the *Mexican* tradition, that empire was first inhabited by a savage and barbarous people, the *Mexicans*, who lived naked upon fruits, roots, and the game they took in hunting, at which they were very dexterous. They had no idea of assisting nature, or cultivating the earth; caves, or hollow trees, were their dwellings and houses; laws, and all the acts of civil society, were utterly unknown to them; whence, says *Herrera*, they were called *Chichimecas*, or *Otonnies*, signifying in the language of the country, barbarians. Some of these nations remained unconquered and uncivilized in the mountains in the days of *Cortez*, and we find that general forming alliances with them, and making them subscribers.

vient to his purpose, in consequence of the information he had of their love of liberty, and detestation of the *Mexican* government. Like the *Tartars* of the northern parts of *Asia*, they migrated from one province to another, just as it answered their convenience; and when they went upon their hunting expeditions, they were attended by their women, the children being left suspended upon the boughs of trees until their return.

THE *Chichimecas* either removed voluntarily from the plains of *Mexico*, or were driven from thence by another people, equally savage, whom the *Spanish* writers call *Navatlacas*, without giving any other account of their origin, than their emerging into light from the seven caves, according to their own tradition, and as the name imports; but where these caves were situated, or what was directly meant by the word, we have no information. *Acosta* indeed relates in general terms, that the *Navatlacas* were composed of seven tribes, who anciently dwelt in those countries, lying between the thirtieth and fortieth degrees of northern latitude; and about the year 820 began to remove to the country denominated *Mexico*, spending eighty years in their progress. This migration was effected by single tribes, who set out on their journey in search of new habitations, and moved on gradually without regard to the rest of the nation, if a people unconnected by laws, or any kind of civil policy, can with propriety be called a nation. Colonies were planted by the way so leisurely, that, according to the christian computation, it was not before the beginning of the tenth century the first tribe called *Euchimilcan*, or gardeners of flowers, established themselves on the south side of the great lake of *Mexico*, where they built a city, after the name of its founders.

THE next tribe that removed from the northern continent, in quest of more comfortable habitations, were the people called *Chalci*, or the race of *Chalcas*. Their migration was several years subsequent to that of the *Euchimilcans*. They likewise arrived on the banks of the *Mexican* lake, were pleased with the situation, and resolving to settle themselves, laid the foundation of the city, called by their name *Chalcas*, signifying, according to the interpretation of *Herrera*, the people of the mouths.

THE people called *Tepeacans* were the third tribe that removed from their own country, and fixed themselves on the fertile banks of this beautiful piece of water. The city which they founded was called *Azcapotzalco*, a term

term given to express the extraordinary increase and industry of the first inhabitants.

THE people of the adjoining mountains, termed *Calhua*, 4th Tribe. composed the fourth tribe, colonized the eastern banks of the lake, built the city *Tezcuco*, and were much admired for the politeness of their manners, and the sweetness of their language, which, according to the *Spanish* writers, greatly excelled all the other dialects of the *Mexican* tongue; whence it appears that all those tribes had one original fundamental language, from which arose the different dialects.

BEFORE the arrival of the tribe called *Tlatleucans*, the 5th Tribe. four sides of the lake were occupied, which obliged the people to continue their journey across the mountains, and possess themselves of the spot called *Eagle's Valley*, or *Quahuabunac*, now known by the name of the *Marquisate*. Here they built the city *Quahuabunac*, which some writers call *Quaravaca*, in a fruitful, flat, and pleasant valley.

THE tribe denominated *Tlascatelcans*, advanced still farther, and seized upon the country called *Tlascala*, or the *Land of Corn*, from its exceeding fertility in grain. They combated the utmost difficulties, not only from the roughness of the countries over which they passed, especially the inhospitable snowy mountain, but the natives, who are reported to be of gigantic stature, and to have obstinately defeated the pretensions of the strangers. At last, after many bloody battles, they were forced to yield to superior numbers, and retreat, like the rest of the *Chichimecas* and *Otomies*, to inaccessible mountains, where they preserved their liberties against all the power of the *Mexican* empire, until the invasion of the *Spaniards*.

AT last arrived the seventh tribe, about three centuries 7th Tribe. after the migration of the *Suchimilcans*. Some alleged they were called *Mexicans*, from their leader *Mexi*. They advanced to seek out new habitations, being told by their god *Vitzliputzli* that they should obtain the dominion over the tribes who preceded them, and possess a country abounding in fine feathers, precious mantles, gold, silver, and the most valuable jewels. Relying implicitly on the completion of this prophecy, they began their tedious journey, carrying the image of their god inclosed in a chest, supported by the shoulders of four priests, to whom the deity, according to their tradition, revealed the course they should take, and the accidents that would occur in the journey. From these priests, who found means to persuade this simple people that they were inspired, the *Mexicans* received laws, religious rites, and all the regulations of civil society. They never

never pitched or removed their camp but by the advice of these sacred impostors; the priests directed when they should decamp, and when settle, probably as it answered their own conveniency, and contributed to support their influence. Whenever they halted, an altar was erected in the midst of the camp, under the auspices of the priests, upon which the idol rested, who was supposed to issue directions with respect to sowing, reaping, and building. Many years were consumed in this migration, before the *Mexicans* reached the promised land. Colonies were left behind, and the course of their journey was marked with instances of their ignorance, superstition, and industry. At length they arrived at *Mechacacan*, where they proposed terminating their labours: but the god was displeased with their design; he thundered down his vengeance, and in one night a multitude of the *Mexicans* perished. Probably disputes arose about the place they should chuse for their abode, and the bloodshed which followed was ascribed to the anger of the divinity. For this reason, the *Mexicans* again began their peregrinations, but with such reluctance, that they poured out their complaints in the bosom of a sorcerer among them; which coming to the ears of the priests, they declared it was the will of the deity, she and her family should be left behind. The sorcerer finding herself abandoned, founded a town called *Malinalco*, ever since reputed famous for witchcraft, assigned for the residence of the magicians employed in the service of the emperors, as appears by what we have reported of *Moteczuma's* ordering the necromancers to stop the progress of *Cortez*. *Acosta* relates a number of fabulous particulars from the *Mexican* tradition, which we will not stop to transcribe; sufficient it is that all the lands round the lake being already occupied, this tribe was forced to have recourse to arms and intrigue, to procure a settlement in the spot fixed upon by the deity. At last they obtained a little establishment on certain islands in the lake, on condition of paying a tribute to their countrymen, who founded an exclusive right in conquest and possession. This proving irksome to the free spirit of the people, the priests gave out, that *Vitzliputzli* appeared to them in a dream, and commanded the *Mexicans* to fix their abode in that part of the lake where they should find an eagle perching on a fig-tree, rising out of a rock. Immediately they set out in search of this habitation, and found a most beautiful eagle sitting, as had been described, on the fig-tree, the wings expanded, the eyes fixed upon the sun, and a little bird struggling to get out of her talon. All fell down and worshipped the object; *Hernandez* alleges, that they offered hu-

man sacrifices, and sprinkled the tree with the blood of one of the children of the forcerers, left behind at *Malinalco*. It was on this very spot the *Mexicans* built the city of *Tecpantitlan*, on the *Tupa* tree on a rock. Hence were taken the *Mexican* arms, of an eagle with her wings displayed, gazing intently upon the sun, a snake in her talons, and one foot resting on the branch of a fig-tree, to which the emperor *Charles V.* made some additions after the conquest of the empire by the *Mexicans*. Gratitude to the god was the first care of the *Mexicans*. Accordingly they erected an altar in the middle of the island, in which they reposed the idol of their god, and then set to work in building a city, which they divided into four quarters, now called the wards of *St. John*, *St. Mary Rotunda*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Sebastian*. They exchanged fish, hogs, and wild fowl, caught in the lake, with their neighbours for timber, stone, and other materials for building; they joined several islands by bridges, filled up great part of the lake with timber and stone-work, and thus raised the foundation of the famous city of *Mexico*, by very early proofs of their genius, invention, and industry. The inhabitants being distributed into the several wards, the great god *Vitzliputzli*, or rather his priests, directed that each should have its tutelary deity to preside over the ward in a subordinate capacity to the supreme divinity. To these the priests gave names, and assigned places of worship; which was no impolitic method of encreasing the number of the sacerdotal tribe, and extending their influence.

HERRERA mentions an eighth tribe, which migrated from the north, after the building of *Mexico*; and notwithstanding this circumstance is omitted by other historians, it seems to be as well founded as the rest, every one of which is replete with fable and absurdity. This tribe was distinguished by long hoods, which were afterwards adopted by the *Mexicans* in their dances. They first settled at *Tula*, and were ever afterwards distinguished by the appellation of *Tulacans*, although their last abode was at *Guaxaca*. They were charitable, devout, ingenious, and excellent husbandmen. They contributed greatly to civilize the barbarous inhabitants of the lake, and were held in such high esteem, that when any man was complimented on his genius, wisdom, and justice, it was usual to say he was a *Tulotican*.

The above partition of the city of *Mexico* could not prevent the inhabitants from falling into parties and factions that threatened the destruction of the infant state. Colonies were therefore sent abroad in search of new habitations, that sufficient room might be made for the

who remained. Most of the swarms sent off in this manner united, and settling themselves at *Tlatelulca*, soon forgot all respect for the mother-country, grew turbulent, and waged perpetual cruel wars with the *Mexicans*. These incessant attacks, together with the civil commotions which still continued, brought the *Mexicans* to the brink of despair, and obliged them to deliberate upon some method of establishing the harmony and tranquillity of the city. Several proposals were made; but all were attended with some inconvenience, being calculated to elevate one faction upon the ruins of another. The project most universally received was, that a king should be elected, with full power to execute whatever he thought conducive to the safety and interest of his people; but so many of the chiefs put in their claim for this distinguishing proof of superiority, that in the end it was resolved to chuse a savage out of some of the surrounding nations. The *Mexicans* had been long at variance with the monarch of *Culucan*, and it was hoped that, by chusing his grandson, the two cities might be united in one common interest, and connected by a political alliance. The overture was made to the sovereign of *Culucan*, and accepted. His grandfather married the prince to a young lady of the first quality in his dominions, and then sent the youthful monarch with his consort to govern the *Mexicans*, by whom he was received as a guardian angel. On his arrival he was addressed by a long instructive speech, made by one of the oldest men in the city, giving him to understand that he was raised to that exalted dignity, not to gratify his appetites, and tyrannize over his subjects, but to watch over their welfare, labour to promote their happiness, undergo much fatigue, and take upon him the whole burden of public affairs. *Acamapixtli* promised all that was enjoined, and confirmed it with an oath; after which a crown was placed on his head, and his hand filled with arrows, to express that he was the defender of the city.

The *Mexicans* elect a king.

1st King.

FOR a series of years the *Mexicans* were torn in pieces by civil broils and foreign wars, now they became a moderate people, obedient to their sovereign, and sensible of the benefits they deduced from this change in their political system. They not only enjoyed felicity at home, but rose daily in reputation abroad, which excited the jealousy of the neighbouring princes and states; whence followed wars and tumults, that for a time disturbed their peaceful tranquillity. Among other princes with whom they were at variance, was the king of *Azaafuzalco*, to whom they were forced to make submission, and pay a yearly tribute; which mark of their inferiority so elated that tyrant, that he soon became capricious and

and whimsical in his demands, insisting that the *Mexicans* should not only supply him with timber, but sow corn in the water, and pay him the annual produce. The *Mexicans* murmured at the unreasonableness of the imposition; but their God *Vitzilpach* comforted them with assurances, that this insolence of the *Tepeacans* would be recoiled upon their own heads, with directions how to comply with the absurd demand, and with promises of future rewards, should they persevere in the task without murmuring. He brought them to make floating baskets of reeds, which they filled with earth, and there sowed corn, the produce of which they paid by way of tribute to the proud tyrant. *Azapuzcalco* was astonished at their ingenuity; but instead of relaxing in his demands, he insisted upon things which he believed were still more impossible, to try whether the *Mexicans* were really magicians as he suspected. The next tribute he imposed was very extraordinary. He demanded, for the acknowledgment of the ensuing year, that certain birds should be brought to him, with their eggs so ready to hatch, that the young should break their shells in his presence; with which the god likewise enabled them to comply. *Acamaxitli* in vain endeavoured to break the galling yoke; the god, say the *Mexicans*, reserved his blessing for a proper season, and this excellent prince yielded his last breath, after a reign of more than forty years spent in beautifying the city, building bridges, regulating his dominions, and performing every duty of a great and good monarch. Many of the canals and aqueducts, so much admired by the *Spaniards*, were the work of *Acamaxitli*, who, notwithstanding he left a numerous family, would appoint none of his children for his successor, saying, that his people had a right to dispose of themselves as they thought proper, and that to impose a foreigner upon them was to deprive them of their natural liberty.

THE child of the deceased monarch reaped the fruits of this instance of moderation. With one voice the *Mexicans* proclaimed *Vitzilpach* the successor to his father's dignity, as soon as the funeral obsequies of the late prince were performed. He was crowned and anointed with the utmost ceremony, and adored in a manner little inferior to the gods. It was the custom of the *Mexicans* to appoint one of the elders of the city to infuse salutary maxims in the breast of the new monarch, by a formal harangue, pronounced before the assembled people. The sage chosen for this purpose recommended it to *Vitzilpach*, as the duty of a prince, to be the guardian of the infant, the aged, the widow, and orphan;

to be the father of the publick, and to study the happiness of the people, whom he called the feathers of his wings, the balls of his eyes, and the ornament of his countenance. Immediately after his coronation, the young monarch, by the advice of his council, married the daughter of *Azcapualco*, the inveterate enemy of his country, in hopes of reconciling the two nations; and the project succeeded so far, that the whole tribute was resigned, except two fowls and some fish, which was yearly sent as a testimony of the vassalage of the *Mexicans*.

Not long after, this prince died, and the people elected in his room his son *Chilupaopoca*, but of short reign; his grandfather, altho' he was then but ten years of age; but *Azcapualco* dying, the treacherous *Tepeacans* murdered the minor king of *Mexico*, and thereby revived the ancient animosities of the two nations. To conduct the war that ensued, the *Mexicans* chose *Izcoatl* for their fourth king.

IZCOALT was a prince of great valour and prudence, inheriting all the virtues of his illustrious father, the royal *mapixtli*. He declared war against the *Tepeacans*, and pursued it with so much success, that the enemy were entirely subdued, and their dominions reduced to a province of the empire. His nephew *Tlaacaltec*, the greatest warrior of his time, was at the head of the *Mexican* troops; and this general no sooner finished the *Tepeacan* war, than he turned his arms against the cities *Tecuba*, *Cocoaycan*, *Suchimilco*, and all the tribes surrounding the lake of *Mexico*, whom he defeated and compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of his monarch. Every thing succeeded with the fortunate *Izcoalt*, who may properly be deemed the founder of the *Mexican* empire; because in his reign the city first extended her authority over the warlike nations of the lake, acquired the reputation of superior power and valour, and established that system of legislation, which was soon adopted by all the nations inhabiting this immense tract. He made some very considerable alterations in the political constitution of the *Mexicans*, by convincing them of the inconvenience resulting from popular election, and persuading them to transfer their right of choosing their sovereign to six electors, whom he nominated, namely, the kings of *Texcoco* and *Tecuba*, and four princes of the blood royal. The people consented to this infraction on their liberties, and were never afterwards permitted to intermeddle in elections. Some of the great causeways were also built by *Izcoalt*, particularly that of *Suchimilco*, this being the punishment inflicted upon the conquered city, which the *Mexican* prince thought the most

most probable means of preventing her revolt, an immediate communication being opened with the capital.

AFTER a prosperous reign of twelve years *Izcoatl* died, 5th king. and the elders met for the election of a successor. The general *Tlacueller*, whom *Herrera* calls *Tlacaellec*, was one of the number, and had by his virtues acquired such influence, that his nephew *Motezuma*, the first of that name, was raised unanimously to the throne of *Mexico*. To this prince is ascribed the barbarous custom of sacrificing all prisoners taken from the enemy, to add to the solemnity of his coronation; a custom founded on the savage policy of this warlike people, intimating, that warlike abilities were the most essential qualities in a monarch. To express his readiness to lay down his life for his country, *Motezuma* was no sooner placed before the sacred fire in the temple, where the oath was administered to him, than he drew blood from the veins of his arms and legs, with the sharp bone of a tiger, and sprinkled the altar. Immediately after he invaded the *Chalci*, conducted the war in person, proved victorious, and returned triumphant with a multitude of captives, the principal of whom he sacrificed on the day of his inauguration. The *Chalci*, however, were obstinate; they were defeated, but not conquered. The war went on with great vigour, and cost *Motezuma* the life of a brother; who, being taken prisoner by the enemy, had in offer of being raised to the royal dignity. This extraordinary proposal he rejected until he could speak with his countrymen; and to gratify a prince who had gained on the affections of the *Chalci*, they ordered a scaffold to be erected, from which he was allowed to harangue the *Mexicans*. "The gods forbid," said he, "that I should be dazzled by the splendor of a crown into treason. Learn of me, ye *Mexicans*, the duty which you owe to your king and your country;" with which words he leaped headlong from the scaffold, and perished. All admired the virtue of the young prince, the *Chalci* were inconsolable, and *Motezuma* was animated to revenge his death. Several bloody battles were fought, and the *Chalci* entirely subdued, after an obstinate struggle. The *Mexican* altars teemed with the streaming blood of the prisoners, sacrificed to the manes of the prince; and hence this custom came to be established, it being afterwards usual in all the wars, to offer up the blood of their unfortunate captives to the gods.

Tlacaellec was still at the head of the forces. His good conduct chiefly was owing the reduction of the *Chalci*, and of all the nations bordering on the north and south seas; but he was less successful in the wars against the *Tlasc*.

- This brave people had formed themselves into a republic, and defended their liberties with unparalleled courage. They foiled all the efforts of the *Mexican* general, and with greatly inferior forces withstood the utmost efforts of the numerous armies of the enemy. The *Mexican* tradition, and from *Acosta*, alleges, that *Moteczuma* suffered the *Tlascalans* to maintain their independency, only that he might have an enemy to exercise the *Mexican* youth in war, and furnish the altars of the gods with sacrifices; notwithstanding which boast, it is certain that many serious attempts were made to reduce a nation that was considered as a galling horn in the sides of the *Mexican* emperors. When *Moteczuma* had secured himself against all foreign attacks, he applied to the civil economy of his kingdom, which, upon account of his vast conquests, required extraordinary regulations and changes. He settled the royal court with great state and magnificence; he established courts of judicature in all the provinces; appointed censors to examine into the manners of the people; and, lastly, built that celebrated temple to the god *Vesta*, so much admired by the *Spaniards*, and so minutely described by all the historians of that nation.

6th king.

AFTER a reign of twenty-eight years, in which he displayed the virtues of a good citizen, an experienced general, and a wise monarch, *Moteczuma* died, leaving the crown to be disposed of at the pleasure of the electors. The general *Tlacaellec* had considerably enlarged his influence during the late reign. His glorious victories rendered him extremely popular; the conquests he had made, added greatly to the grandeur and power of the empire; and the civil regulations which he projected, contributed to secure the happiness of the people. It was no wonder then, if the *Mexicans* were desirous of raising to the supreme dignity a person so well qualified to govern. All the electors voted with one voice that he should be rewarded with the imperial diadem; but the prudence of *Tlacaellec* triumphed over his ambition, and resisted all the importunity of the *Mexicans*. He positively refused to accept the crown for himself, while he recommended *Tezozimc*, the eldest son of the late monarch, to their favour. It is difficult to imagine what could induce the general to this choice. *Tezozimc* was pusillanimous, weak, and equally unfit to extend his dominions by war, or to render his empire respectable in peace. However, as *Tlacaellec* undertook to supply the deficiencies of his capacity, the young prince was elected, anointed, and crowned, with the usual ceremonies. The practice of the late monarch had established it as a custom, that every new elected sovereign should immediately

diately distinguish his merit, by the reduction of some neighbouring nations. *Tenaxic*, much against his inclination, was obliged to comply with a custom, now regarded as essential to the constitution, and an indispensable condition of his election. He therefore set out with an army to subdue a province, and behaved so ill, that he returned with great loss, and disappointed in his purpose. However, he kept up the appearance of a conqueror, endeavouring to divert the attention of the *Mexicans* from his misconduct, by shows and festivals; at one of which he was poisoned, after a short inglorious reign of not more than four years.

ALTHOUGH the commendation of *Tlacucllec* proved unfortunate in this instance, he nevertheless preserved his influence. The choice of a successor was referred to him; and the general, out of gratitude to the memory of *Motexuma*, nominated *Axayaca*, the second son of that monarch, and brother to the lately deceased sovereign. Old age disqualified *Tlacucllec* from commanding the army in person; his son was therefore raised to the dignity of general in chief of the *Mexican* armies by the grateful *Axayaca*; soon after which the venerable *Tlacucllec* died, and was buried with all the honours due to his extraordinary merit, and attachment to the royal family.

THE first expedition made by *Axayaca* was against the province of *Tecomtipique* and *Chutulco*, two hundred miles to the southward of *Mexico*, which he subdued, after defeating the enemy in a pitched battle. He returned in triumph to the city, attended with a crowd of captives, whom he sacrificed in the temple at his coronation, and then set out upon another expedition against *Chutulco*, in which he was equally fortunate. The remainder of this prince's reign was pacific and happy; eleven years being spent, from the time of his coronation, in subduing his enemies, enlarging his dominions, augmenting his reputation, and promoting the felicity of his people.

(A) *Herrera* and *Acosta* have adopted a fabulous part of the *Mexican* tradition with respect to this war, which they seem to credit as a certainty. They relate that the enemy metamorphosed themselves into swans, geese, and frogs; were encountered in this shape by the *Mexican* king; defeated with great loss, and as a punishment obliged to imitate the cries of the animals whose figures they had assumed. *Herrera* alleges, that to this day the *Chutulcans* are bantered with this ridiculous punishment. Vid. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ii.

8th King.

WHEN the throne became vacant by the death of *Axayaca*, the electors chose *Autzal*, one of their own number, to the supreme dignity. This prince was nothing inferior to the most glorious of his predecessors in valour, wisdom, affability, and every virtue that graces and distinguishes the monarch. Being informed that the inhabitants of *Quauhtlatlan* had committed some violence against the tributaries of his crown, he set out with an army to punish their insolence, and soon reduced the city to submission. Proceeding in the course of conquest, he extended his dominions as far as *Guatemala*, annexing that province and divers others to his crown. But the fame of his victories was still inferior to the reputation acquired by his clemency to the conquered, his generosity to his soldiers, charity to the poor, and humanity to all. Void of all ostentation, he studied only the good of his subjects, and prudently checked that ambition of conquest, which frequently renders the subjects wretched, while it makes the sovereign great. *Autzal* spent his treasures in beautifying and enlarging the city of *Mexico*, in promoting industry, and rendering their habitations convenient to the inhabitants. With this view he brought a river of fresh water into the city; but was so unfortunate as to drown several houses by an accident. However, he repaired this loss by art of industry and genius, and completed his design to the great astonishment of all men, who beheld with admiration, so valuable a body of water, directed according to the pleasure of the king, sometimes making its way over, and sometimes under mountains. This acqueduct has always been regarded as one of the most ingenious pieces of art in the great city of *Mexico*. He reigned about eleven years, honoured and admired; he died deeply regretted, leaving the throne to be filled by a prince of a different character, equally splendid in his virtues and talents, but more unfortunate than underserving. This was *Moteczuma*, the second of that name, whose history we have already related, the principal event of which was the invasion of the *Spaniards*.

Learning
and kalendar
of the
Mexicans.

SUCH is the history of the ancient *Mexican* kings, deduced entirely from oral tradition, and consequently liable to many gross mistakes, the most glaring and absurd of which we have thought proper to expunge, though we will not presume to vouch for the truth of all we have been obliged to retain. The earlier ages of the most civilized nations, even of the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, is filled with the most incredible fictions and absurd fables; what then shall we think of the ancient history of a people who were ignorant

important of the use of letters, and forced to convey their wisdom to posterity, either by impressing them deeply on the minds of their children, or committing them to the perishable materials of papyrus in hieroglyphical signs, so imperfect as frequently to admit of various interpretations?

We may form some idea of the genius and learning of the *Mexicans* from the manner in which they adjusted their kalendar. This they disposed and regulated by the sun's motion, making his altitude and declination the measure of times and seasons. To every year were allowed three hundred and sixty-four days, which they divided into eighteen months, assigning to each month twenty days. Thus the remaining four days, they added at the end of each year, to make it answer the course of the sun. They believed that these four days were designedly left by their ancestors to be employed in mirth and recreation, for which reason they devoted them entirely to dissipation. Industry ceased, shops were shut up, the course of justice was stopt, and even the rites of religion were neglected during this period. Nothing but diversion was regarded, the *Mexicans* signifying by this their intention of renewing the labours of the ensuing year with renovated vigor, the beginning of which they placed on the first day of the spring, differing from the solar year, according to the computation of their astronomers, only three days, which they took from our month of *February*.

BESIDES the division of the year into days and months, the *Mexicans* had an intermediate division of time into weeks, each of which consisted of thirteen days, with particular names, marked in their kalendar by certain images. Their age consisted of fifty-two years, or four weeks of years, the distribution of which was extremely ingenious, and described in the following manner by the elegant *Antonio de Solis*. They drew a large circle, which they divided into fifty-two degrees, allowing one year to each degree. In the centre stood the image of the sun, from which five rays of various colours, equally dividing the circle, proceeded leaving thirteen degrees to each of the five diameter. These divisions were calculated to represent the signs of the zodiac, upon which their ages had their revolutions, and his aspects, prosperous or adverse according to the position of the sun, the descendent ray. In a larger circle, inclosing the first, they noted with their hieroglyphical signs and characters, all the accidents and occurrences of the age worthy characters transmitted to posterity; so that the *Mexican* kalendar being was a kind of chronological register of facts, and a kind of annals.

that greatly assisted their oral tradition, by giving the fundamental points of those transactions upon which their writers, poets, and historians expatiated. *De Solis* calls the calendar a species of secular maps, or public instruments, which served for a proof of their history; still, however, these hieroglyphical signs and characters were imperfect, and liable to misconstruction. Schools were instituted, wherein the youth were taught to celebrate the great actions of their heroes, and the most memorable events of the preceding ages, upon which the *Mexicans* relied much more than upon their calendar. Upon the whole, imperfect as this method must appear to us who are acquainted with the use of letters, it must be acknowledged to be an ingenious substitute, and among the wisest institutions of the *Mexican* government; as the very recital of these martial achievements must, necessarily, inflame the youth with a desire of emulating the glory of their ancestors.

In the *Mexican* computation of their ages, there was a strong tincture of absurd superstition. They believed that the world was in danger of being destroyed, when the sun had completed the course of those four greater weeks; and when the close of this period arrived, they seriously prepared to sustain the shock of this dreadful and ultimate calamity. On the last night they bid farewell to the light of the sun with tears and moans: they expected death without previous sickness, they extinguished their fires, broke their household furniture, neglected their food, and abandoned themselves to sorrow. Thousands might be seen walking about the fields, agitated with the most violent transports of despair, until the dawn of the succeeding day revived hope, when they saluted the rising sun with all their musical instruments, with hymns and songs that expressed their tumultuous joy. They congratulated each other, that a new age was begun, and they should no more be subject to the danger for the space of two and fifty years; for which similar they crowded to their temples, to return thanks to blessing, by sacrifices, and to receive from their priests new their gods: they kept burning with the utmost violence for fire, which day before the star, the night concluding with the whole acting, and other diversions, dedicated to the re-songs, &c. in much the same manner as the *Romans* newal their secular games. *Nerrea* affirms that in *Pucacelatan*, and several other provinces of *New Spain*, the inhabitants bound books, with leaves, on which were inscribed the virtues of plants and animals, the estimation of time, and all

In the memorable events of preceding ages. "In the province of *Mexico Proper*, says he, they had a library of histories and calendars, wherein they painted such things as had proper figures in their natural representations, and others that had none, with arbitrary characters." By which he would seem to intend, that sensible beings were represented by their pictures, and abstract ideas typified by certain fixed characters and symbols, similar to our art of writing and painting.

With respect to the religious rites and ceremonies of *Religion the Mexicans*, they were replete with such absurdities, cruelties, indecencies, and obscenities, as detract greatly from *of the Mexicans*. the good sense conspicuous in the people, and cannot well be described consistently with the strict decorum to be observed in history. Amidst a multitude of lesser gods, and the obscurity and blindness of their idolatry, they still acknowledged one supreme Deity, the creator of the heavens and the earth, the author of all good things, and the principle by which we live, move, and have our being. To express this great original of all things, the *Mexican* language wanted a term, no words being thought sufficient to describe his attributes. They only signified their belief in the existence of this deity by casting their eyes towards heaven with profound veneration; and giving him, after their way, the attribute of ineffable, in the same manner as the *Athenians* worshipped the *Unknown God*. Notwithstanding they ascribed omnipotence to the supreme Deity, they had no conception of ubiquity and omnipresence; they could not believe, that it was possible that the same God could govern the whole universe without the assistance of inferior ministering gods. They were persuaded there were no gods in the other parts of the heavens, until men began to grow miserable in proportion as the multiplied. They regarded the inferior gods as favorable spirits, produced as there appeared occasion, without shrinking at all at the absurdity of supposing them to owe their existence and divine nature to the miseries of human nature. They entertained an imperfect notion of the immortality of the soul, and of eternal rewards and punishments in a future state; though their ideas of virtue, vice, and moral rectitude, were extremely gross and absurd. Like most other savage nations, who pushed their inquiries to futurity, they blended the most ridiculous superstitions with evident truths, and buried great quantities of gold and silver with their deceased, to bear the charges of a tedious journey to the next world. Princes were honoured with mausoleums of great extent and magnificence;

Funerals.

nificence; and it was usual with women to bury themselves also with their husbands, to testify their affection. The funeral of a prince was a dreadful spectacle; his whole household was obliged to accompany him to the next world; or to be stigmatized in this with ingratitude to their benefactor; a vice of the blackest dye among the *Mexicans*. The bodies were conducted with great pomp and solemnity to the temples, from whence the priests came forth to receive them with their copper censors, burning incense, and singing elegies and ditties to the accompaniment of hoarse, ill tuned flutes, the whole forming a melancholy, dreadful discord. The funeral obsequies of a great man continued for ten days, during each of which some of his vassals or servants, offered themselves voluntary sacrifices, in order to render his dreary journey to eternity more easy by their services. The corpse was handed to the place of interment by all the ensigns and trophies belonging to the deceased. In a word, cruelty and pride obscured all the lights held forth by reason and superstition, rendering the *Mexicans* more wretched than if they had never carried their thoughts beyond the present existence.

NEXT to the supreme God, the ancient *Mexicans* held the sun, moon, the morning-star, and the sea, in the greatest honour. It was to compliment *Cortez* with divine honours they called him the offspring of the sun. The idol *Vitziliputzli* was their greatest sensible god, he presided over all the lesser idols; and, as some imagine, was the representative of the invisible God. The idol nearest in quality to this god, was the deity of penance and remission of sins, whom they called *Texcaltlipuca*, made of jet black marble and finely adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. In his left hand the idol held a pen of beautiful feathers, issuing from a plate of finely burnished gold, in which he held forth an intimating to the punishment he inflicted upon the wicked; and his right one was adorned with human skulls and bones, to denote his presiding over famine and pestilence. At *Chalula*, the inhabitants adored a famous idol, styled the god of commerce, because the people of that city employed themselves in merchandise. The figure and ornaments of this deity were expressive of his attributes; but one essential quality of all the *Mexican* idols was, to have an aspect hideously ugly, by way of inspiring terror. It would be tedious to specify all the lesser deities of both sexes adored by the *Mexicans*; we shall therefore only observe, that they frequently raised living men to divine honours, giving their prisoners the name of the idol to whom they were to be sacrificed. For the
space

space perhaps of a whole year, they were treated with the honours thought due to the idol, worshipped in its stead, adorned with the jewels of the god, and fed with the most delicious offerings. When a prisoner was intended to be sacrificed, he walked along the streets, the people flocked round and worshipped him; they held forth their children and sick, that he might come and bless them; but care was taken that he should always be attended by a strong guard, to prevent his escaping.

THE Mexican priests were divided into the same orders Mexican and classes as the gods whom they served; those of the great idol *Vitzlipusli* succeeded to the sacred office by a kind of inheritance, the right of becoming the ministers of this god being vested in certain families. The priests of the other temples were by election, though many of them had been offered up to that function from their infancy. The sacerdotal office was one of the most lucrative and important in the state, as the clergy had great influence in all political and civil affairs, directing not only the consciences of the people, but the judgment of the sovereigns; in return for which they were obliged to perform certain rigid and painful penances, as the price of the honour and esteem in which they were held by all degrees of mankind. The high priest was likewise the sacrificer; he first plunged the knife into the breast of the unhappy victim, and tore out the heart of the bleeding sacrifice, which his blind zeal enabled him to perform without remorse, and regard as an action of sublime piety and devotion.

AMONG the Mexicans, marriages bore the form of civil contracts, blended with certain religious ceremonies. The preliminary articles being adjusted, the contracted pair appeared in the temple, and one of the priests sounded their interrogations, by certain ceremonial questions, appointed by law for that purpose. He then took the tip of the woman's veil in one hand, and a corner of the man's garment in the other, and tied them together, to express the indissoluble union of the lovers, and inseparable tie of their affections. Nor did this ceremony complete their marriage; the pair returned to their habitation, under this emblem of the nuptial yoke, visited the domestic fire, accompanied by the same priest, and offered worship to that element, which they believed essential to their union and happiness. They surounded it seven times; after which they sat down to receive equal shares of the treat, and then the marriage was thought to be accomplished. The portion brought by the bride was registered in a public instrument, that every part

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of it might be faithfully restored, in case of a separation, which frequently happened. Here the law laid no restraint on inclination; mutual consent was judged sufficient cause for a divorce. The parties were supposed to be best acquainted with their own affections; and as their happiness was chiefly concerned, they were left to be their own judges; an institution which, under certain restrictions, ought perhaps to be adopted, even on political principles, by more civilized nations; unless marriage be supposed a religious rite, ordained by the christian doctrine in its present form. When the nuptial tie was dissolved, and the parties separated, the boys became the care of the father, while the mother was enjoined to provide for the girls; and it was capital even again to unite or cohabit, that a due restraint might be laid on caprice and sudden transports of anger and violent passion. Thus, notwithstanding the natural fickleness of the people, divorces were extremely rare, and more instances of conjugal happiness were to be seen in *Mexico* than in any other country. The danger incurred by attempting cohabitation after the dissolution of the nuptial bond, was sufficient to prevent their giving way to slight sallies of repentment, while a few sparks of mutual affection remained; and the law thought it unreasonable to oblige two persons to inseparable union, who entertained for each other only sentiments of disgust. The *Albicans* were extremely delicate of the chastity and conduct of their wives, as a point in which the honour of the husband was deeply concerned; so that amidst that boundless licentiousness with which they indulged their sensual appetites, they abhorred and punished adultery with the utmost rigour; less upon account of the atrociousness of the crime, than the inconveniences resulting.

Baptism.

As soon as a child was born, the infant was carried to the temple with great solemnity, and received by a priest, who pronounced a grave and pathetic oration upon the troubles and miseries to which it was doomed on entering into this life of wretchedness and corruption. In the right-hand of infants of distinction the priest put a sword, and in the left a shield, to express the military life to which they were destined. Mechanical instruments were put into the hands of the male children of plebeian extraction, and the females of every degree were adorned with the spindle and distaff, intimating the proper sphere of the more tender sex. This ceremony being ended, the infants were brought up to the altar, and a kind of circumcision was performed, by drawing blood from the privy parts with the prickle of maguey, after which they were dipped in water, while certain barbarous innovations were repeated.

prated: A ridiculous kind of Communion was likewise observed at stated periods by the *Mexicans*, which the priests administered with great devotion, by dividing into small bits, a paste, idol, which they called the god of *Penitence*. We need not observe the near resemblance of these institutions to those of the *Jewish* and *Christian* religions; it must strike the imagination of the most careless reader; but we cannot avoid once more repeating, that many of the rites and ceremonies of the *Mexicans* were so barbarous in their nature, so shocking to humanity, so absurd, bestial, and incongruous, as to seem altogether incompatible with the regularity and indeniable oeconomy observable in other parts of the government. One of the most detestable, though originally founded on policy, was the human sacrifices made to the gods; which was carried to so great a pitch of religious fury, that twenty thousand, on times, have sprinkled the altars with their blood in a single day. In one word, the *Mexican* religion was an abominable compound of impiety, absurdity, and cruelty, rendered more glaring by the accidental rays of natural reason, which sometimes enlightened the dreadful object.

IT has already been observed, that the ancient government of the *Mexicans* was at first popular or republican; that the factions into which the people were divided obliged them to elect a sovereign; that the power of election was lodged in the hands of the whole body of the community: but this being found attended with inconveniences, it was delegated to the kings of *Texcoco* and *Tlacuba*, and four princes of the blood royal. We also observed that the king elect, after the reign of the first *Motezuma*, was obliged, previous to his coronation, to invade some neighbouring nation, to augment the dominions of the crown, and to return with a number of captives, whom he was to sacrifice to the gods at his inauguration. In his return in triumph from this expedition, the monarch was met by the nobility, the ministers of state, and the chief personages of the sacerdotal function, who conducted him to the temple of the god of war, shed the blood of the human victims, then clothed the prince in the imperial robes, put a golden sword, edged with sharp flint, in his right hand, and in his left a bow and arrows, to express his supreme authority over all matters civil and military. The diadem was then placed on his temples by the sovereign of *Texcoco*, the first elector of the empire; and one of the oldest ministers made him a speech, congratulatory and exhortatory, to the purpose we have already related. He was anointed by the high-priest with a kind of balm, jet-black, sprinkled with consecrated water; and, after receiving the blessing of this religious sage, adorned

- with a mantle, on which were painted the images of skulls and human bones, to remind him of his mortality. Several drugs, medicines, charms, and incantations, were likewise used at the coronation, to preserve the prince from the infection of diseases, and the power of enchantments; after which he offered incense to the god *Vitziliputzli*, and took an oath to maintain the religion and customs of his ancestors, to preserve the people in all their rights and privileges, and to render his subjects happy, and his empire powerful. It is also reported that he was obliged to swear, that the sun should shine by day, and the rains fall in their proper seasons; and that the land should neither be infested with plagues, famines, nor inundations, during his reign; by which it was not understood that the prince had power over the elements, but that he should do nothing to cause the vengeance of heaven, or draw down the punishment of his sins upon his innocent people.

IMMEDIATELY after the king's coronation, his court was appointed. His household and guards were magnificent beyond imagination; but as we have described many of these particulars in the history of the conquest of *Mexico*, it will be sufficient to repeat that *Moteczuma II.*'s court was splendid beyond that of any of his predecessors. No less than two hundred noblemen of the first distinction formed his body-guard, and served him with profound reverence at table. *De Salis* makes the number still greater, and describes the worship paid to the emperor as of a piece with the adoration shewn to the gods. No less than three thousand women were kept in the palace to gratify the lust of this monster of sensuality, who, in other respects, was a prince of great spirit, policy, and magnificence. In former reigns, the palace was crowded with concubines; but *Moteczuma* greatly augmented the number, and selected them from the virgins first in quality and beauty in his empire, either given by their relations, or violently extorted by way of tribute to the sovereign. Two of these ladies, the prince's favourites, were particularly distinguished, and the *Spanish* writers honour them with the title of queens; but whether they acquired this pre-eminence from their superior quality, from the peculiar favour of the sovereign, or in consequence of some contract before they were taken to the royal bed, we are not informed.

Revenues. THE revenues of the crown have before been mentioned; they were indeed enormous, but the chief fund arose from the voluntary or extorted contributions of the people. All the laborious citizens and merchants of this vast empire contributed a third of their profits to support the imperial dignity.

dignity. Officers were appointed, who made regular circuits to collect the revenue, in which they never suffered any deficiency, from whatever accident it might arise. The poor were stripped of their all, and the rich obliged to pay for the necessities of their inferiors. Whatever became of the subject, the monarch must be maintained in the utmost splendor and luxury of pomp.

THESE were gross imperfections in the *Mexican* government, which nevertheless was not devoid of excellencies. There was a remarkable harmony among the different departments of the constitution. There was a council of state; a council or board to manage the royal revenue, a council of war, which regulated every thing relative to the army; a supreme council of justice, and a board of trade and commerce. We shall relate the prerogatives of the principal of these, from whence the reader may form a pretty accurate idea of the ancient constitution of the *Mexican* empire. In the council of state were debated all matters of great importance; such as the imposing taxes, framing laws, forming alliances, or declaring war or peace. In this the king was supreme, and, indeed, arbitrary, when he chose to dissent from his counsellors, whom *Motexuma II.* consulted, rather out of form than regard to the constitution. The supreme tribunal of justice resided at *Mexico*, and consisted of twelve judges, who determined all appeals from the lower courts, and gave a final verdict, unless the emperor thought proper to interpose. The towns and provinces had their proper judges and officers, who heard the parties and decided causes. Their decisions were summary and verbal; both sides appeared with their claims and witnesses, and judgment was immediately given, except when the point in litigation was thought too intricate for the determination of that court, in which case it was remitted to the superior tribunal at *Mexico*. There could be no bills nor answers, no tedious declarations and pleadings, to obscure truth and confound the judges, because there was no writing, which in this instance might be considered as a felicity. Unadorned facts and naked truth, undisguised by sophistry and rhetoric, alone prevailed; and if justice was at all perverted, the cause was immediately known, namely, that it was the pleasure of the sovereign it should be so, with which the people readily acquiesced. Custom and the institutions of their ancestors usually regulated the conduct of the judges. Rewards and punishments were dispensed with the greatest caution, and most rigid regard to justice. Murder, theft, adultery, and even the appearance of treason, were punished with death; so domy

larceny and robbery too were deemed capital crimes; but some writers alledge, that the first instance of theft and robbery was punished only with the loss of liberty, and the second with the loss of life. Corruption in the ministers was capital; but slighter misdemeanors were easily pardoned, says *De Solis*, in a country where religion itself deformed justice by tolerating vice. The crimes committed by the magistrates were closely inspected by the prince, and always severely punished. This must be confessed from the superficial view of the *Mexican* policy exhibited by the *Spanish* writers, that they were possessed of some moral virtues. Their integrity and strict regard to that kind of justice with which they were acquainted, was sufficient to redress injuries, and maintain society among fellow citizens. * The *Mexicans*, amidst all their impurities, impurities, and absurdities, still preserved some regard to that primitive equity implanted in the human soul, when men had no laws, because they were ignorant of crimes.

THE council of war nominated all inferior officers, issued out the pay of the soldiers, took care that the army was properly supplied with provision and every other necessary, and recommended to the royal notice those officers who had distinguished their zeal for the public service, by their courage or capacity. As the government was in a great measure military, the soldiers were more favoured than any other degree of people. They sooner rose to great fortunes, to dignities, posts, and employments, and even to civil titles and honours, than persons of the same quality of any other profession. Wherever the troops resided, they were distinguished by particular privileges and immunities; for this reason the nobility and gentry flocked to the army as the regular channel of preferment. It was therefore easy for the *Mexican* government to maintain a prodigious army, where men of fortune served at their private expence, in hopes of raising themselves to the royal notice by their merit. Besides, the caziques, and curacas, or governors of provinces, were obliged to bring a certain number of men into the field when required; and, if we may credit *De Solis*, the emperor of *Mexico* had thirty vassals, who each of them raise a hundred thousand able-bodied soldiers; which alone sufficiently demonstrates the power of the empire, and renders next to supernatural the conquest of the *Spaniards*. These troops were commanded by their respective princes in person, who all received their orders from the emperor in person, or his representative. In all wars of great importance the emperor took the field, being deemed extremely

treemely impolitic to commit great armies to the care of subjects, as it might be the means of seducing them from the fidelity they owed to the crown, and exciting an ambition which before lay dormant, because it was not roused into action. Military honours were instituted as rewards to those who had eminently distinguished their valour; they were of different kinds, in order to discriminate between the different degrees of merit. Some wore the eagle for a badge, others the tyger, and a third the lion, as the devices of their several orders. There was one of a superior nature, to which none but princes were raised, whatever merit they might possess. Of this order the emperor himself was always a member. They wore their hair tied back with a red ribbon, to which were suspended a number of tassels, which hung down their shoulders, according to the exploits they performed, a new one being added every time they performed any signal action. This was an admirable contrivance to excite emulation; and the honours were eagerly sought after, because they were never abused or conferred on the unworthy by court-favour. Signal services alone gave a title to those dignities, and it was necessary that the exploits of which they were the rewards should be performed in the presence of the whole army, before those promoted could procure respect or esteem.

Rewards.
of merit.

THE council of trade and commerce was strictly united to that of the revenue. They conferred together on the means of rendering the impositions on commerce most advantageous to the crown, and least oppressive to the subject. The board of trade examined all projects offered for the benefit of commerce, promoted them if approved, and rejected them if they were found inadequate to the purposes intended. They also adjusted and regulated all differences among merchants, and rated the market-prices of all commodities. We have, upon a former occasion, minutely described the great fair of Mexico, at which the officers of the crown and the board presided, which may suffice to convey an idea of the prerogatives, and the utility of this board.

WE must take notice of the care taken by the Mexicans of the education of their children, and the diligence with which they studied their inclinations, as one of the most laudable institutions of their policy. Publick schools were erected for the children of plebeians; and colleges, or seminaries of more polite learning, for the sons of the nobility. The method of education was adapted to the peculiar genius of the child, and the station in life in which he was to act. There were

Education
of children.

were respective masters for every different branch of education, for infants, children, and youth, who had the authority of the king's ministers, and were justly regarded in that important light, because they formed ~~the~~ principles and qualifications, which afterwards fitted their pupils for the service of their country. In these seminaries the young men spent their lives, until they were fit to emerge into light, embark in the publick service, and pursue those professions in which they were instructed. One of the first branches of education was to decypher those signs and characters, of which their kalendar and historical register was composed; and to recite, by memory, those songs which contained the valiant actions of their ancestors, and the praises of their gods. In the next superior class, they were taught modesty, humility, a gentle mild behaviour, and those qualities of the mind which endear men to the world, and prove so agreeable and useful to the peace and felicity of society. This was a species of ethical learning, by which moral habits were inculcated instead of refined speculative principles; the masters were, therefore, of greater reputation and ability than the former, eminently skilled in the human heart, and fully practised in the means of contending with youthful inclinations, and correcting violent passions. When the youth had acquired what was deemed a sufficient moral knowledge, and were supposed able to bend their passions to reason, they passed on to the third class, where they employed themselves in robust exercises, and were taught to govern strength by dexterity and address. They raised heavy weights; they wrestled, and vied with each other in running and leaping. They were instructed in the use of arms, how to handle the sword, throw the ~~shot~~, and shoot the arrow with force and exactness, in which many became extraordinary proficient. They were inured to hunger, thirst, fatigue, hardened against the inclemencies of the weather, and formed in all respects in the rudiments of the military art; as far, at least, as it was understood in *Mexico*. When the young nobility returned home, they were then allowed to pursue their inclinations, and to embrace a civil, military, or religious life, just as they thought proper; it being very reasonably supposed, they would succeed best in that sphere to which they were led by inclination, without any compulsion from their parents. The military life was generally preferred as the most certain path to preferment and honour; but before it was irrevocably embraced, the children of nobility passed another trial, which merits attention. They were sent to the army to experience the

the hardships of a campaign, before they enrolled themselves in the military list, and undertook a profession which they might find disagreeable in practice, however pleasing it might appear to the imagination. Here they were obliged to carry loads of baggage like the meanest soldiers, to inure them to fatigue, mortify their vanity, and accustom them to subordination and obedience, the most essential part of discipline, and the most difficult to be acquired by a proud ambitious spirit. They were obliged to give proofs of their perseverance, constancy, and valour: none was admitted who changed countenance on sight of the enemy; and it was observable, that these probations proved of the utmost service in battle, all being emulous to signalize themselves, and many plunging headlong into danger, from a persuasion, that some degree of temerity was inseparable from juvenile valour. With these institutions it is scarce conceivable how the *Mexican empire* should have so easily been overthrown; but there was a fatality that seemed to hasten the downfall and ruin of this most powerful and polished nation of all *America*.

END of the THIRTY-EIGHTH VOLUME.

